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ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY;

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LIVES OF EMINENT MEN,

CONNECTED WITH THE

HISTORY OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND;

FROM THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION

TO THE REVOLUTION;

SELECTED AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

NOTES,

BY

CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D.

LATE MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND RECTOR OF BUXTED, WITH UCKFIELD, SUSSEX.

Fourth Edition,

WITH MANY ADDITIONAL HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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ERRATA.

Page 52, bottom line, omit "and given below in this collection."
— 368, line 23, for cum *aliquis* dominationibus, read cum *reliquis*.

—These, constrained to wield the sword
Of disputation, shrunk not, though assailed
With hostile din, and combating in sight
Of angry umpires, partial and unjust ;
And did, thereafter, bathe their hands in fire,
So to declare the conscience satisfied :
Nor for their bodies would accept release,
But blessing God and praising him bequeathed,
With their last breath from out the smouldering flame,
The faith which they by diligence had earned,
And through illuminating grace received,
For their dear countrymen and all mankind.
O high example, constancy divine !

W. WORDSWORTH.

THOMAS BILNEY.

THE prayers I make will then be sweet indeed
If Thou the spirit give by which I pray :
My unassisted heart is barren clay,
Which of its native self can nothing feed :
Of good and pious works Thou art the seed,
Which quickens only where 'Thou sayest it may :
Unless 'Thou shew to us thine own true way
No man can find it : Father ! Thou must lead.
Do Thou, then, breathe those thoughts into my mind
By which such virtue may in me be bred,
That in thy holy footsteps I may tread :
The fetters of my tongue do Thou unbind,
That I may have the power to sing of Thee,
And sound thy praises everlastingly !

W. WORDSWORTH.

THOMAS BILNEY.

THOMAS BILNEY was brought up in the universitie of Cambridge, profiting in all kind of liberall sciences, even unto the profession of both lawes. But having gotten a better schoolemaster, even the holy Spirit of Christ, enduing his heart by privie inspiration with the knowledge of better and more wholesome things, he came at the last unto this point, that forsaking the knowledge of mans lawes, he converted his studie to those things, which tend more unto godlinesse than gainfulnesse.

As he himselfe was greatly inflamed with the love of true religion, even so againe was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many unto the same, desiring nothing more than that he might stir up and encourage any to the love of Christ, and sincere religion. Neither were his labours vaine, for he converted many of his fellowes unto the knowledge of the gospel; amongst which number was Thomas Arthur, and master Hugh Latimer; which Latimer at that time was crosse-keeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth upon procession daies. At the last, Bilney forsaking the universitie went into many places, teaching and preaching, being associate with Arthur, which accompanied him from the universitie.

The authoritie of Thomas Wolsey, cardinall of Yorke, at that time was great in England, but his pompe and pride much greater, which did evidently declare unto all wise men the manifest vanitie, not only of his life, but also of all the bishops and clergie. Whereupon Bilney, with other good men¹, marvelling

¹ *Other good men.*] See what is said above (*Supplem. Extracts*, vol. i. p. 426, n.) of the communications on this subject, between bishop Fisher and the cardinal: and it is observable that in the Latin copy, Fox notices here the

at the incredible insolencie of the clergie, which they could now no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reprove this excessive pompe² and also to plucke at the authoritie of the bishop of Rome.

Then it was time for the cardinall to awake, and speedily to looke about his businesse. Neither lacked he in this point any craft or subtiltie of a serpent; for he understood well enough upon how slender a foundation their ambitious dignitie was grounded, neither was he ignorant that their proud kingdome could not long continue against the manifest word of God, espe-

cardinal's intentions of a reformation. "Nihil itaque cunctatus Cardinalis, cum primum hæc moveri audivit mense Decembri anno 1525, Londini frequentissimo ecclesiasticorum collecto cuncto, promisit fore ut abusus quicumque in ecclesiam Romanam subrepsissent, sedulo repurgarentur. Interim Bilneas," &c. — *Rerum in Ecclesia Commentarii*, p. 124.

It may be further proper to remark, that in the Latin copy, we have no such sweeping charge as is here brought against the "vanity," &c. of "all the bishops and clergy." The words there seem to apply principally, if not entirely, to the order of cardinals, and to the pope. They are as follows:

"Ingens erat per idem tempus Thomas Vulsan, cardinalis Florentinus, in Anglia autoritas, sed fastus, pompa atque ambitio multo major, quæ manifestam vitam, vanitatem non modo ipsius, sed et universi ordinis, tum pontificis omnium maxime, apud cordatos quosque declarabat."

² *This excessive pompe.* Sir Thomas More, in his Apology, made after he had given over the office of Lord Chancellor, appears to impute much of this pomp to the example of Cardinal Wolsey; but affirms, that even at the time when he wrote A.D. 1533, the evil was much abated. "Verylye for aught that I can see, a greate part of the proud and pompous apparail that many priestes in yeaeres not long past, were by the pryde and oversight of some few [in my boorde cardinal Wolsey's days,] appears in the margin, forced in a manner agaynst theyr own wylls to weare, was before hye" Lindal's. "godly counsaill, so by this pretty printed booke privily given them in theyr care, much more, I trowe, than the one half spent, and in a manner well worne oute. And I wote it is worne out with many, whyche entende hereafter to buy no more such agayne. And for the residue of the countenance I dare bee bolde to warrant, that I can fynde of those that most maye spende, which, were they sure that it shoulde in this matter do any good, would be well content to wythdrawe from all theyr other countenance the chiefe parte of theyr moveables, and of theyr yearly lyvelode too, and out of hand bestow the one, and wyth their own hand yearly bestowe the other, openlye amonge the poore. And I durst agayne be bolde to warrant, that if they so dyd, even the self same folke that nowe grudge and call theym proude for theyr countenance, would then fynde as great a grudge, and cal theym hypocrites for their aimes, and say that they spende upon thoughty beggers the good that was woute to keepe good yemen, and that they thereby both enfeable, and also dishonour the realme." — *Works*, p. 292.

cially if the light of the gospel should once open the eyes of men. For, otherwise he did not greatly feare the power and displeasure of kings and princes: only this he feared, the voice of Christ in his gospell, lest it should disclose and detect their hypocrisie and deceits, and force them to come to an order of godly discipline: wherefore he thought good, speedily in time to withstand these beginnings. Whereupon he caused the said Bilney and Arthur to be apprehended and cast into prison.

After this, the seven and twentieth day of November, in the yeere of our Lord 1527, the said cardinall accompanied with a great number of bishops, as the archbishop of Canterburie [William Warham], Cuthbert [Tonstall] of London, John [Fisher] of Rochester, Nicholas [West] of Ely, John [Voysey] of Exeter, John [Longland] of Lincolne, John [Clerke] of Bathe and Welles, Henrie [Standish] of Saint Asaph, with many other both divines and lawyers, came into the chapterhouse at Westminster, where the said master Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur³ were brought before them; and the said cardinall there enquired of master Bilney, whether he had privately or publikely preached or taught to the people the opinions of Luther or any other, contrarie to the determination of the church. Whereupon Bilney answered, that wittinglie he had not preached or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any other, contrarie to the catholike church. Then the cardinall asked him, whether he had not once made an oth before, that he should not preach, rehearse, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but should impugne the same every where? He answered, that he had made such an oth, but not lawfully⁴. —Which interrogatories so ministred, and answeres made, the cardinall caused him to sweare to answer plainly to the articles and errors preached and set forth by him; as well in the citie

³ With them was summoned "George Joye, who was then a fellow of Peter House in Cambridge."—"Fox does not appear to have known that Joye was cited with Bilney and Arthur." Maitland's *Essays on the Reformation*, p. 4.

⁴ *But not lawfully.*] "The whole process is set down at length by Fox in all points, according to Tonstall's *Register*, except one fault in the translation. When the cardinal asked Bilney whether he had not taken an oath before, not to preach or defend any of Luther's doctrines; he confessed he had done it, but not *judicially* (judicialiter, in the *Register*). This Fox translates not *lawfully*. In all other particulars there is an exact agreement between the *Register* and his Acts."—Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 31. Edit. 1715.

and diocesse of London, as in the diocesse of Norwich and other places; and that he should do it without any craft, qualifying or leaving out any part of the truth.

After he was thus sworne and examined, the said cardinall proceeded to the examination of master Thomas Arthur there present, causing him to take the like oth that master Bilney did. Which done, he asked of him whether he had not once told sir Thomas More, knight, that in the sacrament of the altar was not the verie bodie of Christ? Which interrogatorie he denied.—Then the cardinall gave him time to deliberate till noone, and to bring in his answer in writing.—After noone the same day, what time the examination of the foresaid Thomas Arthur was ended, the cardinall and bishops by their authoritie, *ex officio*, did call in for witnesses before master Bilney, certaine men, namely, John Huggen, chiefe provinciall of the friers preachers thorowout all England, Geoffrey Jules and Richard Jugworth, professors of divinitie, of the same order; Also William Jecket, gentleman, William Nelson, and Thomas Williams, which were sworne, that all favour, hate, love, or reward set apart, they should without concealing any falshood, or omitting any truth, speake their minds upon the articles laid against him, or preached by him, as well within the diocesse of London, as the diocesse of Norwich. And because he was otherwise occupied about the affaires of the realme, the cardinall committed^a the hearing of the matter to the bishop of London, and to other bishops there present, or to three of them, to proceed against all men, as well spirituall as temporall, as also against schedules, writings, and bookes, set forth by Martine Luther, lately condemned by Pope Leo the tenth^b; and by all manner of probable

^a *The cardinall committed*—Bilney interceded with Toustall to procure, if possible, a hearing of his case before the cardinal. "I desire you that you will remember me to-morrow, that by your aid I may be brought before the tribunal seat of my lord cardinal, before whom I had rather stand than before any of his deputies"—Fox, vol. i. p. 218.

^b *Condemned by Pope Leo the tenth*—This bull bears date, *Roma*, 17 *Calend. Julii*, A.D. 1520. It is printed intire in *Brown Annales*, ad ann. 1520, fol. 367—371, and in *Gordon's Historia Reformationis*, vol. i. p. 131—143. Appendix. It contains the same *forty-two* or as they are here and in other places printed, *forty-one* articles, which were afterwards condemned by cardinal Wolsey. *Wickes's Councils*, vol. iii. p. 620—693, defended by Luther, in his *Assertio omnium articulorum*, and examined and censured by bishop Fisher, in an elaborate work entitled *Assertio nemus Lutherane Confutatio*, A.D. 1523.

meanes, to enquire and root out their errors and opinions ; and all such as were found culpable, to compel them to abjuration, according to the law ; or if the matter so required, to deliver them unto the secular power, and to give to it full authoritie to determine upon them.

The seven and twentieth of November, in the yeere aforesaid (1527), the bishop of London, with the bishops of Ely and Rochester, came unto the bishop of Norwiches house, whereas likewise *ex officio*, they did sweare certaine witnesses against master Thomas Arthur, in like sorte as they had done before against master Thomas Bilney, and so proceeded to the examination of master Arthur ; which being ended upon certaine interrogatories, the bishop of London warned him by vertue of his oth, that he should not reveale his examinations, nor his answeres, nor any part or parcell thereof.

The second day of December, the bishops assembled againe in the same place, and sware more witnesses against master Bilney. That done, they called for master Arthur, who did revoke and condemne the articles against him ministered, and submitted himselfe to the punishment and judgement of the church.

The third day of December, the bishop of London with the other bishops assembling in the place aforesaid, after that Bilney had denied utterly to returne to the church of Rome, the bishop of London in discharge of his conscience (as he said) lest hee should hide any thing that had come to his hands, did really exhibite unto the notaries, in the presence of the said master Bilney, certaine letters, to wit, five letters or epistles, with one schedule in one of the epistles, containing his articles and answeres folded therein, and another epistle folded in maner of a booke, with six leaves ; which all and every one he commanded to be written out and registered, and the originals to be delivered to him againe.

This was done in the presence of master Bilney, desiring a copie of them ; and he bound the notaries with an oth, for the safe keeping of the copies, and true registring of the same. Which articles and answeres, with one of the same epistles, with certaine depositions deposed by the foresaid witnesses, here follow, truely drawne out partly of his own hand writing, and partly out of the register.

Interrogatories whereupon master Thomas Arthur, and master Bilney were accused and examined.

“1 Whether they did beleve with their hearts, that the assertions of Luther, which are impugned by the bishop of Rochester¹, were justly and godly condemned; and that Luther with his adherents, was a wicked and a detestable heretike.

2 Whether they did beleve that generall counsels and ecclesiastical constitutions once received and not abrogate againe, ought to be observed of all men, even for conscience sake, and not only for feare.

3 Whether they did beleve that the popes lawes were profitable and necessarie to the preferment of godlinesse, not repugnant to the holy Scriptures, neither by any means to be abrogate, but to be revered of all men.

4 Whether they did beleve that the catholike church may erre in the faith or no: and whether they thinke that catholike church to be a sensible church, which may be demonstrate and pointed out as it were with a finger; or that it is only a spirituall church, intelligible, and knowne only to God.

5 Whether they thinke that the images of saints are christianly set in the churches; and ought to be worshipped of all true Christians.

6 Whether a man may beleve without hurt to his faith or note of heresie, the soules of Peter and Paul, and of our Ladie, either to be, or not to be in heaven; and that there is yet no judgement given upon the soules departed.

7 Whether a man may beleve without spot of heresie, that our Ladie remained not alwaies a virgin.

8 Whether holy daies and fasting daies ordained and received by the church, may be broken by any private man, at his will and pleasure, without sinne or obstinacie.

9 Whether we are bound to be obedient unto prelates, bishops and kings, by Gods commandement, as we are unto our parents.

10 Whether they beleve that the church doth well and godly in praying to the saints.

¹ *Impugned by the bishop of Rochester.*] This is the book, “*Assertionis Lutherane Confutatio*,” of bishop Fisher mentioned in the preceding note. It is an able and very important work. It came out in 1523, and was in so great request that five editions were printed before the year 1525.

11 Whether they thinke that Christ only should be prayed unto, and that it is no heresie, if any man affirme that saints should not be prayed unto.

12 Whether they do thinke all true Christians to be by like right priests, and all those to have received the keyes of binding and loosing, at the hands of Christ, which have obtained the Spirit of God; and *only* such, whether they be lay men or priests.

13 Whether they beleeve with their hearts that faith may be without workes and charitie.

14 Whether they beleeve that it is more agreeable to the faith, that the people should pray in their owne tongue, than in a learned unknowne tongue; and whether they commend the prayer in a strange tongue or no.

15 Whether they would have the masses and gospels openly to be read in churches in the vulgar tongue, rather than in the Latine tongue.

16 Whether they commend that children should only be taught the Lord's Prayer, and not the Salutation of the virgin, or Creed.

17 Whether they do thinke the woodden beads which the common people doth use, worthie to be denied, or not.

18 Whether they do thinke the whole Scripture ought to be translated into English; or that it should be more profitable for the people, than as it is now read.

19 Whether they would have the organs and all maner of songs to be put out of the church of God.

20 Whether they do think that it pertaineth to the bishops to punish any man with bonds or imprisonment, or that they have any temporall power and authoritie.

21 Whether they thinke that constitution to be godly, that no man should preach in another mans diocesse, without letters of commendation, and licence obtained of the bishop.

22 Whether they thinke the vowes of religious men, and private religion, to be constitute or ordained by the Spirit of God, neither by any meanes to be repugnant to a free and perfect Christian life.

23 Whether they beleeve that we should pray for the dead; or beleeve that there is a purgatorie; or that we are bound by necessity of faith, to beleeve neither of them; but that it is free without sinne, either to beleeve it or not to beleeve it.

24 Whether they beleeve that morall philosophie and naturall do prevaile any thing for the better understanding of the Scriptures, and for the exposition and defence of the truth.

25 Whether they thinke that the popes indulgences and pardons are rather to be rejected than received.

26 Whether it be contrarie to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, that Christians should by any meanes contend in the law, to seeke any manner of restitution.

27 Whether they beleeve all things pertaining to salvation and damnation to come of necessitie, and nothing to be in our owne willes.

28 Whether they beleeve God to be the author of all evill, as well of the fault, as of the punishment.

29 Whether they thinke masse only to be profitable to him which saith it; and whether every man may alter or leave out the rite and order of the masse, without hurt of faith.

30 Whether they beleeve that there can be any moral virtues without the grace of Christian living, or that the virtues which Aristotle hath set out, are rather fained.

31 Whether they think it heresie, to teach the people, that it is free to give tithes unto priests, or to any other poore man.

32 Whether they do thinke it more Christian-like to take away the images out of the churches; or to permit them there, to adorne them and honor them.

33 Whether they thinke it the part of a Christian man, that preachers should exhort men to pilgrimage, or to the worshipping of reliques.

34 Whether that thou Thomas Bilney, being cited upon heresie to appeare before my lord cardinall, and before the day of thy appearance, not having made thy purgation upon those points that thou wast cited, hast preached openly in divers churches of the citie and diocese of London, without sufficient licence from the bishop, or any other."

Concerning the answers unto these articles, (gentle Reader) for so much as in the most part of them, Bilney with Arthur seemed to consent and agree (although not fullie and directly, but by way and manner of qualifying) yet because he did not expressly denie them, it shall not be needfull heere to recite them all, save only such wherein he seemed to dissent from them.

To the first and second articles he answered affirmatively.

To the third he said, "I beleeve that *many* of the popes lawes

are profitable and necessarie, and do prevaile unto godlinesse, neither in any point are repugnant unto the Scriptures, nor by any meanes are to be abrogate, but of all men to be observed and revered. But touching *all* those lawes I cannot determine: for, as for such as I have not read, I trust notwithstanding they are good also: and as for those that I have read, I did never reade them to the end and purpose to reprove them, but according to my power, to learne and understand them. And as touching the multitude of lawes, Saint Augustine in his time did much complaine, and Gerson also, who marvelled that we could by any meanes live in safetie amongst so many snares of constitutions, whenas our forefathers, being pure before their fall, could not observe one only precept."

To the fourth article he said, "that the catholike church can by no meanes erre in faith, for it is the whole congregation of the elect, and so knowne only unto God, which knoweth who are his: otherwise, no man should be ascertained of another mans salvation, or of his owne, but only through faith and hope. For it is written, (Eccles. 5.) *No man knoweth whether he be worthie of hatred or love.*—It is also sensible, and may be demonstrate so far forth as it is sufficient to establish us in all things, that are to be beleevd and done. For I may truly say of a generall councell being congregate in the Holy Ghost; 'Behold heere the catholike church,' denominating the whole by the most worthie part."

To the fifth article, he answered affirmatively in these words, *Cum sint libri laicorum, adorare oportet, at non imaginem, sed prototypon.*

To the sixth article he answered, "that he did not beleieve that they are in heaven, being so taught by the Scriptures, and holy fathers of the church."

To the seventh article he said, "that it is not to be thought contrarie."

To the eighth article, whether a man may not observe the feasts and fasts of the church prescribed, he thought "that there is no man, but he ought to observe them."

To the ninth article he said, "that we are like wise bound as unto parents."

To the fourteenth article he answered thus: "The fourteenth chapter of St. Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians, mooveth me to beleieve, that it is best, that the people should have the

Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed in English, so that their devotion might the more be furthered by the understanding thereof, and also that thereby they might be the more prompt and expert in the articles of their faith: of the which it is to be feared, a great number are ignorant⁸. Surely I have heard many say, that they never heard speake of the resurrection of the bodie, and being certified thereof, but they became much more apt and readie unto goodnesse, and more fearefull to do evill."

To the fifteenth article he said, "he would wish that the gospels and epistles should be read in English. *For I would* (saith Paul, 1 Cor. 14.) *rather have five words, &c. That the church might be edified, &c.* And Chrysostome exhorteth his hearers to looke upon bookes, that they might the better commit unto memorie those things which they had heard. And Saint Bede did translate Saint John's Gospell into English."

Touching the eighteenth article, for the translation of the scripture into English, "concerning *the whole*, he did partly doubt. Notwithstanding, he wished that the gospels and epistles of the day might be read in English, that the people might be made the more apt to heare sermons.—But heere some will say, there might also be danger for error. Whereunto he answered: But good and vigilant pastors might easilie helpe that matter, by adding the plaine interpretation of the fathers in the margents, in English, upon the darke and obscure places, which would put away all doubts.—O how great profit of soules should the vigilant pastors get thereby, which contrariwise through their slothfulness bring great ruine and decay!"

To the five and twentieth article, as touching pardons⁹, he

⁸ *Are ignorant.*] See before, vol. i. Thorpe, p. 310, and n.

⁹ *As touching pardons.*] 'There was no point from which Luther derived with greater success the eloquence with which he thundered against the Vatican, than that of the antichristian doctrine of pardons and indulgences, and the disgraceful traffic in the sale of them, so prevalent in his days. But that part of the history of the Reformation needs not to be enlarged upon in this place. Only it may be proper, by a few domestic anecdotes and authorities, to show what progress the same pernicious doctrine and practice had made in this country.

In the latter end of the year 1500, being the year of jubilee, pope Alexander VI. sent a commissary into this kingdom, to distribute, as he called it, *the heavenly grace*, to all such as, prevented by any forcible impediment, could not be present at Rome to receive the benefit there. 'The articles contained in this bull, with the sums of money required of each person in proportion

said, "that as they be used, and have too long been, it were better that they should be restrained, than that they should be

to his means, to intitle him to partake in the promised advantages, are given by Weever in the discourse prefixed to his *Funeral Monuments*, p. 158—162, edit. 1767. In Becon's *Reliques of Rome*, Works, vol. iii fol. 205—207, and in Bp. Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 138—140, (Records,) may be found an account of the chief indulgences granted by different popes to those who shall say devoutly certain prayers therein specified. One of the most common purposes for which they were made use of was the raising of money and other supplies for the building of monasteries, abbeys, and churches. Of this it would be easy to produce many examples. But we must confine ourselves within narrow limits. In the year 1112, previously to the erection of the abbey at Crowland, the abbot obtained of the archbishops and bishops of England an indulgence for remitting the third part of all penances enjoined for sins committed, to every person who should help forward that good work: and with this indulgence he sent the monks abroad into all quarters to gather money, who returned after great success. On the day appointed for laying the foundation there was a very numerous appearance of nobles, prelates, and commons; and after mass and anthems sung, the abbot himself laid the first stone, and the nobles and others, according to their degrees and quality, couched their stones respectively, and laid upon them sums of money; others gave their deeds of lands, advowsons of churches, certain measures of wheat, or engaged to pay so many labourers, masons, carpenters, &c. till the work was finished. The common people and townships, for their parts, offered with a zealous devotion, some money, others certain days of labour: some the building of whole pillars, others a certain extent of the walls, windows, &c. all striving to outvie each other. After this, the abbot in a solemn speech, commending their bounty, and granting to them and theirs all spiritual benefits in the church, and a participation in the merit of all the prayers, fastings, &c. gave his blessing to the assembly, and dismissed them, well satisfied with their work, to their respective homes. See Staveley's *History of Churches in England*, p. 57.

But these pardons were not always converted to purposes so beneficial; since by them, as Wickliffe assures us, many men were deceived, and "trusten to flee to heaven withouten pain, and *therefore dreaden sin the lesse.*" Lewis's *History*, p. 139. They were often made the incentive to sanguinary wars, crusades, and idle pilgrimages. And in many ways, among private individuals, they encouraged the grossest errors and immoralities. "Yea it is well known that their pardons and other of theyr trompery hath bene bought and sold in Lombard-strete, and in other places, as thou wylt bye and sell an horse in Smith-field." *Lamentations against the City of London*. Signat, c. 8. A.D. 1548. "In times past (says bishop Grindall) men made preparations before death, but (God knoweth) farre out of square. Some redemed for money great plentye of indulgencies from Rome, and he that had the greatest plentie of them, to bee cast with him into his grave, when he was buried (*whiche I myselfe have sene done*) was counted the best prepared for death." *Sermon at the Funeral Solemnity of the Emperor Ferdi-*

any longer used as they have been, to the injurie of Christs passion.

Touching the six and twentieth article, he said, "that it is not against the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, to contend in the law, so it be done with charitie, if St. Augustine, and the reverend father Marcus Marulus" did not erre, which granted that libertie to the weake Christians; albeit that true Christians ought to give care unto St. Pauls saying; *Why do ye not rather suffer injurie?* (1 Cor. 6.) And to Christ himselfe, which saith: *He that would contend with thee in the law, and take away thy coate, give him thy cloke also.*"

Touching the eight and twentieth, he answered, "that God is the author of the punishment only, but not of the offence, as Basilus Magnus teacheth in his sermon upon these words of the prophet (Amos 3.): *Non est malum in civitate quod non fecit dominus.* And Saint Augustine in another place (as I remember) prayeth; *That he be not led into that temptation, that he should beleve God to be the author of sinne and wickednesse.*"

Here inueth a brife summarie or collection of certaine depositions, deposed by the severall witnesses aforesaid, upon certaine inter-

and, preached in St. Paul's Cathedral, Oct. 3, 1564. Signat. D. c. But perhaps no use was ever made of them which can be accounted more melancholy than the following. Proclamation was occasionally made at the burning of the martyrs, "that whosoever did bring a faggot or a stake to the burning of a heretike should have forty daies of pardon. Whereby it came to pass, that many ignorant people caused *their children to beare bullets and faggots* to their burning." Fox's *Acts*, p. 497. See also Fox, p. 1105, and p. 1120.

It is observable, that even a man of so much learning and understanding as bishop Fisher, enumerates "indulgences and pardons" among the grounds of hope that the Lady Margaret, mother of king Henry VII., whose confessor he was, had been "borne up into the country above by the blessed angels." "For yf" says he in her *Funeral Sermon* "the herty prayer of many persons, yf her owne contynuall prayer in her lyfe tyme, yf the sacraments of the church orderly taken, yf *indulgences and pardons* granted by divers popes, yf true repentance and teeres, yf fayth and devocyon in Crysce Ihesu, yf charyte to her neighbours, yf pyte upon the poore, yf forgiveness of injuries, or yf good werkes be available, as doubtless they be, grete lyklyhede, and albeate certayn conjecture we may take by them, and all these that went is in dede." P. 15, 6. Baker's edit. 1798.

"*Marcus Marulus*." In his treatise *de religiose civendi institutione per exempla*.

rogatories ministered unto them, for the inquirie of Master Bilneyes doctrine and preaching.

“ First it was deposed, that in his sermon in Christs church in Ipswich, he should preach and say, our Saviour Christ is our mediatour betweene us and the Father: what should we need then to seeke any saint for remedie? Wherefore, it is great injurie to the blood of Christ, to make such petitions, and blasphemeth our Saviour.

That man is so unperfect of himselfe, that he can in no wise merit by his owne deeds.

Also, that the comming of Christ was long prophesied before, and desired by the prophets. But John Baptist being more than a prophet, did not only prophecie, but with his finger shewed him, saying: (John 1.) *Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi*. Then if this were the very Lambe which John did demonstrate, that taketh away the sins of the world, what injurie is it to our Saviour Christ, that to be buried in Saint Francis cowle¹¹ should

¹¹ *To be buried in Saint Francis cowle.*] The friars succeeded in persuading the people, “ that they could get a *great thing* of the pope, or of cardinals in England, *better cheap* than other procurators could” (Wickliffe *against the Friars*, p. 60, A.D. 1608): and by these means they gradually usurped and drew away from the secular clergy and the parochial churches, to themselves and their own abbeys, the administering of the several sacraments, hearing of confessions, and burials of the dead, especially of all the wealthy part of the community; together with such other religious offices, as might be converted to purposes of gain. “ Friars drawn to them confession, and burying of riche men, by manie subtil means, and masse-pence, and trentals, but they will not come to poore mens *Dirige*, ne receave them to be buried amongst them.” (Wickliffe *against Friars*, p. 28.) By having his grave within the precincts of the abbey, they made the rich man believe, that he should partake of the *merit* of all the masses, prayers, fastings, and other good works which should continue, till the day of doom, to be performed in that holy spot. But to be buried in a cowl or hood, and the rest of a friar’s habit, especially if accompanied and corroborated by a letter of fraternity, this was a sure protection against all manner of harm. “ They techen lords and *sameliche* (especially) ladies, that if they dien in *Francis’s habite*, they shoulde never come to Hell, for virtue thereof.” Wickliffe in Lewis’s *History*, p. 22. In Pierce the Ploughman’s Creed, by John Longland, we have an incomparable description of these arts of the friars. One of them is supposed to be wheedling a man out of his money: and among other equally strong arguments, having told the person of whom he is begging, that the order are now building a magnificent abbey, for which he is employed to gather the means, he promises,

“ And mightest thou amenden us with moneye of thyn owen,
Thou shouldest knely before Christ in compas of gold

remit foure parts of penance ! What is then left to our Saviour Christ, which taketh away the sins of the world ? This I will justifie to be a great blasphemie to the blood of Christ.

Also, that it was a great folly to go on pilgrimage ; and that preachers in times past have been Antichrists, and now it hath pleased God somewhat to shew forth their falshood and errors.

Also, that the miracles done at Walsingham, at Canterburie, and there in Ipswich, were done by the diuel, through the sufferance of God, to blind the poore people : and that the pope had not the keyes that Peter had, except he follow Peter in his living.

Moreover, it was deposed against him, that he was notoriously suspected as an heretike, and twice pulled out of the pulpit in the diocese of Norwich.

In the wyde window westward wel neigh in the mydel ;
And Saint Francis hymselfe shall folden thee in his cope,
And present thee to the Trinite, and praye for thy synnes.
 Thy name shall noblich ben wryten and wrought for the nones,
 And in remembrance of thee yrad (read) there for ever."

See Lewis's *History of Wickliffe*, p. 307.

" King John, being buried at Worrester, under the high altar, was wrapped in a *monk's cowl*, which the superstition of those times accounted sacred. And I find also, that some of the honourable family of the Hastings were interred in habits of the friars minors, in their convent church at Coventry." Stavely's *Hist. of Churches in England*, p. 265. In truth it is certain that the practice was a very frequent one. King John died in the year 1216. Thus early then the custom must have begun. It is referred to, along with other superstitions of a like nature, in the following extract from a sermon, which has been already cited, preached on occasion of the funeral solemnity of the emperor Ferdinand, by Grindall, then bishop of London. " In times past men made preparations afore death, but God knoweth farre out of square. Some redeemed for money great plentye of indulgences from Rome, and he that had the greatest plentye of them, to be cast with him into his grave when he was buried, (whiche I myself have sene done) was counted the best prepared for death. Others made provisions or foundations to have great number of masses said for them after death, thereby to be the sooner delivered out of purgatorie. Other there were that thought it a more reasonable and speedye waye to quench the fire of purgatory afore they fel into it ; and therefore they procured a great number of masses and trentals to be said for them afore death. Some of those that have bene learned, the more was the pity, have died in an *abbeys or gray friars cowl*, and afterward bene buried in the same, and so thought themselves well prepared. But alas ! all these preparations were preposterous." *Funeral Sermon*, signat. D. 3 b. a. v. 1761. But the largest and best account, and exposure of this lamentable folly, may be read in Erasmus's Colloquy, intitled *Ærequis Serephice*

Also it was deposed against him, that he should in the parish church of Willesdon, exhort the people to put away their gods of silver and gold, and leave their offerings unto them, for that such things as they offered, have been knowne oftentimes afterward to have been given to the stewes. Also that Jewes and Saracens would have become Christian men ¹ long ago, had it not been for the idolatrie of Christian men in offering of candles, waxe, and money to stockes and stones."

Over and besides these cavilling matters, articulated and deposed against him, heere follow certaine other articles, whereupon he was detected, gathered out of his sermon, which he preached in the parish church of Saint Magnus, in Whitson weeke, in the yeere of our Lord, 1527.

¹ *Would have become Christian men.*] See Becon's works, vol. iii. fol. 49 and 51. A.D. 1564. But arguments of this kind must not be carried too far. The reason of Jews and Saracens will not always be *right* reason; and a fit pattern for Christians to conform themselves to. An argument very like the above has been not unfrequently urged by Socinian writers against the doctrines of the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, the atonement, &c. If we would make Christianity palatable (say they) to Jews and Mohammedans, we must not press these high and unintelligible notions. See Leslie's *Theological Works*, Horsley's *Tracts*, &c.

And yet, it is an historical fact, that Jews and Turks have often been scandalized by, and often expressly avowed their detestation against, several of the corruptions of Popery. Sir Edwin Sandys, speaking of his own experience in Italy, and of the impediments to the conversion of the Jews, which he noticed in that country, besides others, adds the following. "A scandal also is their vowing, and praying to angels and saints; which the Jews hold to be a duty peculiar unto God only; and that it hath so been esteemed among them in all ages. Yea, and they note, that the Christians pray more oft, and more willingly to Christ's mother, than unto Christ himself, or unto God. But the greatest scandal of all is their worshipping of images; for which both Jews and Turks call them the idolatrous Christians. And this is so much the greater, and of more indignity, for that they generally conceive it to be a thing which *Christ himself expressly commanded*,—that the decalogue should be recited *with omission* of the second precept: as one of their greatest Rabbins contested with me, being induced into that error by *some catechism* of the Christians, which he had seen with that fault. . . . And for their coming to the Christian sermons, they say, that as long as they shall see the preacher direct his speech and prayer to that little wooden crucifix, which stands on the pulpit by him; to call it his Lord and Saviour, to kneel down to it, to embrace and kiss it, to weep upon it (as is the fashion of Italy);—this is preaching sufficient for them, and persuades them more with the very sight of it to hate the Christian religion, than any reason that the world can allege to love it.—And these be the scandals, which as *I have heard* themselves allege, they take on that side." *Europæ Speculum*, p. 244—7.

Certaine other Articles produced against Master Thomas Bilney.

"First he said, pray you only to God, and to no saints, rehearsing the Letanie; and when he came to *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, he said, stay there¹.

"He said, that Christian men ought to worship God only, and no saints.

"He said, that Christian people should set up no lights² before

¹ *Stay there.*] This is the petition in the Romish Litanies which follows next after that to the Trinity. It is succeeded by many others addressed to many different saints. Bilney does not mean that the invocation of the virgin may be retained; but that we should stop immediately after the petition to the Trinity. "If there be but one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, where is our blessed ladie? Where is then saint Peter and other saints?" Bilney in Fox's *Acts*, p. 913. Among the erroneous opinions complained of to the prelates by the lower house of convocation, June 23, 1536, as commonly preached, taught, and spoken, to the slander of this noble realm, disquietness of the people, and damage of Christian souls, this was one: "Item, it is preached against the Latany, and also said, that it was never merry in England sithence the Latany was ordained, and *Sancta Maria, Sancta Catharina, &c.* sung and said." Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 405.

² *Should set up no lights.*] The offering, finding, and setting up of wax tapers before images was a good work, from which no one was excused. And in this way, though the cost was easy to every separate individual, yet upon the whole to some churches it became a source of very considerable profit. In the Northumberland Household Book, p. 334, we find that the earl paid yearly for "the upholding of a light of wax," before the blood of Hales, our lady at Walsingham, saint Margaret in Lancashire, and our Lady of Doncaster, the several sums of 10s., 6s. 8d., 10s. and 13s. 4d. In what estimation the people were taught to regard this act of devotion, may be collected from the following story, which continued to be read in churches, even till after the death of Bilney. On this account the extract is historically important, and the insertion of it may therefore be excused. In many other respects, it is painful to have to dwell thus long upon scenes so humiliating. But the purpose of the editor in these compilations will be much misunderstood, if it be not believed, that while he has also other salutary objects in view, he is peculiarly solicitous by them to turn the reader's thoughts upon himself, and upon that deceptfulness of sin, which will insinuate itself into the purest profession of religion. "Thou standest by Faith. Be not high-minded, but fear"

"Also ther was a woman of evyll lyvyng, and she dyd never good dede in her lyfe, but only founde a candell brennyng before our lady. So it happed when she was deed, fendes came to her, and toke her soule. And when they were goyng, there came two aungels, and rebuked the fendes, why they were so bolde for to take the soule, without dome. Than sayd the fendes, ther

the images of saints : for saints in heaven need no light, and the images have no eyes to see.

“ He said, as Ezechias destroyed the brasen serpent that Moses made by the commandement of God, even so should kings and princes now adaies destroy and burne the images of saints set up in churches.

“ These five hundred yeeres there hath been no good pope, nor

nedeth none” (*no doom*) ; “ she dyde never good dede. Than sayd the aungels, take and brynge the soule before our lady. And so they dyde. But whan it was founde that she dyde never good dede, she must nedes go to helle. Than sayd our lady, *She founde a candell brennyng afore me*, and it was ever her wyll whyle she lyved. And therefore I wyll be as kynde to her, as she was to me. And bad an angel take a grete serge” (*taper*) “ and lyght it, and set it before her in helle. And our lady charged and commaunded that there sholde no fende come there nye ; but let it stonde brennyng for ever more, to comforte all that ben in hell. Than sayd the fendes, they had lever” (*rather*) “ leave the soule, than do so. Than badde our lady take the soule, and bere it to the body agayne. So they dyd. And when she was a-lyve, she bethought her oon her streyght dome there as she was at ; and went *and strove her to a preest*, and lyved longe after ; and she amended her lyf, and was ever after a good woman, and an holy.” *Festival*, fol. 91, imprinted by Richard Faques. Compare same work, fol. 24.

There is enough in the above narration, without going any further, to shew that the reformers had good reason to condemn the *abuse* of this, and other such-like ceremonies, as they were taught and practised in those times. Let us now see, what could be pleaded in their defence, in a work which had particular respect to the opinions of Bilney, by a most ingenious and powerful advocate. “ Christ also promised that saint Mary Magdalene shoulde be worshipped thorough the world, and have here an honourable remembrance, for that she bestowed that precyouse oyntment uppon hys holy hed. Which thing whan I consider, it maketh me mervaile of the madnesse of these heretyques, that barke against the olde auncient customes of Christes chyrch, mockinge the settinge up of candels, and with folish facecies” (*jestings—facetiae*), “ and blasphemous mockery demaunde, *Whether God and hys saintes lack lyght, or Whether it be nyght with them, that they cannot se without candle?* They might as well aske, what good dyd that oyntment to Cristes hed ? But the heretyques grudge at the cost now, as theyr brother Judas dyd than ; and say it were better spent in almes upon a pore folke : and thys saye many of them which can neyther finde in theyr harte to spende upon the one nor the other. And some spend some tyme upon the one for none other entente, but to the end that they may the more boldlye rebuke and rayle against the other. But let them all, by that ensample of the holy woman, and by these wordes of our Saviour, lerne that God deliteth to se the fervent hete of the hartis devocion boyle out by the body, and to do him service with all such goodes of fortune as God hath given a man.” Sir Thomas More’s *Dialogue concerning Heresies*. A.D. 1528. Works, p. 118.

in all the time past, we can find but fiftie? for they have neither preached, nor lived wel, or conformable to their dignitie: wherefore till now they have borne the keys of Simonie. Against whom, good people, we must preach and teach unto you. For we cannot come to them, it is great pitie: they have sore slandered the blood of Christ.

"The people have used foolishly of late, pilgrimages, which for them had been better if they had been at home.

"Many have made certaine vowes, which be not possible for them to fulfill, and those nothing meritorious.

"The preachers before this have been antichrists, and now it hath pleased our Saviour Christ, to shew their false errours, and to teach another way and manner of the holy gospell of Christ, to the comfort of your soules.

"I trust that there shall and will come other besides me⁴, which shall shew and preach to you the same faith and maner of living, that I do shew and preach to you, which is the verie true gospell of our Saviour Christ, and the mind of the holy Fathers, whereby you shall be brought from their errours, wherein you have been long seduced: for before this, there have been many that have slandered you, and the gospell of our Saviour Christ, of whom spake our Saviour, Matth. 18. *Qui scandalizaverit unum de puillis istis, qui in me credit,*" &c.

These and many other such like depositions were deposed against him by the deponents and witnesses before sworne, which wholly to recite, would be too long and tedious: wherefore these shall suffice at this time, being the principall matters, and in maner the effect of all the rest.

The fourth day of December, the bishop of London with the other bishops his assistants, assembled againe in the chapter house of Westminster; whither also master Bilney was brought,

⁴ *Will come other besides me.* Thus it was objected also against Thomas Arthur, Bilney's friend and companion in these examinations, that he said, "Good people, if I should suffer persecution for the preaching of the gospel of God, yet there are seven thousand more that would preach the gospel of God, as I do now. Therefore good people, good people, which words he often rehearsed, as it were lamenting thinke not that if these tyrants and persecutors put a man to death, the preaching of the gospel therefore is to be forsaken"—This article he confessed that he spake in like words and sense, saving that he made no mention of tyrants. Fox's *Acts*, p. 911.

and was exhorted and admonished to abjure and recant : who answered, that he would stand to his conscience.—Then the bishop of London with the other bishops, *ex officio*, did publish the depositions of the witnesses, with his articles and answeres, commanding that they should be read. That done, the bishop exhorted him againe to deliberate with himselfe, whether he would returne to the church, and renounce his opinions or no, and bad him to depart into a void place, and there to deliberate with himselfe. Which done, the bishop asked him againe if he would returne. Who answered ; *Fiat justitia, et judicium in nomine Domini* : and being divers times admonished to abjure, he would make no other answer, but, *Fiat justitia, &c.* And, *Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et lætemur in ea*, Psalm 118. Then the bishop, after deliberation, putting off his cap, said ; *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen. Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici ejus* : and making a crosse on his forehead and his brest, by the counsell of the other bishops, he gave sentence against master Bilney, being there present, in this maner.

“ I, by the consent and counsell of my brethren heere present, do pronounce thee, Thomas Bilney, who hast been accused of divers articles, to be convict of heresie ; and for the rest of the sentence, we take deliberation till to morrow.”

The fifth day of December the bishops assembled there againe ; before whom Bilney was brought, whom the bishop asked if he would yet returne to the unitie of the church, and revoke his heresies which he had preached. Whereupon Bilney answered, “ that he would not be a slander to the gospell, trusting that he was not separat from the church ; and that, if the multitude of witnesses might be credited, he might have thirtie men of honest life on his part, against one to the contrarie brought in against him :” which witnesses, the bishop said came too late ; for after publication, they could not be received by the law. Then Bilney alleaging the storie of Susanna and Daniel, the bishop of London still exhorted him to returne to the unity of the church, and to abjure his heresies, and permitted him to go into some secret place there to consult with his friends, till one of the clocke at the afternoone, of the same day.

At afternoone, the bishop of London againe asked him whether he would returne to the church and acknowledge his heresies.

Bilney answered, that he trusted he was not separat from the church, and required time and place to bring in witnesses: which was refused. Then the bishop once againe required of him whether he would turne to the catholieke church. Whereunto hee answered, that if they could teach and proove sufficiently that hee was convict, he would yeeld and submit himselfe, and desired againe to have time and space to bring in againe his refused witnesses; and other answer he would give none.

Then the bishop put master Bilney aside, and took counsel within his fellowes; and afterward calling in master Bilney, asked him againe whether he would abjure: but he would make no other answer than before. Then the bishop with the consent of the rest, did decree and determine that it was not lawfull to heare a petition which was against the law; and inquiring againe whether he would abjure, hee answered plainly, no, and desired to have time to consult with his friends in whom his trust was: and being once againe asked whether he would returne, and instantly desired thereunto, or else the sentence must be read; he required the bishop to give him licence to deliberate with himselfe untill the next morrow, whether he might abjure the heresies wherewith he was defamed, or no. The bishop granted him, that hee should have a little time to deliberate with master Dancaster: but Bilney required space till the next morrow, to consult with master Farnar and master Dancaster. But the bishop would not grant him his request, for feare lest he should appeale. But at the last, the bishop inclining unto him, granted him two nights respite to deliberate: that is to say, till Saturday at nine of the clocke afore noone, and then to give a plaine determine answer, what he would doe in the promisses.

The seventh day of December, in the yeere and place aforesaid, the bishop of London, with the other bishops being assembled, Bilney also personallie appeared. Whom the bishop of London asked, whether he would now returne to the unitie of the church, and revoke the errors and heresies wherof he stood accused, detected, and convicted. Who answered, that now he was perswaded by master Dancaster and other his friends, he would submit himselfe, trusting that they would deale gentle with him, both in his abjuration, and penance. Then he desired that he might read his abjuration, which the bishop granted. When he had read the same secretly by himselfe, and was returned, being

demanded what he would doe in the premisses, he answered, that he would abjure^b and submit himselfe; and there openly read his abjuration, and subscribed it, and delivered it to the bishop, which then did absolve him: and for his penance enjoined him, that he should abide in the prison, appointed by the cardinall, till he were by him released: and moreover the next day he should goe before the procession, in the cathedrall church of S. Paul, bare-headed, with a fagot on his shoulder, and should stand before the preacher at Pauls Crosse, all the sermon time.

To the Reverend Father in Christ, Cuthbert, Bishop of London, Thomas Bilney wisheth health in Christ, with all submission due unto such a prelate.

“In this behalfe (most reverend father in Christ) I thinke myselfe most happie, that it is my chance to be called to examination before your reverence, for that you are of such wisdom

^b *That he would abjure.*] This abjuration is printed from bishop Tonsall's Register, by Collier, in his *Eccles. History*, vol. ii. p. 25, as follows:

“In the name of God, Amen. I, Thomas Bilney, priest, before you, right rev. father in God, confessing and knowledging the true catholick and apostolick faith of holy church, intend by the grace of God, hereafter ever to persevere and abide in the true doctrine of holy church, and to detest and ahjure all manner of heresies and articles following, whereupon I am now defamed, noted, vehemently suspected, and convicted; that it is to say, that men should pray only to God, and to no saints. Item, that Christian men ought to worship God and no saints. Item, that Christian men ought to set up no lights before images of saints. Item, that men do not well to go on pilgrimages. Item, that man in no wise can merit by his own deeds. Item, that miracles daily shewed, be wrought by the devil by the sufferance of God. Item, that no pope has such power and authority as Peter had, except he be of like purity of life and perfection as Peter was. And in these articles, and in all other, I here expressly consent unto our mother the holy church of Rome, and the apostolick doctrine of the same, and both in mouth and heart make knowledge, that whosoever hereafter doth preach, teach, or affirm, any of these articles, or any other heresies, contrary to the determination of the holy church, is worthy to be excluded from the communion of the same. And in case hereafter I do teach, preach, hold, or affirm any of these foresaid heresies, or any other, contrary to the determination of holy church, which by the grace of God I intend never to do, then I shall submit myself to the correction of my ordinary, according to the holy canons: and for these my trespasses and offences, I desire of you penance, which I promise by these holy evangelists and contents of this book by me bodily touched, truly to do, observe and fulfil. In witness whereof, to this my present abjuration, I have subscribed my name with my hand, and set to the sign of the cross.”

and learning, of such integritie of life (which all men doe confesse to be in you) that even your selfe cannot chuse (if yee doe not too lightly esteeme Gods gifts in you) as often as you shall remember the great things which God hath done unto you, but straightwaies secretly in your heart, to his high praise, say: *He that is mightie hath done great things unto me, and holy is his name.* I rejoyce, that I have now happened upon such a judge, and with all my heart give thanks unto God, which ruleth all things.

“ And albeit (God is my witnesse) I know not my selfe guiltie of any errour in my sermons, neither of any heresie or sedition, which divers doe slander mee of, seeking rather their owne lucre and advantage, than the health of soules; notwithstanding I doe exceedingly rejoyce, that it is foreseene by Gods divine providence, that I should bee brought before the tribunall seat of Tonstall, who knoweth as well as any other, that there will never be wanting Jannes and Jambres, which will resist the truth; that there shall never bee lacking some Elymas*, which will goe about to subvert the straight waies of the Lord; and finallie, that some Demetrius, Pithonisse, Balaams, Nicolaites, Cains, and Ismaels, will be alwaies at hand, which will greedilie hunt and seeke after that which pertaineth unto themselves, and not that which pertaineth to Jesus Christ. How can it then bee, that they can suffer Christ to be truelie and sincerelie preached? For if the people begin once whollie in every place, to put their confidence in Christ, which was for them crucified, then straightwaies that which they have hitherto imbraced instead of Christ shall utterly decay in the hearts of the faithfull. Then they shall understand that Christ is not in this place, or in that place, but the kingdome of God to bee in themselves. Then shall they plainly see that the father is not to be worshipped, neither in the mount of Samaria, neither at Hierusalem, but in all places, in spirit and truth. Which thing if it come once to passe, the beasts of the field will thinke all their gain and lucre lost. In whom the saying of Ezechiel (Ezech. 34.) is fulfilled: *My sheepe are dispersed because they had no shepheard, and are decoured of the beasts of the field, and straid abroad. My flocke hath err'd and wandred in every mountaine, and upon every high hill, and is dispersed throuhout all the earth, and there is no man which hath sought to gather them together: no, there was no man which once*

* Some Elymas; Acts, chap. 13. Pythonissa. Acts 16. Nicolaitar. Apoc. 2

sought after them. But if any man would seeke to reduce those which were gone astray into the fold of Christ, that is, the unitie of faith; by and by, there rise up certaine against him, which are named pastors, but indeed are wolves, which seeke no other thing of their flocke, but the milke, wooll, and fell, leaving both their owne soules, and the soules of their flocke unto the divell.

“These men, I say, rise up like unto Demetrius, crying out, This hereticke disswadeth and seduceth much people every where, saying, *That they are not gods, which are made with hands*, (Acts 19.) These are they, these I say (most reverend father) are they, which under the pretence of persecuting heretikes, follow their owne licentious life: enemies unto the crosse of Christ, which can suffer and beare any thing rather, than the sincere preaching of Christ crucified for our sinnes. These are they unto whom Christ threatneth eternall damnation, where he saith, *Woe bee unto you scribes, pharisees, and hypocrites, which shut up the kingdome of heaven before men, and you yourselves enter not in, neither suffer those which would enter to come in.* These are they which have come in another way, to the charge of soules, as it appeareth. *For if any man (saith Christ) come in by me, he shall be saved, and shall come in and goe out, and find pasture*, (John 10.) These men doe not find pasture (for they never teach) and draw others after them, that they should enter by Christ, which alone is the doore, whereby wee must come unto the Father: but set before the people another way⁷, perswading them to come

⁷ *Set before the people another way.*] This is illustrated by a passage from another letter of Bilney to bishop Tonsal. “But here, whether Christ have been a long time heard, I know not, for that I have not heard all the preachers of England; and if I had heard them, yet til it was within this yeere or two, I could not sufficiently judge of them. But this I dare be bold to affirme, that as many as I have heard of late preach, (I speake even of the most famous) they have preached such repentance, that if I had heard such preachers of repentance in times past, I should utterlie have been in despaire. And to speak of one of those famous men (not uttering his name): after he had sharpely inveighed against vice, wherein he pleased every godly man, forsomuch as it could not bee sufficientlie cried out upon, hee concluded; *Behold*, (said he) *thou hast lien rotten in thine owne lusts, by the space of these sixty yeeres, even as a beast in his owne dung, and wilt thou presume in one yeere to go forward toward heaven, and that in thine age, as much as thou wentest backwards from heaven towards hell in sixty yeeres?* Is not this think you a goodly argument? Is this the preaching of repentance in the name of Jesus? Or rather, to tread downe Christ with Anti-Christ’s doctrine? For what other thing did he speak in effect, than that Christ died in vaine for

unto God through good works, oftentimes speaking nothing at all of Christ, thereby seeking rather their own gaine and lucre, than the salvation of soules: in this point being worse than they which upon Christ being the foundation, doe build wood, hay, and straw. These men confesse that they know Christ, but by their deeds they deny him.

"These are those physitions, upon whom that woman which was twelve yeeres vexed with the bloudie fluxe, had consumed all that shee had, and felt no helpe, but was still worse and worse, untill such time as at the last shee came unto Christ, and after shee had once touched the hem of his vesture, through faith, shee was so healed, that by and by she felt the same in her bodie.—O mightie power of the Highest! which I also miserable sinner have often tasted and felt. Which before that I could come unto Christ, had even likewise spent all that I had upon those ignorant physitions, that is to say, unlearned hearers of confession, so that there was but small force of strength left in me, (which of nature was but weake) small store of mony, and very little wit or understanding: for they appointed mee fastings, watching, buying of pardons, and masses: in all which things (as I now understand) they sought rather their owne gaine, than the salvation of my sicke and languishing soule.

"But at the last I heard speake of Jesus, even then when the new Testament was first set forth" by Erasmus. Which when I understood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather for the Latine, than for the word of God, (for at that time, I knew not what it meant) I bought it, even by the providence of God, as I doe now wel understand and perceive: and at the first reading, as I well remember, I chanced upon this sentence of Saint Paul (O most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soule!) in his first epistle to Timothy and first chapter: *It is a true saying and worthy of all men to be embraced, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chiefe and principall.* This one sentence, through Gods instruction and inward working, which I did not then perceive, did so exhilarate my hart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sinnes, and

there: He will not be thy Jesus or Saviour, thou must make satisfaction for thy selfe, or thou shalt perish eternally." Fox's *Acts*, p. 918.

* *First set forth*—In 1516, the *Greek Text* of the New Testament "was first set forth" by Erasmus, but Bilney here alludes evidently to Erasmus' Paraphrase, which was first printed in 1526.

being almost in despaire, that immediately I felt a marvellous comfort and quietnesse, insomuch, *that my brused bones leapt for joy*, (Psalm 50.)

“ After this, the scripture began to be more pleasant unto me than the honie or the honie comb : wherein I learned that all my travels, all my fasting and watching, all the redemption of masses and pardons, being done without truth in Christ, which onelie saveth his people from their sinnes : these, I say, I learned to be nothing else but even (as S. Augustine saith) a hastie and swift running out of the right way ; or else much like to the vesture made of fig leaves, wherewithall Adam and Eve went about in vaine, to cover them ; and could never before obtaine quietnesse and rest, untill they beleaved in the promise of God, that Christ the seed of the woman, should tread upon the serpents head. Neither could I be relieved or eased of the sharpe stings and bitings of my sinnes, before that I was taught of God that lesson, which Christ speaketh of in the third chapter of John ; *Even as Moses exalted the serpent in the desert, so shall the Son of man be exalted ; that all which beleeve on him should not perish, but have life everlasting.*

“ As soone as (according to the measure of grace given unto me of God) I began to tast and savour of this heavenly lesson, which no man can teach but onely God, which revealed the same unto Peter ; I desired the Lord to increase my faith. And at last, I desired nothing more, than that I being so comforted by him, might be strengthened by his holy Spirit and grace from above, that I might teach the wicked his waies, which are mercie and truth, and that the wicked might be converted unto him by me, which sometime was also wicked. Which thing, whilst that with all my power I did endeavour, before my lord cardinall and your fatherhood Christ was blasphemed in me, (and this is my onelie comfort in these my afflictions) whom with my whole power I do teach and set forth, *being made for us by God his father, our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption, and finally, our satisfaction. Who was made sinne for us, (that is to say, a sacrifice for sinne) that we through him should be made the righteousness of God. Who became accursed for us, to redeeme us from the curse of the law : Who also came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance ; the righteous (I say) which falslie judge and thinke themselves so to be ; (for all men have sinned and lacke the glory of God ; wherby he freely*

forgiveth sins unto al belevers, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus) because that all mankind was grievously wounded in him which fell amongst thieves betweene Jerusalem and Jericho.

“ And therefore with al my whole power, I teach that al men should first acknowledge their sinnes and condemne them, and afterward hunger and thirst for that righteousness, whereof St. Paul speaketh; (Rom. 3.) *The righteousness of God by faith in Jesus Christ, is upon all them which beleeve in him, for there is no difference, all have sinned, and lacke the glory of God, and are justified freely through his grace, by the redemption which is in Jesus Christ.* The which, whosoever doth hunger or thirst for, without doubt, they shall at the length so be satisfied, that they shall not hunger and thirst for ever.

“ But forsomuch as this hunger and thirst was wont to bee quenched with the fulnesse of mans righteousness, which is wrought through the faith of our owne elect and chosen works, as pilgrimages, buying of pardons, offering of candles, elect and chosen fasts, and oftentimes superstitious, and finallie all kind of voluntarie devotions (as they call them⁹) against the which Gods word speaketh plainlie in the fourth of Deuteronomy and in the twelfth, saying. *Thou shalt not doe that which seemeth good unto thy selfe, but that which I command thee for to doe, that doe thou, neither adding to, neither diminishing any thing from it:* therefore I say, oftentimes have I spoken of those workes, not condemning them (as God I take to my witness) but reprovving their abuse, making the lawfull use of them manifest, even unto children: exhorting all men not so to cleave unto them, that they being satisfied therewith, should loath or wax wearie of Christ, as many doe. In whom I bid your fatherhood most prosperously well to fare.

“ And this is the whole summe. If you will appoint me to dilate more at large the things here touched, I will not refuse to doe it, so that you will grant me time: for to doe it out of hand, I am not able for the weakness of my body; being readie alwaies if I have erred in any thing, to bee better instructed.”

After his abjuration made, about the yeere of our Lord 1529,

⁹ *Voluntarie devotions as they call them.*; “ *Voluntary works besides, over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation.*” &c. Article 14th of the Church of England.

the said Bilney took such repentance and sorrow, that he was neere the point of utter despaire ; as by the words of M. Latimer, is crediblie testified ; whose words for my better discharge, I thought heere to annexe, written in his seventh sermon preached before K. Edward, which be these :

“ I knew a man my selfe, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God, who what time he had borne his fagot, and was come againe to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himselfe (beholding this image of death) that his friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were faine to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man should run him thorow the heart with a sword.—Yet afterward for all this, he was revived and tooke his death patientlie, and died well against the tyrannicall see of Rome.”

Againe, the said M. Latimer speaking of Bilney in another of his sermons preached in Lincolnshire, hath these words following ; “ That same M. Bilney, which was burnt here in England for Gods words sake, was induced and perswaded by his friends to beare a fagot at the time when the Cardinall was aloft, and bare the swinge. Now when the same Bilney came to Cambridge again, a whole yeere after, he was in such an anguish and agonie, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other communication of Gods word : for he thought that all the whole scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation. So that I many a time communed with him (for I was familiarlie acquainted with him) but al things whatsoever any man could alleage to his comfort, seemed unto him to make against him. Yet for all that, afterward he came againe ; God indued him with such strength and perfectnes of faith, that he not only confessed his faith in the gospell of our saviour Jesus Christ, but also suffered his bodie to be burned for that same gospels sake, which we now preach in England.”

Furthermore, in the first sermon of the said M. Latimer before the dutches of Suffolke ¹⁰, hee yet speaking more of Bilney, infer-

¹⁰ *Dutches of Suffolke.*] Katharine, daughter and heir of William, lord Willoughby of Eresby, and fourth and last wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. She remarried Richard Bertie, and their issue became dukes of Ancaster, earls of Lindsey, and earls of Abingdon. See “ *Five Generations of a Loyal House*,” by the lady Georgina Bertie. The duchess of Suffolk lived at Grimesthorpe in *Lincolnshire*.

reth as followeth; "Here I have (saith he) occasion to tell you a storie which happened at Cambridge. M. Bilney, or rather St. Bilney, that suffered death for Gods words sake, the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thanke him next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God. For I was an obstinate papist as any was in England: insomuch that when I should be made bachelor of divinitie, my whole oration went against Philip Melanethon and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterward in my studie, and desired me for Gods sake to heare his confession. I did so: and (to say the truth) by his confession I learned more¹ than afore in many yeeres. So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsake the school-doctors and such fooleries." And much more hee hath of the same matter, which yee may see hereafter in the life of master Latimer.

By this it appeareth how vehementlie this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his abjuration, the space almost of two yeeres, that is, from the yeere 1529, to the yeere 1531. It followed then that he by Gods grace² and good coun-

¹ *I learned more.* See Index, under *Confessions, private*.

In his *Conferences* with Rulley, Latimer gives us the following good-humoured account of this affair. "Sir, I began now to smell what you meane. By travelling thus with mee, you use me as Bilney did once, when he converted me. Pretending as though hee would be taught of me, he sought waies and meanes to teach me;—and so do you. I thank you therefore most heartlie."

² *He by Gods grace.* There is another passage, which, beyond doubt, relates to Bilney. I give it therefore here: not, however, merely on that account, but also for its intrinsic importance and value; inasmuch as it records a very affecting and instructive case in moral and pastoral theology.

"What is this same sinne agaynst the Holy Ghost? an horrible sinne that never shal be forgiven, neyther in this worlde, nor in the worlde to come. What is this sinne? For all unpenitencie, and some saye unpugning of the truth.

"One came to me once, that dispayred, because of sinne agaynst the Holy Ghost. He was sore troubled in his conscience, that he should be damned, and that it was not possible for him to be saved. I said to him, What, man, quoth I, comfort yourself in these wordes of the apostle, *Christus est propitiatus pro peccatis nostris*. And agayne, My Father hath for this purpose sent me into the worlde, that he who he beleaveth in me may not perish, but may have the life everlasting. Also, in what houre soever the sinner shall mourne for sinne, he shall be saved. I had scriptures enough for me, as I thought: but say what I could say, he could more agaynst himselfe, that I

sell came at length to some quiet of conscience, being fullie resolved to give over his life for the confession of that truth, which before hee had renounced. And thus being fully determined in his mind, and setting his time, hee tooke his leave in Trinitie Hall at ten of the clocke at night, of certaine of his friends, and

could saye at that time to do him good withal . . . I was fayne to take another day, and did so. Let me goe to my booke (quoth I), and goe you to your prayers, for ye are not altogether without fayth. I got me to my studie: I read many doctours, but none could content me; no expositour could please me, nor satisfie my minde in the matter. And it was with me as it is with a scholer of Cambridge, who beyng demaunded of his tutour howe he understoode his lesson, and what it meant; I know (quoth he) what it meaneth, but I cannot tell it; I cannot expresse it. So I understoode it well enough, but I could not well declare it. Neverthelesse I will bungle at it as well as I can.

“Now, to tell you, by the way, what sinne it was that he had committed: he had fallen from the trueth knowne. And afterward he fell to mocking and scorning of it. And this sinne it was that he thought to be unforgiveable. I sayd unto him, that it was a vehement manner of speaking in scripture: yet (quoth I) this is not spoken universally; nor it is not ment that God doth never forgive it; but it is commonly called irremissible, unforgiveable; because that God doth seldome forgive it. But yet there is no sinne so great, but God may forgive it, and doth forgive it to the repentant heart, though in wordes it sound that it shall never be forgiven. As *Privilegium paucorum non destruit regulam univrsalem*; the priviledge of a fewe persons doth not destroy an universal rule. For the scripture sayth, *Omnes moriemur*, we shall dye every one of us: yet some shall be rapt and taken away, as S. Paule sayth. An irremissible sinne, an unexcusable sinne, yet to hym that will truly repent, it is forgiveable; in Christ it may be remitted. If there be no more but one man forgiven ye may be that same one man. *Where iniquity hath abounded there shall grace abound*. Thus, by little and little, this man came to a settled conscience agayne, and tooke comfort in Christes mercy. Therefore despayre not, though it be sayd it shall never be forgiven. Despaire not: but this one thing I say, Beware of this sin that ye fall not into it. For I have knowne no more but this man, this one man, that hath fallen from the truth, and hath afterward repented, and come to grace agayne. I have knowne many since: God hath opened myne eyes to see a little: I have knowne many (I say) that knew more than I, and some whom I have honored, that have afterwarde fallen from the truth; but never one of them, this man except, that have returned to grace, and to the truthe agayne. . . .

“And thus I gather of this irremissible sinne agaynst the Holie Ghost, that the scripture sayth, It is never forgiven, because it is seldom forgiven. For indeede I think that there is no sinne, whiche God doth so seldome, nor so hardly forgive, as this sinne of falling away from the truth, after that a man once knoweth it. And indeede this tooke best place with the man that I have told you of, and best quitted his conscience.”—*Last Sermon before K. Edward*, fol. 113, 4.

said that he would goe to Jerusalem: alluding belike to the words and example of Christ in the gospell going up to Jerusalem, what time hee was appointed to suffer his passion. And so Bilney meaning to give over his life for the testimonie of Christs gospel, told his friends that he would goe up to Jerusalem, and so would see them no more; and immediatly departed to Northfolke, and there preached first privilie in households to confirme the brethren and sisters, and also to confirme the anchoresse³ whom he had converted to Christ. Then preached he openly in the fields, confessing his fact, and preaching publikely that doctrine, (which he before had abjured,) to be the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, and never to trust to their fleshly friends in causes of religion. And so setting forward in his journey toward the celestiall Jerusalem, he departed from thence to the anchoresse in Norwich, and there gave her a New Testament of Tindals translation, and the Obedience⁴ of a Christian man; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to prison there to remaine, till the blind bishop⁵ Nixe sent up for a writ to burne him.

In the meane season, the friers and religious men, with the residue of their doctors, civil and canon, resorted to him, busilie labouring to perswade him not to die in those opinions, saying, he should be damned bodie and soule, if hee so continued. Among whom, first were sent to him of the bishop, doctour Call, minister, (as they call him) or provinciall of the Gray friers, and doctor Stokes, an Augustine frier, who lay with him in prison in disputation, till the writ came that he should be burned. Doctour Call, by the word of God, through the meanes of Bilney's doctrine,

³ *The anchoresse*. "And being there" at Norwich "secretly kept by a certayne space, he had in the while resorte unto an ancesse, and there began secretly to sow his cockle, and brought unto her divers of Tindalles booke." Sir Thomas More's Works, p. 349. "In Speed's ground plan of Richmond, dated 1540, is a place marked as the 'Anchriche,' or abode of an anchoress. This was an institution of ancient date and long continuance here, though the situation was much too public for retirement at all, and too unconfined for the retirement of a female." It was, in fact, in the centre of the town. See Whittaker's *Hist. of Richmondshire*, vol. i. p. 100.

⁴ *The Obedience*. A valuable treatise by Tindal. See his Works, p. 97—153 and 1572 fol.

⁵ *The blind bishop*. "Episcopus Norwicensis, Ricardus Nixus, cecus, atque utiqueculo captus; nec interius animo minus quam corpore lusciosus." Latin copy, p. 124.

and good life, whereof hee had good experience, was somewhat reclaimed to the gospels side. Doctor Stokes remained obdurate, and doth yet to this day ; whose heart also the Lord, if it bee his will, reforme, and open the eies of his old age, that he may forsake the former blindnes of his youth ! Another great doer against him was one Frier Bird, with one eie, provinciall of the white friers. This Bird⁵ was a suffragane in Coventrie, and after, bishop of Chester, and was he that brought apples to Boner, mentioned⁶ in the storie of Hawkes. Another was a blacke frier, called Hodgekins, who after, being under the archbishop of Canturburie, married ; and afterward in Queen Maries time, put away his wife. These foure orders of Friers were sent (as is said) to bait Bilney ; who notwithstanding, as he had planted himselfe upon the firme rocke of Gods word, was at a point and so continued unto the end.

⁵ *This Bird.*] John Bird, bishop of Bangor in 1539 ; translated to Chester in 1541 ; deprived by queen Mary in 1553 ; died in 1556. He was the last prior of the Carmelites in England.

⁶ *Brought apples to Boner, mentioned.*] "The next daie came thither an old bishop, who had a pearle in his eye, and hee brought with him to my lord a dish of apples, and a bottle of wine : for he had lost his living, because he had a wife." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1442. Bird was deprived in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, being a married ecclesiastic ; upon which he conformed to the old religion.—Whether Fox means that there was any further mystery in these apples which he brought along with him, I am not able to say with confidence. But perhaps they might be a-kin to a very choice stock, mentioned in one of his sermons by old Latimer. "There was a patron in England that had a benefice fallen into his hand ; and a good brother of mine came unto him and brought him thirty apples in a dish, and gave them to his man to carry them to his master. It is like he gave one to his man for his labour, to make up the game ; and so there was thirty-one. This man commeth to his mayster, and presented him with the dish of apples, saying, Syr, such a man hath sent you a dish of fruite, and desireth you to be good unto him for such a benefice. Tush ! tush ! (quoth he) this is no apple matter. I will none of his apples. I have as good as these, or as he hath any, in mine owne orchard. The man came to the priest agayne, and told him what his maister said. Then quoth the priest, Desire him yet to prove one of them for my sake, he shall finde them much better than they looke for. He cut one of them ; and found ten pieces of gold in it. Mary, quoth he, this is a good apple. The priest standing not farre off, hearing what the gentleman sayd, cryed out and answered, They are all one apples, I warrant you Syr ; they grew all on one tree, and have all one taste. Well he is a good fellow : let him have it, quoth the patron, &c.—Get you a graft of thys tree, and I warrant you it shall stande you in better stede than all S. Paules learning." Latimer's fifth Sermon before King Edward, fol. 65. Edit. 1584.

But here now commeth in sir Thomas More⁷ trumping in our way, with his painted card⁸, and would needs take up this Thomas Bilney from us, and make him a convert after his sect. Thus these coated cardes, though they could not by plaine scriptures convince him being alive, yet now after his death by false play they will make him theirs whether he will or no. This sir Thomas More in his railing preface before his booke against Tindal, doth challenge Bilney to his catholike church, and saith, that not onely at the fire, but many daies before both in words and writing, he revoked, abhorred, and detested his heresies before holden.

Be it granted that Bilney at his death, did hold with the masse, with confession, and with the authoritie of the Romish church, being an humble spirited man, and yet no further brought⁹: yet all this notwithstanding proveth not that he recanted. For so much as he never held nor taught any thing before against the premisses, therefore he could not recant that which he never did hold.

The whole summe of his preaching and doctrine proceeded chiefly against idolatrie, invocation of saints, vaine worship of images, false trust to mens merits, and such other grosse points of religion, as seemed prejudiciall and derogatorie to the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. As touching the masse, and sacrament of the altar, as he never varied from himselfe, so he never differed therein from the most grossest catholikes. And as concerning his opinion of the church of Rome, how blind it was at that time, may sufficiently appeare by his own answers in time of his abjuration, written with his owne hand in Latine, which I have to shew, as followeth¹: "*Credo plerasque leges pontificias utiles esse, necessarias et ad pietatem quoque plurimum promoventes,*

⁷ *Commeth in sir Thomas More.*] See preface to the *Confutation of Tyndales Answer*. Works, p. 349, 50. Also, p. 557.

⁸ *With his painted card.*] See life of bishop Latimer, p. 432, and the notes there. This evidently alludes to Latimer's Card Sermon.

⁹ *No further brought.*] This was in the natural course of things; that the emancipation from long established errors, both in the cases of individuals, and in the general mind of the community, should be progressive and gradual. It was not till several years after the date here alluded to, that even Cranmer himself was "brought" to forsake the mass, &c.

¹ *As followeth*] These are the same as are given above in English, p. 11. Answer to 3d Art. But, whether there is so much blindness, and gross ignorance, in these particular citations, as Fox pretends, may, perhaps, be justly doubted.

nec sacris scripturis repugnantes, imo ab omnibus plurimum observandas, &c. De omnibus non possum pronunciare, utpote quas non legi; et quas legi nunquam in hoc legi, ut reprehenderem, sed ut discerem intelligere, ac pro virili facere, et docere. De multiplicitate legum questus est suo tempore S. Augustinus, et item Gersonus, qui miratur quomodo nos, post lapsum, inter tot laqueos Constitutionum tuti esse possimus, quum primi parentes adhuc puri, et ante lapsum, unicum præceptum non observarint."

Moreover, concerning the authoritie of the keyes, thus he writeth, answering to his twelfth article; "Soli sacerdotes ordinati ritè per pontifices habent claves, quarum virtute ligant et solvunt (clave non errante), quod et facere eos non dubito, quamlibet sint peccatores. Nam Sacramentorum efficaciam non minuit², nedum tollit, ministrorum indignitas, quamdiu ab Ecclesia tolerantur," &c.

By these words of Bilney written by him in Latine, although it may be thought how ignorant and grosse he was after the rudeness of those daies, yet by the same notwithstanding it may appeare, how falsely he is noted and slandered to have recanted the articles, which he did never hold or maintaine otherwise in all his life. And therefore (as I said) though it be granted that Bilney was assoiled, was confessed, and houseled³ before his burning, yet all this argueth not that he recanted.

Now for testimonie and witnesse of this matter, to be produced, for so much as master More alleageth none to prove that Bilney at his death did recant; I will assaye what testimonies I have on the contrarie side, to avouch and prove that Bilney did not recant.

And for so much as Bilney was a Cambridge man, and the first framer of that universitie in the knowledge of Christ, and was

² *Non minuit.*] See Art. XXVI. of the Church of England. "Of the unworthiness of the ministers, which hinders not the effect of the sacrament." See also above, Life of Wickliffe, vol. i. p. 214, note.

³ *Houseled.*] Had the eucharist administered to him as to a person in danger.

"So it be doen in due manere,
A man to *houselin* and to shrive."

Chaucer's *Plowman's Tale*.

"A priest, a priest, Sir Aldingar,
While I am a man alive;
A priest, a priest, Sir Aldingar,
Me for to *housle* and shrive."

Old Ballad of *Sir Aldingar*, in Percy's *Reliques*.

burned at Norwich, being not very far distant from Cambridge ; there is no doubt, but among so many friends as he had in that universitie, some went thither to heare, and see him. Of whom one was Thomas Allen, fellow then of Pembroke Hall, who returning the same time from Bilneyes burning, declared to doctor Turner, deane of Wells, being yet alive, (a man whose authoritie neither is to be neglected, nor credit to be distrusted) that the said Bilney tooke his death most patiently, and suffered most constantly, without any recantation, for the doctrine which he before had professed.

In the citie of Norwich, Necton and many other be now departed, which were then present at the burning of Bilney : neverthelesse some be yet alive, whose witnesses, if need were, I could fetch with a little labour, and will (God willing) as time shall require. In the meane time, at the writing hereof, heere was one Thomas Russell, a right honest occupier, and a citizen of Norwich, who likewise being there present on horsebacke at the execution of this godly man, beholding all things that were done, did neither heare him recant any word, nor yet heard of his recantation.

I could also adde hereunto the testimonie of another, being brother to the archbishop of Canturburie, named master Baker^a, a man yet alive, who being the same time present at the examination of Bilney, both heard him, and saw him, when as a certaine frier called him heretike. Whereunto Bilney replying againe, made answer, If I be an heretike (saith he) then are you an antichrist, who of late have buried a certaine gentlewoman with you in St. Francis cowle^b, assuring her to have salvation thereby. Which fact, although the frier the same time did deny, yet this cannot be denied, but Bilney spake these words : whereby he may easily be judged to be far from the mind of any recantation : according as by the said gentleman it is also testified, that after that, he never heard of any recantation that Bilney either meant or made.

If I should recite al, which heere might be brought, I might sooner lacke roome in my booke to containe them, than names enow to fill up a grand jurie.—But what need I to spend time about witnesses, when one master Latimer may stand for a

^a *Master Baker*] John Baker, half-brother to archbishop Parker, to whom he was treasurer.

^b *St. Francis cowle.*] See above, p. 15, and Index, art. *St. Francis' cowle*.

thousand, one martyr to beare witnes to another. And though my friend Cope^{*}, pressing me with the authoritie of M. More, saith, that he will beleeeve him before me : yet I trust, he will not refuse to credit this so ancient a senior, father Latimer, being both in Bilneyes time, and also by Bilney converted, and familiarly with him acquainted ; who being the same time at Cambridge, I suppose would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter, than master More.

Touching the testimoniall of which Latimer, I have noted before, how he in three sundrie places of his sermons, hath testified *of good Bilney, of that blessed Bilney, of Saint Bilney, how he died patiently against the tyrannicall see of Rome, &c.* And in another sermon also, *how the said Bilney suffered his bodie to be burned for the gospell sake, &c.* Item, in another place, *how the said Bilney suffered death for Gods word sake.*

I may be thought perhaps of some to have stayed too long about the discourse of this matter. But the cause that moved, and halfe constrained me thereunto, was sir Thomas More, sometime lord chancellour of England, and now a great arch pillar of all our English papists, a man otherwise of a pregnant wit, full of pleasant conceits, also for his learning above the common sort of his estate, esteemed industrious no lesse in his studies than well exercised in his pen. Who if he had kept himself in his owne shop, and applied the facultie, (being a lay man,) whereunto he was called, and had not overreached himselfe to prove masteries in such matters, wherein he had little skil, lesse experience, and which pertained not to his profession, he had deserved, not only much more commendation, but also longer life.

But for so much as he, not contented with his owne vocation, hath with Oza^{*} reached out his unmeet hand to meddle with Gods arke-matters, wherein he had little cunning ; and while he thinketh to helpe religion, destroyeth religion, and is an utter enemy to Christ, and to his spirituall doctrine, and his poore afflicted church : to the intent therefore, that he being taken for a special ringleader, and a chief stay in the popes church, might the better be knowne what he is, and that the ignorant and simple may see what little credit is to be given unto him, as well

^{*} *My friend Cope.] Dialogi sex contra summi pontificis, monasticæ vitæ, sanctorum, sacrarum imaginum oppugnatores et pseudomartyres. A.D. 1566. Antwerp.* The work, however, though published under Cope's name, was not written by him, but by Nicholas Harpsfield. Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, Wood's *Athenæ*, &c.

^{*} 2 Sam. vi. 6.

in his other false facing—out of matters, as namely in this present historie of Bilneyes recantation : I have diligently searched out and procured the true certificat of master Bilneyes burning, with all the circumstances, and points thereto belonging, testified not by somesayes and hearesayes (as master More useth) but truly witnessed, and faithfully recorded by one¹, who as in place and degree he surmounteth the estate of master More (though he were lord chancellor) so being also both a spiritual person, and there present the same time, comming for the same purpose the day before, to see his burning, was a present beholder of things there done, *αὐτόπτης τε καὶ μάρτυς* of his martyrdom, whose credit I am sure will counterpease with the credit of master More. The order of which martyrdom was this, as followeth.

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before doctour Pelles, doctour of law and chancellor, first was degraded by suffragan Underwood, according to the custome of their popish manner, by the assistance of all the friers and doctours of the same suite. Which done, hee was immediately committed to the lay power, and to the two sheriffes of the citie, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Thomas Necton was Bilneyes special good friend, and sorie to accept him to such execution as followed. But such was the tyrannie of that time, and dread of the chancellor and friers, that he could no otherwise doe, but needs must receive him. Who notwithstanding, as he could not beare in his conscience himselfe to be present at his death ; so, for the time that he was in his custodie, he caused him to be more friendly looked unto, and more wholesomely kept, concerning his diet than he was before.

After this, the Friday following at night, which was before the day of his execution, being Saint Magnus day and Saturday, the said Bilney had divers of his friends resorting unto him in the Guildhall, where hee was kept. Amongst whom one of the said friends finding him eating of an alebrew² with such a cheerefull heart and quiet mind as hee did, said, that he was glad to see him at that time, so shortly before his heave and painfull departure, so heartily to refresh himselfe. Whereunto he answered. “ Oh,” said he, “ I follow the example of the husbandmen of the countrie, who having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow cost as long as they may, to hold it up ; and so do I now with this ruinous house of my bodie, and with Gods creatures, in

¹ Recorded by one ; “ Dr. Parker, archbishop of Cantuarburie.” Fox.

² An alebrew] An ale-potest.

thankes to him, refresh the same as yee see." Then sitting with his said friends in godlie talke, to their edification, some put him in mind, that though the fire which hee should suffer the next day, should be of great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of Gods Spirit should coole it to his everlasting refreshing. At this word the said Thomas Bilney putting his hand toward the flame of the candle burning before them (as also he did divers times besides) and feeling the heat thereof, "O" (said he) "I feel by experience, and have knowne it long by philosophie, that fire by Gods ordinance is naturally hot; but yet I am persuaded by Gods holy word, and by the experience of some spoken of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heate, and in the fire they felt no consumption: and I constantly beleieve, that howsoever the stubble of this my bodie shall be wasted by it, yet my soule and spirit shall be purged thereby; a paine for the time, whereon notwithstanding followeth joy unspeakable." And heere he much entreated of this place of Scripture, (Esay 43.) *Feare not, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name, thou art mine owne. When thou goest thorow the water, I will be with thee, and the strong flouds shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burne thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the holy one of Israel.* Which he did most comfortablie entreate of, as well in respect of himselfe, as applying it to the particular use of his friends there present, of whom some tooke such sweet fruit therein, that they caused the whole said sentence to be faire written in tables, and some in their bookes. The comfort whereof (in divers of them) was never taken from them to their dying day.

The Saturday next following, when the officers of execution (as the maner is) with their gleaves and halberds were readie to receive him, and to leade him to the place of execution without the citie gate, called Bishop's gate, in a low valley, commonly called the Lollards pit, under Saint Leonards hill, environed about with great hilles (which place was chosen for the peoples quiet sitting to see the execution) at the comming forth of the said Thomas Bilney out of the prison doore, one of his friends came to him, and with few words, as he durst, spake to him and prayed him in Gods behalfe, to be constant and to take his death as patiently as he could. Whereunto the said Bilney answered, with a quiet and milde countenance, "Ye see when the mariner is entred his ship to saile on the troublous sea, how he for a while is tossed in the billowes of the same, but yet in

hope that he shall once come to the quiet haven, he beareth in better comfort the perils which he feeleth: so am I now toward this sayling, and whatsoever stormes I shall feele, yet shortly after shall my ship be in the haven; as I doubt not thereof by the grace of God, desiring you to helpe me with your prayers to the same effect."

And so he going forth in the streets, giving much almes^o by the way, by the hands of one of his friends, and accompanied with one doctour Warner, doctour of divinitie and parson of Winterton, whom he did chuse as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his ghostly comfort; came at the last, to the place of execution, and descended downe from the hill to the same, apparelled in a lay mans gowne with his sleeves hanging downe, and his armes out, his haire being pitiously mangled¹ at his degradation (a little single bodie in person, but alwaies of a good upright countenance) and drew neere to the stake prepared, and somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, hee desired

^o *Giving much almes.*] "When the time and day appointed came that hee should suffer, the shiriffes of the city with their officers and a great number of the poore simple barbers, with rustie bills and pollaxes, went to the Northgate, and there tooke out the said George Marsh, who came with them most humbly and meekely, with a Locke upon his feete. And as he came upon the way towards the place of execution, some folke proffered him money, and looked that he should have gone with a little purse in his hand (as the manner of felons was accustomed in that citie in times past, at their going to execution, to the ende *to gather money to give unto a priest to say trentals or masses for them after their death*, whereby they might, as they thought, be saved :) but Marsh said he would not as then be troubled with meddling with money, but willed some good man to take the money, if the people were disposed to give any, and *to give it unto the prisoners, or poore people*. So hee went all the way unto his death, with his book in his hand, looking upon the same; and many of the people said, 'This man goeth not unto his death as a theife, or as one that deserveth to die.'" Fox's Acts, p. 1423. *Martyrolome of George Marsh.*

¹ *His haire being pitiously mangled.*] Previously to excommunication and burning, the ecclesiastics, whether secular or religious, underwent the ceremonial of degradation from their ecclesiastical orders, the particulars of which varied according to the order and degree in the church to which the person had attained. This marring of the hair, of which we shall meet with several other instances in the progress of our history, is sufficiently illustrated by a passage in the ceremonial of the degradation of William Sawtre, A.D. 1410. "Also we have caused thy crowne, and ecclesiastical tounsure in our presence to be rased away, and utterlie to bee abolished, like unto the forme of a secular lay man and heere due put upon the head of thee the aforesaid William, the cap of a lay secular person." Fox's Acts, p. 476. *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 173. 8vo. 1816.

that hee might speake some words to the people, and there standing, thus he said :

“ Good people, I am come hither to die, and borne I was to live under that condition, naturally to die againe ; and that ye might testifie that I depart out of this present life as a true Christian man in a right beleefe towards almightie God, I will rehearse unto you in a fast faith, the articles of my Creed ;” and then began to rehearse them in order as they be in the common Creed, with oft elevating his eyes and hands to almightie God ; and at the article of Christs incarnation, having a little meditation in himselfe, and comming to the word *crucified*, he humbly bowed himselfe and made great reverence ; and then proceeded in the articles, and comming to these words, *I beleeeve the catholike church*, there he paused and spake these words, “ Good people I must heere confesse to have offended the church, in preaching² once against the prohibition of the same, at a poore cure belonging to Trinity-Hall in Cambridge, where I was fellow, earnestly entreated thereunto by the curate and other good people of the parish, shewing that they had no sermon there of long time before : and so in my conscience moved, I did make a poore collation unto them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of certaine authoritie in the church by whom I was prohibited : howbeit I trust at the generall day, charitie that moved me to this act, shall beare me out at the judgment seat of God :” and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his death.

This once done, he put off his gowne, and went to the stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge comming out of the stake, whereon he should afterward stand to be better seene, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eies and hands to heaven, and in so good quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terrour of his death, and ended at the last, his private prayers with the 143. psalme, beginning, *Heare my prayer O Lord, consider my desire* : and the next verse he repeated in deepe meditation thrice : *And enter not into judgement with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified* : and so finishing that psalme he ended his privat prayers.

After that, he turned himselfe to the officers, asking them if they were readie, and they answered, Yea. Whereupon he put

² *In preaching.*] It may be proper to notice, in passing, how different this submission (to lawful authority) is to the doctrine and practice of many of the early followers of Wickliffe.—Compare Art. XXIII. of the Church of England.

off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the stake, standing upon that ledge, and the chaine was cast about him; and standing thereon, the said doctour Warner came to him to bid him farewell, which spake but few words for weeping.

Upon whom the said Thomas Bilney did most gently smile, and inclined his bodie to speake to him a few words of thanks, and the last were these, “(O master doctor, *Pasce gregem tuum, Pasce gregem tuum, ut, cum venerit Dominus, inveniat te sic facientem.* That is, *Feed your flocke, feed your flocke, that when the Lord cometh, he may find you so doing:* and farewell good master doctor, and pray for me:” and so he departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping.

And while he thus stood upon the ledge at the stake, certaine friers, doctors and priors of their houses being there present (as they were uncharitable and maliciously present at his examination and degradation.) came to him and said; “(O master Bilney the people be perswaded that we be the causers of your death, and that we have procured the same, and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw their charitable almes from us all, except you declare your charitie towards us, and discharge us of the matter.” Whereupon the said Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people, and said; “I pray you good people be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the authors of my death; it was not they:” and so he ended.

Then the officers put reed, and fagots about his bodie, and set fire on the reed, which made a very great flame, which sparkled and deformed the visour of his face, he holding up his hands and knocking upon his brest, crying sometimes *Jesus*, sometimes *Credo*. Which flame was blowne away from him by the violence of the wind, which was that day and two or three daies before notable great, in which it was said that the fields were marvelously plagued by the losse of corne: and so for a little pause, he stood without flame, the flame departing and recouring thrice ere the wood took strength to be the sharper to consume him: and then he gave up the ghost and his bodie being withered bowed down ward upon the chaine. Then one of the officers with his halberd smote out the staple in the stake behind him, and suffered his bodie to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it, and so he was consumed.

Thus have ye (good Readers) the true historie, and martyrdome of this good man.

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SIR THOMAS MORE.

What was philosophy in this extraordinary man, would be frenzy in one who does not resemble him, as well in the cheerfulness of his temper, as in the sanctity of his life and manners.

ADDISON.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following *Life of Sir Thomas More* is now for the first time submitted to the public. It was transcribed, by permission of his Grace the archbishop of Canterbury, from a volume of manuscripts (No. 179) in the Lambeth Library.

It was the Editor's original intention to have contented himself with a republication of the *Life of Sir Thomas*, composed by his son-in-law, William Roper, a valuable and authentic piece of biography, and now not frequently to be met with. But, finding in the archiepiscopal library two lives of Sir Thomas More, neither of which had hitherto been printed, it became his duty, at least to peruse those histories, for the sake of extracting from them (under the favourable permission, so generously conceded) such parts as might seem subservient to his present design. One of these volumes, he was gratified to find, was of very considerable antiquity, being written during the reign of Q. Mary, about the same time with the account by Roper, and probably in some part of the year 1556; for the author speaks of the collection of Sir Thomas's English Works, as then preparing for publication; which in the title-page bears date A.D. 1557. In many parts this writer¹ treads closely in the footsteps of William Roper;

¹ *This writer.*] From the words cited, this appears to be the same *Life* as that which is quoted by the Cambridge antiquary, Mr. Thomas Baker (from a copy in the library of Emanuel College in that University), in Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 400. Appendix.

In the course of my notes I have not hesitated to speak of it as the work of Nicholas Harpsfield; and on the following evidence. Harpsfield is mentioned as one of the biographers of Sir Thomas More, in the preface to the *Life* now printed. The writer (whose name we are in quest of), near the end of his volume, promises a special work on the Divorce between Henry VIII.

insomuch that if Roper's (as seems probable) was the earlier production, he must have had a copy of that work lying before him: but he has also communicated several additional particulars.

The other life (No. 179), which was written towards the end of the reign of Q. Elizabeth (A.D. 1599), by a zealous papist, the Editor found possessed the advantage of combining in one narrative almost every thing of any value, that is to be found in the two lives of Roper and Harpsfield, (already described) and often in the very same words; with the addition also of further materials collected from Stapleton and other sources.

On these accounts he presumes that his Readers will not regret the change which has been made in favour of this subsequent performance.

The author's name does not appear. At the end of the preface he subscribes Ro: Ba: That preface, which is long and not interesting, the Editor has taken the liberty to omit. The rest, with one exception, mentioned in the notes, is given entire¹.

The preface is preceded by the following commendatory epistle, written by a friend of the author.

TO MY DEARE AND THRICE DEAR FRIEND R. R.

Of all mortall, most beloved, and most worthie to be beloved of Me.

THE Collector of these papers communicated to me this first copie with especiall charge to recommend them to my best, chief and choysent friend. The fairest flowre of my garland is a red rose: therefore to thee sweet Rose, by best is this homage more than dewe. Fair is the carnation for his vermilion blush; delight-some is the pansie for his interchange-able colours. The day-sie, the primrose, the hyacinth, the pyana, for varietie of hue want

and Queen Catherine. But Nicholas Harpsfield is known also to have composed a tract on that argument. (Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, p. 391.) And therefore the presumption is very strongly confirmed, that Harpsfield and the author of this life were the same person. The Harleian MS. 6253 has, at the end of the preface, the initials of his name, N. H. L. D. There is another copy among the Sloonian MSS., No. 1705, but it is imperfect at the beginning, and has besides great omissions.

¹ *Is given entire.*] There are two manuscript copies of this work in the British Museum, viz. Harleian 1302 (fol. 131) and Sloonian 579. The former copy has not the preface.

not their prayse. The cormary, sweet margerum, balme, lavender, though not so beautifull, yet sweet and odoriferous is their scent. The fume of hylcampana is very pleasing. The forme and fashion of the rose royall, french-marygold, cariophilone, munckes-hoode, and columbine is very admirable: yet many a shrub excels all these in vertue. But the aromaticall red rose, for composition and forme gives place to none; for scent and beautie to be compared with the best; but for medicinable vertue and operation, none so much in request as the red rose, distilled, preserved, conserved, pulverised, for eyes, for head, for stomache, for heart; of all hearbes and flowers the prime and soveraigne. Wherefore in this respect also this little booke, being a sweet posie of select and fragrant flowers, an epitome of celestiall vertues, springing in the paradise of delights, *the Life of Sir Thomas More*; the walks whereof are paved with camimile of humilitie; the borders are set with patience, enamiled with pinckes and violetes of rich povertie; the knots are all of thyme, intermingled with germander ever the same; and here and there hysope of mortification; the rows and hedges musk roses and rosemary of sweet conversation; the vacant plots are spangled with flowres, the golden marygold of obedience, hearts-ease of a settled conscience, flowers of Jerusalem of his desire to be in heaven; white lilies, puritie of his intentions; red roses, the glorie of his death.

So, most faire and comfortable of all flowres, I nothinge doubt the acceptance of this jewell. Symbolizing natures are easily combined. A saints life is a welcome theame to a saintlike man. Make happie thy good beginnings; knit up the end like the rest; so shalt thou everlastingly live in blisse. And for the obtayninge thereof I will not faile to pray. Farewell. Marche the 25. 1599.

Thine, *os, cor et manus*,

B. R.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

BOOK FIRST.

1. THOMAS MORE was borne in London¹, the principall citie of this noble realme of England, of a verie worshipful familie. His fathers name was John More, a man pleasant and wittie in his conceits. Verie cunning and expert he was in the lawes of the realme. For his worthiness and well-deserving parts he was advanced to be one of the judges of the Kings Bench, and to the worshipful degree of knighthoode.

His mothers name is unknowne². Brothers he had none. Sisters two: Joane married to Richard Stafferton, an ancient gentleman in his countrie; and Elizabeth wife to John Rastall of equal calling.

His mother, the first night after her marriage, sawe in her sleepe the number of children she should have, written as it were in her marriage ring; and the formes, shapes, and countenances of them all. One was very dim and obscure, and could skarcelie be discerned; for of one she suffered by an untimelie byrth an aborsement. Another she saw full bright and beautiful, and fairer than all the rest; whereby no doubt was this lampe of England prefigured.

One tyme as his nurse (and this is much to be noted) ridd over a water, having this young babe in her armes, she was by reason of the stumbling of her horse, in daunger of drowning.

¹ *Borne in London.*] A.D. 1480. See *Life of Sir Thomas More, by his Great Grandson, Thomas More, Esq.* p. 6. edit. 1726.

² *Name is unknowne.*] She was a daughter of — Handcombe, of Holywell, in Bedfordshire.

And that she might the better save herself and her child, on a sudden (she) did cast the child from her over the hedge. She after coming to the place with great feare, found the child without bruse or hurt, smiling and laughing on her. This, no question, was no obscure presage³ of his future holiness.

2. The childe encreasing in age, his father, for his great care and wisdome, provided him a maister, one Nicholas Holt, a learned and discret man, in St. Anthonies schoole⁴, in London. There he learned the principles of the Latyn tongue⁵; where in short tyme he farr exceeded all his equals. His father, seeing his towardness, provided that for his better education, he should be brought up⁶ in the house of the wise and learned prelate Cardinal

³ *No obscure presage.*] This is tolerably modest, and yet neither Roper nor Harpsfield tell us any thing of this story. But Fanaticism is not wont to stop at these low flights.

It may be worth the reader's remarking, that by means of the successive lives which have been written of Sir Thomas More, we possess a curious specimen of the aversion which Popery has from reforming itself: or rather of its propensity to accumulate falsehoods and forgeries, even amid surrounding reformation and refinement. Sir Thomas More is deservedly a favourite character with Romish biographers. Yet in Roper and Harpsfield, his earliest historians, there is scarcely any thing supernatural. Stapleton, who wrote A.D. 1555, about thirty years afterwards, and at a distance from the scene of action, being in exile at Douay, has detailed several miraculous stories; but Mr. More, Sir Thomas's great-grandson, whose life of his ancestor came out in the year 1627, goes much further. We shall content ourselves with citing one very short specimen.

* It was also credibly reported, that two of John Haywood's sons, Jasper and Ellis, having one of the teeth of Sir Thomas More betwene them, and either of them being desirous to have it to himselfe, it suddenly, to the admiration of both, parted in two." — *More's Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 304. See also p. 276, on the money miraculously supplied for the purchase of his winding-sheet, &c. In an edition of this life, A.D. 1624, very strong evidence has been adduced to prove that it was written not by a great-grandson, Thomas, but by a younger brother of the same family, of the Christian name of Cresacre, &c. Ellis Haywood wrote a work in Italian, which he entitled "*Il Moro*," in honour of Sir Thomas. May not we easily believe that, but for the iniquity of the times, in another generation Sir Thomas More would have been canonized, and worshipped?

⁴ *St. Anthonies schoole*.] Which was at that time the most eminent of any in London.—*Knight's Life of Colet*, p. 8.

⁵ *The Latyn tongue*.] Greek was yet no part of the institution in Grammar schools. There is no provision for the teaching that language even in the statutes of Wolsey's new establishment at Ipswich, so late as in the year 1529. See *Strype's Eccles. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 94. Records.

⁶ *Brought up.*] See before, *Life of Wolsey*, vol. i. p. 467, n. (4)

Morton, archbishop of Canterburie; who being a man of deep judgment sone espied his pregnant and quicke wit. On a Christmas tyme, Thomas being verie young, upon a sudden amongst the players⁷, without any fore-thinking on the matter, he would play a part with them; and with a verie good grace and liking. For he did it so fitly and so pleasantly, that all the auditours had more pleasure and admiration at him, than all the rest. But especiallie the cardinal, who afterwardes would often tell the nobles sitting at table with him, where young Thomas waited on him, "Whosoever liveth to trie it, shall see this childe prove a notable and rare man." So the bishop, having conceived such expectation, was verie careful to have him aunswerable unto it; that this goodly bud might grow to a faire flowre, and in tyme burgion⁸ forth his expected fruit.

So he caused this youth to be sent to Oxforde; where for the short tyme of his abode (being not there fullie two yeares) he wonderfulie profited in the knowledge of Latyn and Greeke tongues, and noe little in the knowledge of phylosophie. His maister in the Greek was Thomas Linacre of great fame and experience. In the tyme of his abode there his father so used the matter, to the end he should onelie follow his learning and studie, that he allowed him but onelie necessaries; no not a pennie he would give him to spend in waste or pastimes. So shortened of money, the fit and forceable instrument to effect everie evell, he was rid of manye occasions that hinder good proceedings. This frugalitie of his father he afterwards often remembered and commended.

3. The father minding that the sonne should tread after his steppes, called young Thomas from the universitie, and caused him to settle his minde whollie upon the studie of the lawes of this realme. Which studie he commenced first at New Inne, one of the inns of chauncerie. After, he was admitted to Lyncolnes inne, where he made such encrease of his cunning, that in little tyme he attaigned to that degree, which his elders in manie yeares

⁷ *Amongst the players.*] We are not to wonder at plays being acted at Christmas time, even by the household of the archbishop of Canterbury. It is well known what is the case with respect to this practice in the statutes of the colleges of both universities.

⁸ *Burgion.*] To spring, to bud; French, *bourgeonner*.

"And tools to prune the trees, before the pride
Of hasting prime did make them burgein round."

Spenser's *Faëry Queen*.

studie could not atchieve, to be an utter barrister.—Now is the common-lawe of this realme so intricate, various and obscure, as it would requier a whole and entire man, all his life tyme or most part thereof, to come to anye excellencie therein. After this, by the whole bench of Lyncolnes inne it was thought meet to make him reader in Furnival's inn, wherein he spent three yeares and more to great profit of divers. But though his profit herein was both substantial and speedie, yet continuallie he allotted himselfe tyme to followe his studies commenced in Oxforde.

He red openly⁹ in St. Laurence churche in London, St. Austins booke *De Civitate Dei*, and that performed so profoundly and exactlie, that all that heard him gave him singular commendations. His lesson was much frequented, and honored with the presence of the chiefe and best learned in the citie. Master Grocine, a man of great learning would often come to hear him. This Grocine read at the same tyme the bookes of Dionysius Areopagita, but with a lesse auditorie than master More had. More in his reading proved himselfe a divine, a philosopher, an historian: for he must be furnished with these arts, that will read and expound these bookes of St. Austines as he did.

He was scene in geometrie, arithmitique, musick, and spake French well: the knowledge whereof, though he were in France some tyme, according to a laudable custome of our countrie, especiallie in the better sort, to send their children thither to

⁹ *He red openly*; "About this time it was almost come to a custom for men of distinguished parts and learning in that University" (Oxford) "to set up voluntary lectures, by way of exposition or comment on some celebrated writer; to which the students would repair more or less, according to the opinion they had of the men, and their performances. Amongst others, we are certain Mr. Thomas More did read upon St. Austin's book, *De Civitate Dei*, while a very young man, to a great auditory; the seniors and grave divines not being ashamed to learn divinity from so young a layman." Knight's *Life of Dean Colet*, p. 40. We have already seen mention made of the Lecture read in St. Paul's Church, London, by William Grocine, upon the Books of Dionysius Areopagita, *De Hierarchia Ecclesiastica*. See vol. i. Supplementary Extracts. Indeed, says Dr. Knight, "it is plain that the Public Lecturers, both in the Universities, and the Cathedral Church, took the liberty of reading upon any book rather than the Holy Scriptures, till Dr. Colet reformed that practice, and both in Oxford, and in St. Paul's, brought in the more useful way of reading and expounding St. Paul's Epistles, or some other parts of Scripture." Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 67. See also *Life of W. Colet, Lord Burgheley*, edited by Arthur Collins, p. 6, and given below in this Collection.

learne the language and guise of that countrie, yet the most he got was by his own industrie here in England. In poetrie he had a good grace. In his verse, whether it were English or Latyn, he shewed as much pietie and devotion, as witte and art. His epigrams were so well liked of amongst learned men, that Beatus Rhenanus ¹ and Leodegarius a Quercu ² preferred him before all the poets of that time. His felicitie in prose was much greater, yea even at this tyme, though he were young, and much occupied and distracted with other studies.

4. You have hearde of his learning, and of what expectation his beginnings were. If haplie virtue paced not equallie with these studies and rare knowledge, it might happe all these good parts to be drowned. For knowledge without virtue is as a ring in a swines nose ; or as a good dish of meat of a sluts cooking. Of such knowledge St. Paule telleth us the effect, *scientia inflat*, knowledge doth puffed up, that is, makes us proud, disdainful, and ministereth occasions of many synnes. But *his* age and virtue equallie encreased.

In his youth or tender years he used to weare a cilice or hair-shirt, and lay many nights on the ground, often on a borde ; or else he used a blocke under his head. His sleepe was very short, seldom or never above foure or five houres. He had great delight to heare Gods word preached ; and for that, exceedingly loved doctor Collet, deane of Paules, who was a very spirituall and devoute man in his speache and sermons. He made and translated many spirituall works in this age ; as the Life of John Picus, earle of Mirandula ; his Epistles, and the Twelve Rules of a good life of the same earles. He made a very devoute booke intituled *De quatuor novissimis* ³, wherein he describeth vice and virtue even to the quick : but this work was never finished.

¹ *Beatus Rhenanus.*] So well known by this Latin appellation that his vernacular name is not known : his father was Antony Bilde, of Rheinach.

² *Leodegarius a Quercu.*] i. e. Léger Duchesne, the apologist for the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

³ *De quatuor novissimis.*] Founded on the text "*In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima tua.*" Ecclus. vii. 40. There were two very popular works on the same subject in Latin, which probably gave to Sir Thomas the idea of his English book—1. The "*Cordiale de quatuor novissimis*," attributed by Fabricius to Henricus de Hassia, of which many editions were printed (see Panzer, vol. v. p. 165), and of which an English version by Antony Widvile, Earl Rivers, was printed by Caxton in 1479. Lord Rivers

It seemed probable by some apparent conjectures that he had a mind to be a priest, or to have accepted the habit of some religion. For he continued, after his reading above-said, some foure years or more very orderly in great devotion and prayer in the Charter House in London amongst the monks, but without any manner of vow or profession. Some perhaps will say, seeing the *contemplative* life farre exceeds the *active*, according to that of our Saviours saying, *Maria optimam partem elegit, quæ non auferetur ab eâ*. Marie hath chosen the best parte, which shall not be taken away from her; why did not he followe that inclination or inspiration to be religious! Perhaps the tymes fitted not in England to have cloysterers aunswerable to their rules, for that at that tyme they were much debased from their former sanctitie, which soone after appeared by their waste, and havocke made of those places: or else God peculiarie chose this man in another kinde of life, therein to serve him more for the glorie of his holy name, the churches benefit, and his own soules good. And as God appointed that worthy man John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, to be the champion of the clergie, so he reserved Thomas More in the degree of the laitie, to be the proto-martyr of England that suffered for the defence of the union of the catholicke church.

5. About this tyme he was chosen a burgesse of the parliament, in the latter dayes of king Henry the seventh. He was then at the age of six or seven and twentie⁴. At this parliament there was concluded a marriage betweene James the fourth, king of Scots, and Ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to our said king; and because great charges would thereby growe to the king, he demaunded of the parliament about three fiftene. Now considering it was an ancient custom at all tymes, for such and the like causes more than ordinarie, to presse the Commons; but especiallie seeing this contract seemed to importe verie much the good and quiet of this realme, it was thought there would be noe

translated it from the French, which exists amongst the MSS. of the Old Royal Library in the British Museum (19 C. 111)—2. "*Sermones quatuor novissimorum pontificum et necessarii*;" this also has been often printed. In the old Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Museum both works are erroneously attributed to Thomas Aquinas.

⁴ Six or seven and twentie.] At the time of the death of Henry VII. More was about eight and twenty years old. But in the year 1503, when the marriage took place between the Princess Margaret and James the Scottish king, his age could not be more than two and twenty.

resistance made to their demaund. Howbeit Thomas More misliked the matter; and of that his so doinge gave openlie such and so good arguments, that they of the Lower House were all of his minde, and thereby the bill was quite overthrowne. Forthwith Mr. Tyler^a, one of the privie chamber, that was there present, resorted to the king declaring that a beardlesse boy, called More, had done more harme than all the rest, for by his meanes all the purpose is dasht.

The remembrance of this displeasure sunk deeplie into the kings heart, and bred great indignation against master More, readie upon anie occasion to burst out against him. But yet the king forbare, least he might seeme to infringe the ancient libertie of that place, which would have bin odiously taken, or haply because master More had then little to lose. Yet was there a causelesse quarrel devised against his father, whereby he was committed to the Towre; from whence he could not get discharged, without paying a fine of a hundred pounds. Neither yet was the sonne forgotten, but privie ways were sought to entrap him, whereby the king upon some better colour might fasten his displeasure upon him. This well knew master More, and ever after lived in feare of the kings indignation; and supposing his abode here in England would be to his further daunger, resolved to live beyond the seas. But the kings death not long after ensuing, prevented that designement.

6. All this while Thomas More was unmarried, and seemed to have liked well to have led a single life. But in conclusion he fell to marrying, and tooke to wife the daughter of one Mr. Colt^b, a gentleman of Essex, who had three daughters very virtuous and well-liking. And albeit his mind served him most to settle his affection on the second sister, for that he thought her fairest and best favoured, yet when he considered it would be a grief to the eldest to see her youngest sister preferred before her, he then, of a certaine pitie, framed his fancy toward the eldest. Yet he discontinued not his studies in the lawe, but still applied the same untill he was called to the benche; and he red there twice in Lincolnes inne, which is as often as ordinarilie any judge doth.

After his marriage he placed himselfe in Bucklersburie, where

^a *Mr. Tyler.*] Sir William Tiler. See Carlisle's *Inquiry*, &c, p. 21.

^b *One Mr. Colt.*] See p. 111.

he had by his wife three daughters and one sonne, whose name was called John More, after his grandfather's name. The daughters were thus disposed of : Margaret after married to Mr. William Roper ; Cicilie married to Mr. Giles Heron ; Elizabeth was wife to William Daunsey : which children he brought up in virtue, and knowledge both of the Greeke and Latyn tongue. He would often say to his children, "virtue and learning must be their meate, play but as it were the sauce." Of his care in this point we shall hereafter, as occasion serveth, speak more at large.

7. Whilst he would plead anie man's cause, this was his custome : to give such faithful and good counsaile that the client might soone perceiue he sought not his owne private commoditie. —First he would persuade them to make up the matter, and agree amongst themselves. If so be they would not, then he shewed them which way with least charge and trouble they might wage law. And never he tooke cause in hand, that he did not seriouslie and advisedlie examine the justice and equitie thereof. And if he found it to halt therein, he would tell his client he would not meddle¹ in that matter, for all the good in the world.

¹ *He would not meddle.*] " We talked of the practice of the law. Sir William Forbes said, he thought an honest Lawyer should never undertake a cause which he was satisfied was not a just one." " Sir, (said Mr. Johnson,) a Lawyer has no business with the justice or injustice of the cause which he undertakes, unless his client asks his opinion, and then he is bound to give it honestly. The justice or injustice of the cause is to be decided by the judge. Consider, Sir, what is the purpose of courts of justice ? It is that every man may have his cause fairly tried, by men appointed to try causes. A Lawyer is not to tell what he knows to be a lie. He is not to produce what he knows to be a false deed ; but he is not to usurp the province of the jury and of judge, and determine what shall be the effect of the evidence ; what shall be the result of legal argument. As it rarely happens that a man is fit to plead his own cause, lawyers are a class of the community, who, by study and experience, have acquired the art, and power of arranging evidence, and of applying to the points at issue what the law has settled. A Lawyer is to do for his client all that his client might fairly do for himself, if he could. If by a superiority of attention, of knowledge, of skill, and a better method of communication, he has the advantage of his adversary, it is an advantage to which he is entitled. There must always be some advantage, on one side or other, and it is better advantage should be had by talents than by chance. If Lawyers were to undertake no causes till they were sure they were just, a man might be precluded altogether from a trial of his claim, though, were it judicially

Now, for his good skill and sinceritie, the citie wherein he first breathed gave him his first office. For he was made under-sheriffe of London, when he was not above twenty-eight yeares of age; which office as it is very worshipful, so it is not verie combersome. In this place he dispatched more matters than ever did any before. No man ever used himselfe more sincere and upright than he, and lesse exacting; for often he forgave his owne fee. Yet by this office, and learned counsaile, (for there was not any matter of weight or importance in any of the prince's courts, that he was not retained for counsaile on the one partie or the other) without grudge of conscience, or injurie to anie man, he gained above four hundred pounds yearlie.

The citie dearlie loved him, and for his wit, learning and experience had him in great esteem; in so much that the English merchants, and the strangers of the Stilyarde⁸, sent him twice as ambassador beyond the seas, althoughe he neither desyred nor liked to be imployed in such offices: for he was wont to say, "he liked not to be banished from his owne countrie, and shut up in a towne, where perhaps neyther the land nor the ayre be very good and wholsome." But especially he misliked these ambassages, as subject to contentions and altercations, which of his owne nature he did much abhorre, but especially in a strange countrie with great princes; and where he suffered no little damages. For though he were worshipfully provided for, for the defraying of his charges, yet he suffered by his absence far greater losses. And therefore he would merrilie say, "that there was great difference betwixt a lay-man and a priest to be sent in ambassage; for a priest need not to be disquieted for wife, children and familie: for the first two they lacke, the other they may take all with them. And though I am not an evil husband, father, or maister, yet I cannot so fashion my houshold that my absence shall as well instruct, please, and provide for them as my presence." Yet he many tymes was sent in most honorable embassages⁹ by the king his maister. Twice he was joined in commission with car-

examined, it might be found a very just claim." Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, p. 14. See also below, *Life of Sir Matt. Hale*, or Index, *Barristers*.

⁸ *Strangers of the Stilyarde.*] The merchants of the Hanseatic League, who resided in the Stilyard in London, and enjoyed great privileges.

⁹ *Honorable embassages.*] In April 1519 he was joined in commission with Thomas Ruthall, bishop of Durham, Cuthbert Tunstal, and Richard Pace, to treat with the commissioners of Charles V. See also the note at the next page.

dinal Wolsey¹⁰; when he went into Flanders to Charles the fifth¹, and an other tyme² in France. He was ambassador when the famous peace betweene Charles the emperor Ferdinando king of the Romaines, and Francis the first of France, anno 1529³, was made. Yet these paines he most misliked: but being once put upon him, he fore-stood nothing for the happie expedition of the same. And so he demeaned him selfe for the merchants, that at his returne he purchased to him selfe great credit and estimation, both with them and the king; who at his home-cominge offered him for recompence an annual pension duryng his life, which though it were both honorable and commodious, yet he refused it, lest the citizens might conceive some sinister suspicion, that when any controversie should happen concerning their privileges, betweene the king and them, (as often it happeneth), that he would not have been himselfe upright, being as it were feed and hired with the pension.

8. Moreover this king Henry was in hand with cardinal Wolsey to procure him unto his service. The cardinal did not slacke the matter, but dealt with him incontinently, and in very earnest manner, to serve the king; saying it was meet and convenient, and it could not be but for his advancement to do so. Yet he was very loath to change his estate, and so wrought the cardinal by his faire speeche, that by him the king was satisfied for that tyme. But his estimation and fame every day so increased, that after a while the king would by no manner of entreatie be induced to forbear his service. And this was upon this occasion.

There chanced a great ship of burden of the popes to arrive at Southampton, the which ship upon some title the king claimed as a forfeiture. The popes ambassador then resident in the realme, upon suit got a graunte of the king, to retaine for his maister some learned in the lawes and custumes of the realme; and that the matter might be openlie heard and debated in his owne presence. Amongst all the lawyers choice was made of Mr. More, as one esteemed not partial, and verie skilful in theise affaires. He in the presence of the lordes of the council, in the Starr Chamber, where the matter was heard, so learnedlie and

¹⁰ *With cardinal Wolsey*] See Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, vol. i. p. 4th.

¹ *He went into Flanders to Charles the fifth*] In 1521. See vol. i. p. 4th.

² *And an another tyme*] In 1527. See vol. i. p. 4th.

³ *Anno 1529*] He was joined in commission with Cuthbert Tunstal, bishop of London, Dr. William Knight, and John Hackett.

substantiallie argued in the defence of his cause, that he wonne to the pope his ship, and to him selfe great renoune and prayse in the mouthe of everie one.

Upon this the king entertained him for him selfe, and gave him this notable and worthie lesson, "that in all his doings and affaires touching the king, he should first respect God, then the king his maister." This lesson he willinglie heard, and most effectuallie performed. At this first entrance into the kings service, he was made master of the requests, and within a month after knight, and one of the kings privie council. And in a short tyme, after the death of Mr. William Weston, undertreasurer of the exchequer. And upon the death of Sir Richard Wingfield he was chauncellor of the dutchie⁴: and after the death of the lord cardinal⁵, highe chauncellour of England, the first lay-man that ever possessed that place in king Henry the eighths tyme.

9. It may seem strange, that Mr. More should be thus advanced, for he alwaies shewed himselfe to have more respect to weal publique, than to the kings gaine or pleasure. But it followeth, that either the king was at this tyme a marvelous good prince, or that he had not that experience of his upright and plaine dealing; and this can I hardly believe. For he could not but know, how in his father's tyme, in a parliament, whereof we spake before, he had demened himselfe in hindering the bill of three fifteenths that it passed not. But especialle, that which I shall now declare unto you, he could not but remember.

In the fourteenth yeare of his majestie's reigne, a parliament was summoned, where the commons chused Mr. More for their speaker, and presented him in the parliament house; where he disabled himselfe⁶, as a man unmeet for that office. Among other things he brought forth a storie of the noble Hannibal, "to whome at a certaine tyme, Phormio made a solemne decla-

⁴ *Was chauncellor of the dutchie.*] Of Lancaster.

⁵ *After the death of the lord cardinal.*] More correctly, "after the disgrace of the Lord Cardinal," for it was in Michaelmas term, 1529. Wolsey died 29th Nov. 1530.

⁶ *Disabled himselfe.*] "The Commons chose for their Speaker Sir Thomas More. He according to the usage, disabled himselfe, both in wit, learning, and discretion, to speak before the King." Stowe's *Annals*, p. 519. edit. 1615.

ration concerning chivalrie and the seates of warre, which was liked by many. But Hannibal, being demanded what he thought thereof, answered, 'I never heard a more proud arrogant foole, that durst take upon him to instruct the flower and maister of chivalre in his owne profession.' So (quoth Sir Thomas), I may well looke for the same rebuke at the king's hands, if I should arrogate so much as to speake before him of the weelding and governinge publique affaires; seeing that he is so wise, learned, and expert in matters of his estate. Wherefore my humble petition is, that the commons may freely chuse some other for their speaker." But the cardinall answered, "that the king had sufficient proove of his every way sufficientie, and that the commons could not chuse a meeter man." In the end, when the king would not consent to the election of any other, he spake to his Grace in form following.

"Sith I perceive, my renowned sovereigne, that it standeth not with your highness' pleasure to reforme this election, but have by the mouth of the most reverend father in God, the legate, your high chauncellor, given your most royall consent, and have of your benignitie determined farre above that I may beare, to enable and repute me meete; rather than you would seeme to impute unto your commons any note of indiscretion for their unfit choice; I am therefore, and shall be alwaies readie obedientlie to conforme myself to the accomplishment of your sovereigne command; in most humble manner beseeching your most noble majestie, that I may, with your grace's favour, before I enter further thereunto, make my humble intercession unto your highness for two lowlie petitions; the one privatelie concerning myselfe, the other for the whole assemble of the commons house. For myselfe, gracious sovereigne, that if it mis-happen me in any thing hereafter on the behalfe of your commons in your highness' presence to be declared, to mistake my message, and for lacke for good utterance, and mis-rehearsal to pervert and impaire their prudent instructions, it may then like your noble majestie, of your abundant grace, with the eye of your accustomed pittie to pardon my simpleness, giving me leave to repaire againe to the commons house, and there to confer with them, and to take their substantial advice, what things, and in what wise I am to utter; to the intent their prudent devices and affaires be not by my simpleness and follie hindered and impaired: which thing if it should mis-happe (as it were well likelie, if your

gratious benignitie releved not my oversight,) it would be, during my life, a perpetual grudge and heaviness to my heart. The helpe and remedie, in manner afore remembered, is, most gracious soveraigne, my first lowlie suit and humble petition to your noble grace.

“ My other humble request, most excellent prince, is this. That, for as much as there be of your commons, here by your highness’ commandment assembled, a great number which are, after accustomed manner, appointed to treat and devise of the common affaires amongst themselves apart: and albeit, most deare and liege lord, that according to your prudent devise, by your honorable writs every where declared, there hath been as due diligence used, in sending up to your highness’ court of parliament, the most discrete persons, out of everie quarter, that men could esteeme fit; whereby it is not to be doubted, but that there be here present a verie substantial assemblie of right wise and politike persons, yet, most victorious prince, sith amongst so manie wise men, neither is everie man wise alike, nor amonge so manie all alike well witted, is everie man alike well spoken; and it often happeneth, that likewise as much follie is uttered with painted and polished speeches, so many men, boysterous and rude in language, yet give right good and substantial counsaile: sith also, in matters of great importance, the minde is often so occupied in the matter, that a man rather studieth *what*, than *how* to say, by reason whereof the wisest man and best spoken in a whole countrie fortuneth sometimes, while his mind is fervent in the matter, somewhat to speake in such wise as he would after wish to have been uttered otherwise, yet his meaning no worse when he spoke it, than when he would so gladlie change it: Therefore, most gracious soveraigne, considering that in your highness’ court of parliament, there is nothing uttered but matters of weight and importance, concerning the realme and royal estate, it could not faile but to let and put to sylence from giving their advice and counsaile manie of the discreet commoners, to the great hinderance of publique affaires, except everie man there were utterly discharged of all doubt and feare, how anie thing that should happen them to speake, should happen of your highness to be taken: and in this point, though your well known and approved benignitie putteth everie man in right good hope, yet such is the weight of the matter, such the reverend dreade, that the timerous hearts of your natural subjects conceive towards

your highness' majesty, most renowned sovereigne, that they cannot in this pointe find themselves satisfied, except your gracious bountie herein declared, may put away the scruple of their timorous mindes.

" May it therefore like your abundant grace, our most benigne king, to give to all your commons here assembled, your most gracious licence and pardon, freely without all doubt of your dreadful displeasure, everie man to discharge his conscience, and boldly in any thing incident amongst us to declare his advice; and whatsoever happen any man to say, that it may like your noble majestie, of your inestimable goodness, to take all in good parte, interpreting every man's words, how uncomely soever they be couched, to proceed yet of good zeale towards the profit of your realme, and the honour of your royal person; the prosperous estate and preservation whereof, most excellent sovereigne, is the thing which we all, your most humble loving subjects, according to our bounden dutie, of natural allegiance, most highlie desyre and pray for. *Diri.*"

At this parliament cardinal Wolsey found himselfe much agrieved with the burgesses thereof, that there was nothing said or done therein but that it was immediately blowne abroad in every alehouse. It fortun'd at that parliament a great subvidie to be demanded, which the cardinal, fearing would not passe the commons house, determined for the furtherance thereof to be there personally himselfe: before whose coming they themselves much debated, whether it weere better to receive him with a few of his lords, or with all his traine. Most were of opinion the first were the best. At last Mr. More said in this manner, " Maisters, for as much as my lord cardinal lately, you wote well, laid to our charge the lightness of our tongues, for things uttered out of this house, it shall not be amisse, in my minde, to receive him with all his pompe¹, with all his maces, his pillars, his poll-axes, his crowns, his hatt, and the great scale too; to the intent, that if he finde the like fault hereafter with us, we may be the bolder, from ourselves, to lay the blame upon them whom he bringeth with him." Whereunto the whole house agreeing, he was received accordingly. Where, after he had, in a solemn oration, by many reasons proved, how necessarie it was the demand to be graunted; and further shewing that lenesse would

¹ *With all his pompe.* See Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, vol. i. p. 491—94.

not serve to maintaine the princes purpose, he, seeing the companie sit still silent, and aunswering nothing, contrarie to his expectation, shewed themselves not verie forward to incline to his request, said unto them, "Maisters, you have many wise and learned men among you: and sith I am from the king's own person sent hither unto you, for the preservation of yourselves and all the realme, I thinke it mete you give me some reasonable answeere." Where everie man holding his peace, then began he to speake to one Mr. Marnee; who making no answeere, he severallie asked the same question of divers others, accounted the wisest amongst them; to whom then none of them all woulde yeeld so much as one word, being before agreed as the custom was, by theire speaker to make answeere, "Maisters," quoth the cardinal, "unlesse it be the manner of your house, as of likelihoode it is, by the mouthe of the speaker, whom you have chosen for trustie and wise, as indeed he is, in suche causes to utter your mindes, here is, without doubt, a marvelous obdurate silence;" and thereupon required aunswere of Mr. Speaker. Who first reverently, upon his knees, "excused the silence of the house, abashed with the presence of so noble a personage, able to amaze the wisest and best learned in the realme; and after many probable arguments, that for them to make aunswere was neither expedient, nor agreeable to the auncient libertie of the house; in conclusion, for himselfe he shewed, that althoughe they had all with theire voices trusted him, yet except every one of them would put into his head all their several witts, he alone was unmeet, in so weightie a matter, to make his grace aunswere." Whereupon the cardinal displeased, sodenlie arose and departed.

This the cardinal forgot not; for the next daie sending for him, in his gallerie of White-Hall, at Westminster, he uttered unto him what he conceived. "Would to God," quoth the cardinal, "you had been at Rome, Master More, when I made you Speaker." "Your grace not offended, so would I, my lord" (quoth he): "for then should I have seene those holie places, that I have often and much desired." And after some walkes in silence, to winde such matters out of the cardinal's head, he began to talke of the gallerie, and saide, "I like this gallerie of yours, my lord, much better than that of Hampton Court." So, wisely he brake off the cardinal's unpleasante talke; so that the cardinal, as it seemed, wist not what to say to him, but flung from him without anie more speaking; and for revengement of

his displeasure, counselled the king to send him ambassador into Spaine, that there he might either die, or not retorne againe in haste. But that journey tooke not effect, through his owne entreatie, and sweet demeanoure to the king.

The truth is, the cardinal never loved him; yea rather feared him, least in tyme the fame of his wit, learning, and virtue should blemish and dimme the glorie of his owne praynes. For the cardinal, though he were adorned with manie good qualities, yet he was of an exceeding ambitious humor, and aspiring nature; and so in love with his well-doing, that he fell into a certaine phrensie of over-weening of him selfe.

All these things considered, that the cardinal never trulie loved him, nor the king could conceave anie great hope that he would be corrupted to speake against good and equitie, I say it was not a little strange to see Mr. More thus advanced. But the providence of Almighty God so appointed that so great a light should not be put under a bushel, but reared on the hills of worldlie felicitie, to shine unto them who wilfully have extinguished their owne lampes and eyes, and yet possess the same rooms, but with far different conditions.

10. Thomas More, being in the king's service, never was there any one man that the king used more familiarly. The king, upon holy dayes, when he had done his devotions, did often send for him unto his traverse, and there sometyne of matters of astronomie, geometrie, divinitie, sometymes in matters of state, sit and confer with him. And other whiles he would in the night have him up to his leads, there to discourse with him the diversities, courses, motions, and operations of the stars and planets. Both the king and the queene tooke great comforte and pleasure in his merrie and pleasant conceited witt. They would verie often call for him, in the tyme of their supper, to be merrie, and recreate themselves withal. Whome when Sir Thomas perceived his talke so much to delight, that he could skaree in a moneth get leave to goe home to his wife and children^{*}, or to be absent two dayes together from the court, but that he was sent for againe, he much mislyked this restraunte of his libertye, and beganne there-upon somewhat to dissemble his nature, and by little

^{*} *To his wife and children.* "Thus he represents to his friend Peter Gyles the manner of his treating them. Nempse reverso domum, cum uxore fabulandum est, garrendum cum liberis." *Roper's Life*, p. 33. *Jortin's Life of Erasmus*, vol. iii. p. 310. Appendix.

and little to disuse himselfe from his accustomed myrth, so that he was not from thenceforth so ordinarilie sent for.

Yet the king took such pleasure in his companie, that he would oftentimes on a suddaine come to his house at Chelsey, to talke and be merrie with him. Whither on a tyme unlooked for, while Sir Thomas was chancellour of the duchie he came to dynner to him; and after dinner in a faire garden walked with him by the space of an howre, holding his arme about his neck; of all which favours he made no other account, than a deepe wise man should doe, and as the nature and disposition of the king, which he well perceived, did require. Wherefore even at this tyme, when flattering fortune seemed most to smile upon him, and all things seemed as faire as faire might be, or he could wish, he well considered the brittle estate of men that be in the highest favour of princes. Wherefore, when after the king's departure, his sonne in law, Mr. William Roper, verie glad to have seene this, came to him saying, "Sir, how happie are you, whome the king hath so familiarly entertained, as I never sawe him to doe the like to any, except to the lord cardinall, with whome I saw his grace once walke arme in arme!" Sir Thomas aunswered in this sorte: "I thanke God, sonne William, I find his grace my very good lord and maister; and I doe believe he doth as singularlie favoure me as he doth any subject within this realme. Howbeit sonne Roper, as I shall tell thee, I have noe cause to be proude of it; for if my head would wyne him a castle in France, it should not faile to flie from my shoulders, as fast now as it seemeth to sticke."

Thus Sir Thomas spent twenty yeares or more in the king's service, with as great countenance and well liking of his grace as ever did any; yet in the end he was but evil recompenced, as hereafter it shall appeare.

BOOK THE SECOND.

1. As we have spoken of his offices, and carriage in publique affaires, and for his countrie, so now it is meet to recount his secret and domestical life with his wife, children, frendes, and others.

First, in Sir Thomas is principallie to be considered, as the roote and heade of all his doings, that alwayes he had a special care and regard to God-ward, and to keepe his conscience synccere and upright.

It was his custome to rise every daie verie earlie; and on his knees, after he had commended himself to God, he said his Mattins, the Seven Psalmes⁹, the Litanie with the Suffrages, often the *Dirige*, and the Graduell Psalmes, and certaine other devout prayers, both in Latyn and Englishe, of his owne making. Besides, he selected certaine psalmes out of the psalter, and made himselfe a prettie little volume¹⁰; and to reade all, or most parte thereof, everie morning, he seldome omitted. After all this, every day, feast and ferie, he heard masse with reverence and devotion; and before the end, for to receive the benediction of the priest, he would in noe case departe, though the king had sent for him, once, twice, and thrice. He was wont to say he would come to the king presentlie, "after I have done my dutie and devoire both to his and my maister, the King of kings."

He was very desirous to be solitary, and sequester himselfe from worldly companie, the better to recollect himselfe to God. And

⁹ *The Seven Psalmes.* These psalms, otherwise called the seven *penitential* psalms, are inserted in all Primers, and were often commented upon by ancient devotional writers. Dante translated them into Italian verse. They are the 6th, 31st, 37th, 50th, 101st, 129th, and 141st. The suffrages are the *Suffragia Sanctorum*, or short prayers to the saints. The *Dirige* also constitutes a part of the Primer. It is now corrupted into "Dirge." Of the fifteen Gradual Psalmes, or, as they are called in our Bibles, "Songs of Degrees," being Psalmes 120—134, see Durandi *Rationale*, lib. v. cap. 2. numb. 39.

¹⁰ *Prettie little volume.* The custom of using the Psalter in an abridged form is of great antiquity: the *Psalterium abbreviatum* attributed to St. Jerome occurs in very many of the old service books and books of devotion. Even to a few verses great value was attached. In a "prettie little volume," a "Psalterium" put forth by Casper Hochseder at Nuremberg in 1497, (certainly one of the smallest books printed in the fifteenth century, for it is only 2½ inches in height by 1½ inch in width), is this strange story told of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, "Legitur in vita sancti Bernhardi abbatis Clarevallie, quod demon semel sibi apparuit, dicens se scire octo versus in psalterio, quos qui quotidie diceret, tantum meriti acquireret ac si totum psalterium Davidicum decantasset, et cum beatus Bernardus instaret ut sibi eosdem versus ostenderet, ille vero facere recusaret. tunc beatus Bernardus, 'Scio,' inquit, 'quid faciam nam quotidie legam totum psalterium, deinceps atque predictos versus non cessetam.' Quod cum audisset demon, ne tantum tantum facere posset sibi, hos versus ostendit." The verses are in the Vulgate version: Ps. xli. 4. *Illumina oculos meos.* xxx. 6. *In manus tuas.* xxxviii. 5. *Locus*

therefore to satisfie the better this his good purpose, he builded at Chelsey, a good distance from his mansion-house, a place which was called the New building, wherein was a chapel, a librarie, and a gallerie; in which, as his use was upon other daies to occupie him in prayer and studie, so on the Fridaies there usuallie he continued from morne till night, and oftentimes all night, spending his tyme in devoute prayers and spiritual exercises. He used often to punish his body with discipline¹¹, especiallie every Fridaie, great saints eves, and at the fower tymes of ember weeke, with whippes made of knotted cords. He used to weare a cilice, yea often when he sate as high chancellor in judgment seat. But because he would not be noted of singularitie, he conformed himselfe outwardlie to other men of the same state and vocation. This no person did know but¹ his daughter Margaret, whome he best trusted; causing her sometymes, as need required, to wash his shirt of haire. Once it chanced as he sate at supper in the summer tyme, single in his doublet and hose, wearing upon the same shirt of haire, a plaine linen shirt, without ruff or collar, that his sonne Johns wife spied the same, and beganne to smile at it. His daughter Margaret, marking the matter, presentlie told her father

sum. lxxxv. 17. *Fac mecum signum.* cxv. 16. *Dirupisti vincula mea.* cxli. 5. *Periit fuga a me.* cxli. 6. *Clamavi ad te.*

¹¹ *To punish his body with discipline.*] “Then shalt thou understond, that bodily pain (*penance*) stont in *discipline*, or teaching by word or writing, or by ensample. Also in *wearing of heer* or stamin, or of habergeons on her naked flesh for Christes sake; and that such maner penaunces ne make not thine heart bitter or angrie, ne annoyed of thy selfe; for better is to cast away thine heer, than to cast away the sweetnesse of Jesus Christ.—Then is *discipline* also, in knocking of thy breast, in *scourging with rodde*s, in kneeling, in tribulation, suffring patiently wrongs that been doen to thee; and also in patient suffring of sicknesse, or lesing of worldly goodes, or cattel, or wife, child, or other frendes.” Chaucer’s *Parson’s Tale*, p. 197. edit. 1687.

¹ *Did know but.*] Thus we saw in the Life of Wolsey that “in afternoons he would sit in contemplation with one of the most ancient fathers of the Charter House in their cells, who converted him, and caused him to despise the vain glory of the world: and gave him *shirts of hair* to wear, the which he ware divers times after.” And again; with regard to the *secrecy* practised in this discipline;—“in which bag was no other thing inclosed, but *three shirts of hair*, the which he delivered unto his chaplen and ghostly father secretly.” And again; after his death, it was found “he had upon him, next his body, a *shirt of hair*, (besides his other shirt, which was of very fine holland,) which was not known to any of his servants, being continually about him in his chamber, saving to his ghostly father.”

of it. He, being sorrie that it was seene, straight amended it, but spake not a word thereof.

In his parish church at Chelsey he builded a faire chapel, and endowed it with many rich ornaments; and to the church where he dwelt he gave copes, chalices, images, &c. And he would often say, "let good folkes give apace, for there will be found too many that will take away as fast." So much he loved the beautie and glorie of the house of God, that if he had seene a faire and comelie man of personage, he would say, "it is pittie yonder man is not a priest, he would become an aultar well." The like he would say of jewels and precious stones; and in his *Answerre to the Supplication of Beggers* he exhortes gentlemen and ladies to give to the church their rings, bracelets, borders, and the like; "for by keeping them," quoth he, "they but minister matter for vanitie, and so for punishment; in giving them, procure merit and spiritual benediction."

And, the more to doe honour to God's service, he used, yea when he was lord chancellour, to sit and sing in the quire with a surplice on his backe. And once it happened, that the duke of Norfolk¹, coming to Chelsey to dyne with him, found him in that manner. After service going home with him, arme in arme, he said after this fashion, "Gods bodie, Gods bodie, lord chancellour, a parish clark²! a parish clark²! you dishonour the king and his office." "Nay," quoth Sir Thomas smiling upon the duke, "your grace may not thinke, that the king, your maister and myne, will be offended with men for serving of God, his maister; or by this my present behaviour account his office dishonoured." Sir Thomas spake both devoutly, and like a wise man.

¹ *Duke of Norfolk* — The victor of Flodden field.

² *A parish clark* — "So we rede of Kyng Roberte of Fraunce, that was a connyng man, and so devout toward God's Service, that he wolde be in the feaste in some Monastery for Dayre Service. And not only he wolde syng with the monkes, but also he wolde *do on a cope*, and stande and syng as a Chantoure in myddes of the Quire. Whereof it hapned on a tyme when he beseged a Castele that was rebel against him, and the feast of Saynt Anyan fell to be the same tyme at Orleans, he left his hoste at sege, and went thyler, and toke a cope, and songe in the myddes of the Quire, as he was wonte to do. And when he came to *Ayous Deu*, and had begonne it thrice with an high voyce, kneeling downe at each tyme on hys knees, the walles of the Castele, that was beseged, fell downe suddenly to the grounde — and so the Castele was destroyed, and his enemyes overcome. — And thus ye may see, that there is no better armure of defence against all enemyes, than devout syngyng of our Lordes service." *Mirror of our Lady*, fol. 13. v. 150.

And this was one virtuous and godly custome of his, that when he had committed to him any matter or office of importance, he would goe to the church, and would be confessed, heare masse, and be houseled ; and commend the matter to God, whose glorie he principallie intended in all things he tooke upon him. He would often goe on pilgrimage to holie places, but allway on foote⁴. In his processions in the Rogation week, he would be present. And once when the procession was to goe (according to the custome) to the confines of the parish, for his state and dignitie he was requested to ease himselfe with a horse. He answered, "God forbid he should follow his maister⁵ on horseback, when *he* went on foote." And this was much worth the noting : such reverence he bore to holy and sanctified places, that there he would neither talke nor confer of any temporal matter, though the matter were of weight and speedie, and his leisure at other tymes but very short.

2. There was nothing in the world that more pleased and comforted him, than when he had done some good deed to other men ; of whom some he relieved with his money, some by his authoritie, some by his good worde, some with his good counsail. Never was there anie man that sought relief and help at his hands, that went not from him cheerful. For he was, as a man may say, the publique patrone of the poore, and thought he had procured himself a great benefit or treasure, as often as he could by his counsail or other wise, pleasure and ease the mind of anie man in anie difficult matter, either ghostlie or bodilie ; or if he could pacifie any that were at variance and debate. He would before he was chancellour goe by obscure places and lanes, and give his almes verie liberallie, not by the pennie or half-pennie, but sometymes five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty shillings, according to everie ones necessitie. He often invited his poore neighbours

⁴ *But allway on foote.*] "Quod in Anglia (says Stapleton) vix plebei faciunt." *Tres Thomæ*, p. 88. The pilgrims to Becket's shrine, so celebrated by Chaucer, were all on horseback.

⁵ *Follow his maister.*] This refers to the Crucifix, or else to the elements of the Eucharist, both of which (at different periods) were wont to be carried in the front of these processions. Stapleton, I see, adopts the former interpretation. *Tres Thomæ*, p. 87. "Non tantum proponunt panem eucharisticum divino cultu adorandum, sed etiam illum in equo gradario, quocunque ipsi iter faciunt, ut olim ignem Persicum aut Isidis sacra, circumferunt." *Juelli Apolog.* Christian Institutes, vol. iv. p. 394. This "equus gradarius" was only for occasions of special pomp and solemnity. See Harding against Jewell, and Jewell's *Defence*.

to his table, and would be merrie and pleasant with them. But those that were riche and of wealthe seldom were invited. In Chelsey he hired a house for lame, poore and old men, and kept them at bed and at borde, at his owne cost and charges.

3. Sir Thomas was of a mild, gentle and patient nature. He never hated any. For he would say, " Either he whom I hate is good or bad.—If he be good, then am I naught to hate him. If he be ill, either he will amend, and so be saved ; or else persevere ill, and so everlastinglie perish. If he shall be saved, why should I hate him whom eternallie I must love, like, and delight in ? If he shall be damned, his torments and paines shall be so great and intolerable, that rather we have cause to pitie and have compassion for his miserie, than to add affliction to affliction, in hating and envying him." Mr. William Roper, for sixteen yeares space he lived in his house, never sawe him so much as once in anie fume or choler.

On a tyme, when he was lord chancellour of England, the water bailiffe of London, sometyne his servant, having heard, where he was at dynner, certaine merchants falsely to slander and raile against his old maister, waxed so discontented therewith, that he came hastilie to Sir Thomas, and told him what he had heard. " And were I, Sir," quoth he, " in that authoritie and place that your lordshippe is, surelie such men should not be suffered, so villanouslie and falslie, to misreporte me : wherefore I would wish that they were called to their answer, and accordinglye punished for their ill tongues." Sir Thomas smiling upon him said, " Why, Mr. Water-baylie, will you have me punish those, by whome I receive more benefit, than by you all that be my friendes ? Let them, in Gods name, speake as lewdlie of me as they list, and shoote never so manie arrowes at me ; so none hit me, what am I the worse for that ? But if they should hit me, then it would not a little trouble me. I have more cause, I assure you, Mr. Water-baylie, to pitie, than to be angrie with them : and I pray you, do you the like."

He would never sinisterlie or suspiciouslie take anie thing written, done, or spoken against him, perverting and wringing it to the worst, but make alwaies the best of every matter : and when the *thing* could not be defended, he would defend the *intent*, except it were too apparent evil.

If it happened anie learned man to resort to him from Oxforde, Cambridge, or elsewhere, as divers did, some for desire of his acquaintance, some for the famous reporte of his wisdom and

learning, some for his counsaile in law matters, and to fall into argument and dispute with him; he would gladlie accept of such discourses, and therein he would shew such skill that few were found comparable unto him. And at length, if he perceived they could not holde further disputation without some inconvenience, lest he should discourage or make them blush, he would, as one that sought not his owne glorie, seeme to be conquered: and to animate them in their studies, he would seeme more desirous to learn of them than to teache.

A little before ⁶ he was chancellour, it happened by negligence of one of his neighbours carts, all his barnes, and corne, and parte of his dwelling-house to be burnt; whereof when he understood it, he was not a whit moved; and being at the courte when it happened, he presentlie wrote a comfortable letter to his wife, willing her, her children, and all her familie to repaire to the church, and give God thanks, who might have taken awaye all the resydue; and willed diligent searche and inquirie to be made, what damage his poore neighbours had taken thereby, which he said should be recompenced to the uttermost. The copie of this letter, because it is both sweet and devout, I will put it downe, as I finde it in his owne workes, word for word.

“Maistres Alyce⁷, in my most hearty wise I recommend me to you.

“And whereas I am infourmed by my son Heron, of the losse of our barnes, and our neighbours also, with all the corne that was therein: albeit, saving Gods pleasure, it is grete pitie of so much good corne lost, yet sith it hath liked him to sende us such a chaunce, we must, and are bounden, not only to be content, but also to be glad of his visitation. He sent us all that

⁶ *A little before.*] “Sir Thomas More was made Lorde Chauncellour of England in Michaelmas terme, in the yere of our Lord 1529, and in the 21st yere of King Henry VIII. And in the latter ende of the harvest then next before, Sir T. More, then Chauncellour of the Duchy of Lancaster, being returned from Cameray in Flanders, where he had been embassadour from the Kinge, rode immediatly to the King at Woodstock. And while he was there with the King, part of his owne dwelling house at Chelsey, and all his barnes there full of corne, sodenlie fell on fier, and were burnt, and all the corne therein, by the negligence of one of his neighbours cartes that carried the corne; and by occasion thereof were divers of his next neighbours barnes burnt also.” *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 1418. A.D. 1557.

⁷ *Maistres Alyce.*] His second wife, the widow of — Middleton.

we have lost ; and sith he hath by such a chaunce taken it away againe, his pleasure be fulfilled ! Let us never grudge thereat, but take it in good worth, and hartely thank him, as well for adversitie, as prosperitie. And peradventure we have more cause to thank him for our losse, than for our winning. For his wisdome better seeth what is good for us than we do ourselves.

“ Therefore, I praye you, be of good chere ; and take all the houshold with you to church, and there thank God both for that he hath given us, and for that he hath taken from us, and for that he hath left us, which if it please him, he can encrease when he will. And if it please hym to leave us yet lesse, at his pleasure be it ! I praye you to make some good ensearche what my poore neighbours have loste, and bidde them to take no thought therefore : for and I should not leave myself a spoone, there shall no poore neighbour of mine bear no losse by any chaunce happened in my house. I pray you be with my children and your houshold merry in God : and devise somewhat with your friendes, what waye were best to take for provision to be made for corne for our house-hold, and for seede this year coming, if ye think it good that we keepe the ground still in our handes. And whether ye thinke it good that we shall do so or not, yet I think it were not best suddenlye thus to leave it all up, and to put awaye our folk of our farme, till we have somewhat advised us thereon. Howbeit if ye have more now than ye shall neede, and which can get them other maisters, ye may then discharge us of them. But I would not that any man were suddenly sent away he wote never whither.

“ At my coming hither, I perceived none other, but that I should tarry still with the king's grace. But now I shall, I think, because of this chance, get leave this next week to come home, and see you : and then shall we further devise together, upon all thinges, what order shall be best to take. And thus as hartely fare you well, with all your children, as ye can wishe. At Woodstoke, the thirde daye of Septembre, by the hand of your loving husbände

“ THOMAS MORE Knight.”

Towards his father he gave many proofes of his natural affection and lowly minde. Whensoever he passed through Westminster Hall to his place in the chancerie by the court of the King's

Bench, if his father who sat there as judge, had been set downe ere he came, he would goe to him, and reverently kneeling downe in sight of all aske him blessing. This virtuous custome⁹ he alwayes solemnlie observed; though then men after their marriages thought themselves not bound to these duties of younger folkes. If they had at readings at Lincolnes inn or elsewhere chanced to have met together, he would offer in arguments and other observaunces the preheminance to his father, though for his office the father would not accept of it. These respects of an obedient child he kept whilst his father lived; and after he never forgot, both by hartie prayers, and manie tender remembrances of his virtue. In his death-bed he often came to visite him, and gave him most comfortable words, and procured all helpes both for bodie and soule, that in such cases be requisite. After his departure out of this world, with sighes and teares taiking him about the necke he kissed and imbraced him, and commending his soule into the hands of his Creator caused many good prayers to be said for his soules ease.

And for all this gentle and meeke disposition of nature, yet his adversaries the Lutherans laid to his great charge, that towards Luther, Pomerane⁹, Tindall, Frith, Barnes, and such other filth, he was very uncurteous and uncivill, that would in writing against their blasphemous hereses, presume without great reverence forsooth to rehearse their worshipfull names. But thus he aunswered himselfe. “If,” quoth he¹⁰, “anie of the

⁹ *This virtuous custome.*] “Non detrectavit publice in palatio Westmonasterii, loco judiciorum publico, a Patre flexis genibus, *juxta optimum gentis nostræ morem*, benedictionem petere. *Solent enim apud nos liberi quotidie mane ac vesperi benedictionem flexo poplite ab utroque parente petere.* Qui mos si apud alias quasdam gentes obtineret, haberent parentes filios magis morigeros, haberet respublica subditos magis obsequentes, haberet ecclesia fideles magis obedientes. Tametsi vero etiam apud nos viri jam facti, et vel conjugati, vel ad aliquam nobiles, hoc obsequii genus parentibus suis amplius non præstent, tamen Thomas Morus pro insita sibi a teneris annis pietate et humilitate, etiam sceptrum Anglicani regni gerens, et primus post regem, senem patrem hoc honore prosequi non recusavit.” Stapletoni *Tres Thomæ*, p. 12. edit. 1588.

⁹ *Pomerane.*] i. e. John Bugenhagen, who was a native of Pomerania.

¹⁰ “*If,*” quoth he.] See Sir Thomas More’s Works, p. 865. The extract is not made with scrupulous exactness. And it is hardly necessary to remark, that the same is true of the pretended citations, given a little below, from Martin Luther.

new learned use their wordes at their owne pleasure, as evill and as villanous as they list against myself, I am contented to forbear the requiting thereof, and give them no worse wordes againe, than if they had spoken me faire. But using themselves against saincts, church, sacraments, priest, prince, people, and all that have been and are catholiques, so ungraciously and ungodlie as they do, faire words I will not give them. If they speake me foule they shall the better please me, for I delight not to have the pleasant oile of heretikes cast on my head : and the worse that folks speake or write of me, for hatred of the catholike faith, for my part they doe me the greater pleasure. But rayling as they doe against all holies, I purpose not to beare that so patientlie, as to forbear to let them heare some parte of their language ; though not with that grace that they doe it. For to match them herein, I neither can though I would, neither would I if I could ; thinking it much worth rebuke, therein to strive for maistrie. For in railing standeth all their revel ; with railing is their roast meat basted, all their pots seasoned, all their pye meate spiced, and all their manchet made of it." He added further, " If these gospellers," saith he, " will not cease to be heretikes, let them at least be reasonable heretikes, and honest men ; let them write if not reason, yet after a reasonable manner, and leave rayling. Then hardlie let these evangelicall brethren find fault with me, if I use them not in words as faire and as milde as the matter may beare ; but assure them, if they write as they doe, I will handle them no otherwise than I have done ¹."

¹ *Thus I have done* : It may well be doubted whether this apology can be regarded as satisfactory. It is certain that George Joye, George Constantine, (and even Fox himself, as we have occasionally seen), expressed themselves in very coarse and intemperate language. But will this justify a man in the circumstances of Sir Thomas More, writing against Luther and others, in such a manner as is described in the following extract from bishop Atterbury ? " Sir Thomas More took up the quarrel : a man as they tell us : much a Christian, much a gentleman, and naturally of great mildness and candour : who yet forgot himself so far in this answer to Luther, that he has there thrown out the greatest heap of nasty language, that perhaps ever was put together. The book throughout is nothing but downright ribaldry, without a grain of reasoning to support it ; and gave the author no other reputation, but that of having the best knack, of any man in Europe, at calling bad names in good Latin . . . If the reader has a mind to see railing in perfection, let him open any page of this book, and he will have a glut of it " Atterbury's *Epistolary Correspondence, Visitation Charges, &c.*, vol. iii. p. 452. A.D. 1726

Luther their great patriarche of Germanie, drunken with the

“ Yet he shewed mercy to one for his wit, as I have read in an old MS. For, examining a Protestant, whose name was Silver, he told him, after his jesting way, that ‘ Silver must be tried in the fire.’ ‘ Ay,’ said Silver, ‘ but quick-Silver will not abide it.’ With which ready answer being delighted, he dismissed him.” Strype’s *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. i. p. 205.

“ There is one standing excuse for a favourite writer which may pass current for every thing that is offensive, whatever be its kind or degree—that is, the manners of the age. Only take that with you—take it, perhaps, from some writer who repeats the phrase like a parrot, without knowing any thing about the age or its manners or language—take it only on trust as a phrase to which you do not, perhaps, yourself affix a very clear idea, and it is sufficient to cover any sin against propriety and decorum, and almost religion. With this salvo you may be expected to read with edification such things as if spoken or written in the present day would be considered absolutely ungodly and profane.

“ If, however, we wish to form a true judgment, this point must be looked into and settled. It is quite clear that some words and phrases which were in common use three hundred years ago, and which had then no character of coarseness, would be considered intolerably gross in the present day; but this, really, has nothing to do with the matter now under consideration. No more has any notion that may have been set on foot respecting the free, blunt, plain speech of our forefathers. It is not with coarse words or plain speech as such that we are concerned; though, at the same time, the use of coarse language in particular circumstances and to particular persons must be taken into account. I suppose, for instance, that there never was a period in the history of the united Church of England and Ireland when it would have been thought quite common-place and Christian for the Bishop of Ossory deliberately, and in print, to address the Bishop of London as a ‘ beastly belly-god and dampnable donge-hille.’

“ But one of the most material, and in an historical point of view most injurious, effects of this sort of misrepresentation is, that it comes to be taken for granted that the fierce and virulent scurrility of some of the puritan libels, which cannot be entirely concealed or defended, even by the most thorough-going partizans, was not characteristic of the writers, but of the times. Bishop Burnet is even kind enough to make a sort of an excuse for Sir Thomas More, by saying, ‘ he wrote according to the *way of the age* with much bitterness’ (*Hist. of Ref.* vol. i. p. 31); and so the bishop’s readers may naturally infer that, whatever may be meant by ‘ *much* bitterness,’ and whatever degree of it may be found in Sir Thomas More’s works, it belonged not to the man, but was ‘ the way of the age ’—that it was the way of people in those days; very wrong, no doubt, but at the same time as good for one as for another; the puritans abused the papists, and the papists abused the puritans, tit for tat. As if Sir Thomas More and John Bale were as like as two peas.

“ Now, as far as I have yet been able to learn, this is really a false view of things. It is true enough that each party abused the other, and that many

dreggs of heresie, belched forth a filthie booke, farst¹ full of lies and blasphemies, intituled *De Captivitate Babylonica*. This booke in part was answered by King Henry VIII., in a work of his written for the Defence of the Seven Sacraments. With this booke was Luther mightilie stung and offended; and having not to answer, fell to rayling and scoffing; and through all his answer to the king useth almost no other figure, but saucie malepart; and plaieth the verie varlet; and in plaine words giveth the king the lie, which to the majestie of a king, no man may utter by the lawes of nations; and useth so foule and un-seemlie words, that a very ribbalde would blush to use the like. And this he saith: "Forasmuch as the pope, emperor, bysshoppes, priests, laitie, and all that be good, condemne my doctrine; it shall be as lawful for me, to accurse and condemne them. Yea to checke and to rate them, I will spit out of my mouth all the dirt, mucke, japes that I can upon their owne heads, crownes and scepters." With such like, or worse shameful stuff is the booke embalmed, that it smells worse than anie tripe wiven tub. And in another place he calleth the king "*knave*," and telleth him "that he is possessed with a legion of devells." But Sir Thomas More so dressed him with his owne scolding and jesting rhetorike, that he burst the verie hart of Luther. *Responde stulto secundum stultitiam suam, ne rideatur sibi sapiens*, "Answer a foole to his follie, lest he take him selfe for a wise man." So did Sir Thomas answer Luther. But because it seemed not agreeable to his gravitie, suppressing his owne name, he set forth the booke in the name of William Rosse², a mad companion that

been, severe, false, and malicious things were put forth by the Romish party; but for senseless cavilling, scurrilous railing and ribaldry, for the most offensive personalities, for the reckless imputation of the worst motives and most odious vices; in short, for all that was calculated to render an opponent hateful in the eyes of those who were no judges of the matter in dispute, some of the puritan party went far beyond their adversaries."—*Dr. Maitland's Essays on the Reformation*, p. 46–47.

¹ Farst] Stuffed, from the French, *farcir*.

"He's not yet thorough warm, farce him with praises."

Troilus and Cressida

² In the name of William Rosse] Under the following title, "Eruditissimi viri Gualtheri Rosseri opus elegans, doctum, festivum, pium, quo pulcherrimè reteggit, & refellit insanas Lutheri calumnias; quibus invictissimum Anglorum Galliarum regem Henricum ejus nominis octavum, Fidei defensorem, haud literis minus quam ingenio clarum, scurra turpissimus insectatur: excusum denuo

then wandered in Italie, and for the manner of his behaviour was well known of most men.

Againe, the heretikes did saie, "he was a very chollericke and passionated man. And once he shewed it, for the escape of one Constantine an heretike, who was set in stocks, at his commandment, in his owne house, so that for the space of three dayes, for meere anger, he would neither eate nor drinke." But it was most false. Onelie he called for the porter⁴, and wished him to repaire and amend the stocks, least the fellow that ranne away, might haplie runne in againe; and so made but a sport of it, saying, "I will not blame him for this his fact; for I was never so hard to please, that I would be angrie with a man that would rise and walk, when he cannot easilie sit." His serenitie of minde⁵ was alwayes alike. Neither welth, riches, offices, nor disgrace, nor want could disturb him.

4. What wrecke and ruine hath honour and riches brought to manie a good man dailie experience teacheth. And he that hath so ruled his shipp, in passing through these gulphes, without touch of either rocke or shallow, *fecit mirabilia in vita sua*, "he hath wrought wonders in his life;" *quis est hic, et laudabimus eum?* "who is he, and we will praise him?"

Sir Thomas More spent most of his life in worldlye honours and high offices, where much wealth might be had. Yet *inventus est sine macula, nec post aurum abiit*, "he was found without spot, not coveting after gold." The office of chancellourship, being the greatest office of this realme of England, and in dignitie next to the king, he was very unwilling to take it upon him; and he

diligentissime, digestumque in capita, adjunctis indicibus opera viri doctissimi Joannis Carcellii. Londini, 1523." 4to.

⁴ *He called for the porter.*] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 902.

⁵ *His serenitie of minde.*] "It happened one day (says Mr. Aubrey, in his *Manuscript Lives*) that a mad Tom of Bedlam came up to Sir Thomas More, as he was contemplating, according to his custom, on the leads of the gatehouse of his palace at Chelsea, and had a mind to have thrown him from the battlements, crying out, 'Leap, Tom, leap!' The chancellor was in his gown, and besides, antient and unable to struggle with such a strong fellow. My Lord had a little dog with him; 'Now,' said he, 'let us first throw the dog downe, and see what sport that will be.' So the dog was thrown over. 'Is not this fine sport?' said his Lordship. 'Let us fetch him up and try it again.' As the madman was going down, my Lord fastened the door, and called for help."—Seward's *Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 111.

had utterly refused it, had it not been unmeet and unseemlie, obstinatelie to gainsay and contradict the kings pleasure; who of entire affection and love made choice of him, as thinking him the meetest man of all others for that place. Cardinal Wolsey, when he sawe he must needes forgoe his office, which he possessed immediatelie before sir Thomas, though he never bore him true hartie love, yet thought him the fittest, for his wit, learning, and other qualities to succede him in his roome. This he certainly, yea feelingly knewe, by the experience he had of him. Sir Thomas thought it not his dewtie to withdrawe his service from his prince and countrie. So between the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolke * he was brought through Westminster Hall to his place in the chancerie; where the duke of Norfolk, in open audience of all there assembled, shewed "that he was from the king himself strictly charged, by special commission, openlie to make declaration, how much all England was beholden to sir Thomas More, for his good service; and how worthie he was to have the highest roome in the realme; and how dearlie his grace loved and trusted him: so for this election all have cause to rejoyce, and give God thanks." Wherunto Sir Thomas, amongst other his grave and wise sayings, giving the duke humble thanks for his faire speeches, answered, "That although" (quoth he) "I have good cause to take comforte of his highness' singular favor towards me, in that he hath alwayes, above my desertes, esteemed of all my endevoures, yet I must, for my own part, syncerelie confesse I have done noe more than my bounden dutie required; and have manie times, for lacke of wisdom, learning and diligence, not so fullie performed my other meaner offices, but that many hundred in the land might be found better able to performe them than my selfe. But being now enhaunced to this high roome, which requires all the learning of the lawes, customes, and privileges of this land; so profound and politike a head as to weild matters of great importance, which this mightie and rich realme hath to manage, I tremble to thinke of myne owne insufficiencie; and withall, considering how wise and

* *The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolke*] It will be remembered that these two noblemen were great enemies of Wolsey (see vol. i. p. 592), but it has ever since been a custom for a lord chancellor, newly appointed, to be accompanied to his court, on his first taking his seat as chancellor, by all of high rank whom he can muster to attend him.

honorable a prelate hath latelie taken a sore fall in this loftie seate" (and here he sits him downe), "I have little cause to rejoyce, fearing a like or worse mishap. Wherefore, as I am charged, in the king's behalf before you all to minister justice indifferentlie to all people, without corruption or affection, so I likewise charge you all, on the fidelitie you owe to God and the king, that if you shall see me at any time in any matter to digresse from anie parte of dutie in this honourable office, not to faile to disclose it to the kings highness; otherwise his grace might have good reason to lay my faults on your necks, seeing this is the onelie way to remedie what may be amisse."—These were some speeches of his at his first entrance to that office; wherein so excellentlie he quitted himselfe that he wonne great fame and commendation.

It happened once one of his sonnes in law said merrilie unto him, "When cardinal Wolsey was lord chancellour manie got well by him. Not only those that were neare about him, but his yeomen, door-keepers and porters had their gaine. And sith I have married one of your daughters, and give attendance still on you, in good reason, methinks, I might look for something." "And soe thou maist sonne," quoth he; "for I may manie wayes pleasure you, or your friend: either by my good worde, or letter; or if you have a cause depending before me; at youre request, I may heare that before another; or if your, or your friends cause be not the best, I may move the parties to fall to some reasonable composition by arbitrement. Howbeit one thing I assure thee on my faith and honestie, I will never goe against equitie and conscience; no, if my father stood on the one side and the divell on the other, if his cause were good, the divell should have his right." And this afterwards appeared to be true in his sonne Herons case. For he having a matter in the chanterie, and presuming too much of his father's favour, would by no means be persuaded to agree to anie indifferent order; then he made a flat decree against him.

Being in this high office, he used commonlie every after-noone, at his owne house at Chelsey, to sit in his halle, to the intent that all that had anie suit to him, might boldlie come to his presence. He kept noe door shut. Bothe to riche and poore he was readie to give audience. His manner was, before he would award any *sub-pœna*, to reade over every bill of complaint himselfe: and if he found matter sufficient, he would set his hand

unto it; if not, he would presently cancel it. He dispatched more causes in shorter space than were wont to be in many yeares, before or since. For once he sat when there was no man or matter to be heard. This he caused to be enrolled in the publique acts of that court. It is strange to them that know there have been causes there depending some dozen yeares. And there be so many things there heard, that it will be a rare thing to heare the like againe.

Once he made a decree against one Pernell, at the suite of Mr. Vaughan. This said Pernell complained greuously to the king, that his chancellour was a great briber and extortioner; and that he receaved by Vaughans wife, for giving sentence with her husband, a faire gilded cup, for a bribe. By the kings appointment, after he had given up his chancellourship, he was called before the council to answer that matter; where by the lord of Wilshire¹, who misliked him for his religion, it was forcibly urged against him, as a heynous cryme. Sir Thomas thus replied, "For as much as the cup was brought me for a new years gift, long after the decree was made, at the gentlewomans importunate pressing it upon me, I confesse, I refused not to receive it." The lord his enemy, in a rejoicing manner, not expecting the rest of his speech, "My lords," quoth he, "I told you you should finde a foule matter of it: for I was enformed certeinlie of the truth of it." Whereupon sir Thomas desired their lordships, that as they had curteouslie heard him tell the one parte of his tale, so they would of their honours indifferentlie heare the rest. So he declared unto them, "that albeit," quoth he, "I did indeed, with much a-doe, receive the cup, yet immediately I caused my butler to fill it with wine, and I dranke to the bearer, Mrs. Vaughan; and when she had pledged me, I gave her the cup againe, as free as she gave it me, to deliver to her husband for his new-yeares gift; and at my instant request, against her will, she was forced to receive it. This her selfe shall depose, and others now here present can witness it."

And at another tyme, upon a new yeares daye, there came to him one Mistress Crocker, a riche widowe, for whom he had made a decree against the earle of Arundel², and she presented him with a paire of gloves and forty pounds in angells in them, of whom thankfully he receaved the gloves, and refusing the

¹ *The lord of Wilshire* — Sir Thomas Boleyn.

² *Earle of Arundel.* William Fitz Alan, K.G.

money said unto her, "Mistris, since it were against good manners to for-sake a gentlewomans new years gift, I am contented to take your gloves, but as for the money I utterlie refuse it." So he forced her to take her gold againe.

A gentleman, one Mr. Gresham, having a cause depending before him in the chancerie, sent, for a new years gift, a faire golden cup, the fashion whereof liking him well, he caused one of his owne presentlie to be brought him. His owne was better in value, but in his mynde not of so good a fashion; this he gave the messenger to deliver to his maister in recompence of his, and under other condition he would in no wise receive his maisters cup. Such was his innocencie and clearness, evidentlie proved to be voide of all corruption and partial affection.

You have heard how Sir Thomas, before he came to the king's service, had a very worshipful living. After, he was of the kings council, under-treasurer, chauncellour of the duchie, and after high chancellour of England. Moreover, how he was in manie honorable ambassages, alwayes in great favour with the king, and in his expences he was never prodigal nor wasteful: yet for all this⁹, after the resignation of his office of chancellourship, he had not, for the maintenance of him selfe, his wife, children and nephewes, of all the lands and fees he had in England, besides the kings gift, not yearlie the full summe¹⁰ of fiftie poundes; whereof some he had by his later wife, who was a widow when he married her; some was left him by his father; some he purchased; and some fees he had of some temporal men his frendes. As for the lands he purchased, they were not above the value of twenty marks by the yeere. And after his debts paide, except his chaine of gold, he had not in gold and silver left him the value of one hundred pounds. Compare it with the wealth of some men that have these latter yeares possessed his offices, and there will appeare two-pence halfpennie a-yeare difference.

⁹ *Yet for all this.*] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 867.

¹⁰ *The full summe.*] "After the resignation of his office of the Lord Chauncellor, he was not able, for the maintenaunce of himself, and such as necessarie belonged unto him, sufficiently to finde meate, drinke, fewell, apparell, and such other necessarie thinges; but was inforced and compelled for lacke of other fewell, every nighte before he wente to bed, to cause a greate burden of ferne to be brought into his owne chamber, and with the blaze thereof to warme himself, his wife, and his children, and so without any other fire to goe to theyre beds."—*Life* by Harpsfield. Lambeth MSS. No. 827.

At that time he called all his children unto him, and asked their advice, how they might, now in this decay of his abilitie, by the surrender of his offices so much impaired, that he could not as he was wont, and gladlie would, beare out the whole charge of them all himselfe. from hence-forth be able to live and continue together, as he would wish they should. When he sawe them silent, and not readie in that case to utter theire opinions, "I will then" (said he) "show you my poore minde.

"I have bin brought up at Oxforde, at the inns of chancerie, at Lincolns inn, and also in the king's court, and so forth from the lowest to the highest; and yet I have not in yearlie revenues at this present left me little above one hundred pounds, either by inheritance, gift, or fee; so that we must hereafter, if we like to live together, be content to become contributaries. But by my counsel, it shall be best for us not to falle to the lowest fare at first. So we will not descende to Oxforde fare, nor to the fare of New inn, but we will beginne with Lincolns inn diet, where manie right worshipful of good years doo live full well. Which, if we the first yeare find not ourselves able to maintaine, then will we the next yeare stepp one foote lower to New inn fare, with which manie an honest man is contented. If that also exceed our abilitie, then we will the next yeare after fall to Oxforde fare¹¹, where manie

¹¹ *Fall to Oxforde fare.*] The fare of the Universities at that time was indeed sufficiently scanty and hard (unless it underwent a great deterioration in the course of the next seventeen years), as we may fully learn from a description of the state of the sister university, given at St. Paul's Cross in the year 1550, by Thomas Lever, soon after made master of St. John's College.

"There be divers ther" *at Cambridge*: "whych rise dayly betwixe foure and fyve of the clocke in the mornyng, and from fyve untill syxe of the clock use comen prayer, wyth an exhortacion of Gods worde, in a comen chapell; and from syxe unto ten of the clock use ever eyther pryvate study or common lectures. At ten of the clocke they go to dinner; whereas they be contente with a peny piece of beefe amongst four, havyng a few potage made of the broth of the same beefe, wyth salte and otemele, and nothyng elles. After this slender dinner they be eyther teachinge or learninge untill fyve of the clocke in the eveninge, when as they have a supper not much better then their dynner. Immediately after the which they goo eyther to reasoninge in problemes, or unto summe other studye, untill it be nine or tenne of the clocke; and then being without fyre, are feyne to walke or run up and downe haulte an houre, to get a heate on their fete, when they go to bed.

"These be manne not werye of their paynes, but verye surye to lere theyr

grave and ancient fathers be continuallie conversaunte; which if our power stretch not to maintaine, then may we, like poore schollers of Oxforde, goe a begging with our bags and wallets, and sing *salve regina*¹² at rich mens doores, where for pitie some goode folkes will give us their mercifull charitie; and so keep companie and be merrie togeather."

And that he might the more quietlie settle himself to the service of God, he made a conveyance for the disposition of all his lands, reserving to himselfe an estate onelie for terme of life; and, after his discease, reserving some part thereof to his wife; some to his sonnes wife¹, for a jointure, in consideration she was an inheritrix of a faire living in Yorkshire; and some to master William Roper and his wife, in recompence of their marriage money, with divers remainders over and above. Which conveyance and assurance was perfectly finished, long before that matter, whereupon he was attainted, was made an offence, and yet afterwards by statute clearlie avoided; and so were all his lands, that he had assured to his wife and children, contrarie to all order of law, taken away from them, and confiscate unto the kings hands, saving that portion which he had appointed to master William Roper; which although he had in the former conveyance reserved for terme of life, as the rest, nevertheless upon further

studye; and sure they be not able some of them to continue for lacke of necessary exhibicion and relief." Signat. D 5. edit. 1550.

¹² *And sing salve regina.*] The good Catholic beggars asked their alms in honour and worship of our Lady. And even in the character of a mendicant Sir Thomas would, in singing the hymn *Salve Regina*, have continued to give testimony of his orthodoxy. It was objected to Joane John, early in the reign of Henry VIII., that "she despised the pope, his pardons, and pilgrimages; and that when any poore body asked his almes of her in the worship of the Ladie of Walsingham, shee would straight answeere in contempt of the pilgrimage, The Ladie of Walsingham helpe thee."—Fox's *Acts*, p. 735. On the other hand the Protestant beggars, and those who hoped to prevail with the Protestants, preferred their suit in the name of "*the Lord*." "These folkes," (says a zealous Romanist, in the time of Q. Mary) "woulde never saye '*oure Lorde*,' which they said was a papistical terme, but '*the Lorde*,' whiche declared them to be favourers of Gods word as they thought. And this terme was so universallie used, that the poore beggars hadde gotte it by the ende, by reason that begging thus '*For the Lordes sake have pitie upon the poore*,' they thoughte the sooner to spede; and you shall heare it of manye of their mouthes as yet."—Christopherson's *Exhortation against Rebellion*. Signat. S. 2. A.D. 1554.

¹ *His sonnes wife.*] Anne Chrisacre, or Cresacre. See p. 111.

consideration, two days after, upon a further conveyance he gave the same immediatlie in possession to master Roper. And so, because the statute had undone that (only) which Sir Thomas was possessed of, the later conveyance was out of the compasse of the statute. So his livelihoods, after his attainure, were very meane to support the state of a knight, and counsellor to the King.

Yet for all this, Tindall, and his other evangelical brothers sai, and lie apace, "that they wist well, that Sir Thomas More, after he gave over his chauncellourship, he was no lesse worth in money, plate, and other moveables than twenty thousand markes." Which report¹ Sir Thomas hearing, "I confess" (quoth he) "if I had heaped up so much goods together, as these brethren do reporte, I could not have gotten them by right, and good conscience." And indeed after, he was founde to be a verie poore man, when his house was ransacked and searcht, presentlie upon his committing to the Towere, where those that had that office appointed did give evident testimonie of his poore estate. And this his povertie was well knowne before to the bishops, and other his especiall friends. The bishops of Durham², Bath³, and Winchester⁴ sent him twentie pounds, to buy him a gowne, and a letter withall, desiring him to accompanie them to the coronation of queen Anne; which he receaved, and at the next meeting said merrilie unto them in this sort. "My lords" (quoth he) "in the letters your honours latelie sent me, you required two things of me, the one whereof, sith I was so well content to graunte you, I thought I might be so bold as to deny the other; and this I did concerning the first, because I tooke you for no beggers, and myself I know to be no rich man, so I was the bolder upon that &c. &c." The rest of his speech to the bishops at this tyme, I reserve for an after chapter, because he rather seemed to have prophesied, than to have spoken of any probabilitie of worldly appearance.

The hereticks laid to his charge⁵ that he had receaved great sommes of money of the clergie, for writinge bookes against their new learning. This was a shameful and an open slander. The

¹ Which report. See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 902.

² Durham, Cuthbert Tunstall.

³ Bath, John Clerk.

⁴ Winchester, Stephen Gardiner.

⁵ Laid to his charge. See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 867.

truth is, the bishops and clergie of England, seeing the great travaile and pains he tooke in writing for the defence of the catholicke faith, and the suppressing of heresies, the reformation whereof principallie appertained to their pastoral cures, they thinking themselves by his travaile in that behalfe, more than half discharged, and considering, for all his princes favours and high offices, he was no rich man, nor in yearlie revenues advanced as his worthines deserved; therefore at a convocation, amongst themselves, they agreed to gather up a somme of five thousand pounds towards some recompense of his pains, to the payment whereof everie one of the clergie, after the rate of their abilities, were liberalle contributors. Where Tunstall, bishopp of Durham, Clarke, bishopp of Bathe, Vesey, bishopp of Excester, repaired to him, declaring "how thankfully, for his travailes in Gods cause they reckoned themselves bound to consider him: and albeit they could not according to his deserts, so worthilie, as gladlie they would, requite him for it, but must refer that to the goodness of God; yet for a small part of a recompense, in respect of his estate, unequall to his worthines, in the name of the whole clergie they presented him with that small somme, which they desired him to take in good part." To them Sir Thomas answered, "that like as (quoth he) it is no small comforte to me, that so wise and learned men so well accept of my simple doings, for which I never intended to receave but at the handes of God onelie, to whome alone are theis thanks cheefflie to be attributed: so I give your honours humble thanks for your bountifull and frendlie considerations;" and for all their importunate pressinge of him they could by no means fist him with one penny thereof. Then they besought him "to be contented that they might bestowe it upon his wife and children." "Not so" (quoth he) "my lords, I had rather see it all in the Thames, than I or myne should have the worth of one pennie thereof. Though your offer indeed be verie frendlie and honourable, yet I set so much by my pleasure, and so little by my profit, that I would not, in good faith, for all this money and much more lose the rest of so many nights sleep as I have spent in these matters."—But we will put downe his owne words, as we find them in his Apology; where he saith most eloquentlie, for his manner, in this sort—"If any of the brethren thinke (as some of them say) that I have more advantage of theise matters, then I make shewe for, and that I set not so little by money as to refuse it when it is offered me, I will not dispute with

them about the matter, but let them believe as they list. Yet this I will be bound to say, for my selfe, although they should call me Pharasie for my boast, and Pelagian for my labour; how bad soever they reckon me, I acknowledge that I am not yet fullie so vertuous, but that of my own disposition, without any speciall help of grace thereunto, I am over proud, and over sloathfull also, to be hyred for money to take halfe the pains in writing, that I have taken in theise matters, since I first begane: and this let them knowe, of all that I now possess, I had not a grey grote given me since I wrote my Dialogues, which was my first worke I made concerning matters of controversies. But yet they are not satisfied with this, but say there is somewhat in the winde, that I am so partiall to the clergie. As for partiality to the clergie, I mervaile whereon they gather it: Myself, *perdy*, am a temporall man; and with twice wedding am come to that passe, that I can never be priest; therefore cause of partial favour to the priests persons I have none. Marie, for their vocation I do, as everie good Christian man and woman are bound of deutie, give honour and reverence to the sacred order of priesthood. For by priests we are made Christian men in baptism; by them we receave the other blessed sacraments; of them we receave the interpretation of the lawes of God, whose angels they be in these respects."

Little cause they had to call him partiall: for those that were naught in the clergie, and fell into his hands for anie manner of crime, found so little favour of him that there was no man living, to whome they were more loath to come¹, than to Sir Thomas More. So neither hope of lucre, nor suspect of partialitie could justlie be laide to his charge.

As Sir Thomas came to his chancellourshipp against his will, so he tooke no great pleasure to be entangled in that busie office. Therefore he desired, and made great suite to be discharged of it, that he might bestow the residew of his life in ghostlie and spirituall studies and exercises; and when God had gracionallie and mercifullie granted him this his boone, he was the gladdest man thereof in the worlde. Indeed he had a great foresight of evill hanging over the realme, and that made him the more desirous to live a private life. He pretended infirmitie of bodie to the kinge; and truth is, it was no naked and bare pretence, for that in verie deed he was troubled with a disease in his stomack, which continued with him manie months. He con-

¹ *More loath to come*; *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 464.

sulted thereon with his physitians, who made him this answer, “that long diseases were verie dangerous,” adding further “that his disease could not be holpen, but by little and little, in continuance of time, with rest, good diet, and physicke.” And this Sir Thomas considering, that either he must forgoe his office, or forslowe some part of requisite and wonted diligence; (for he perceaved he should be quickly unable to dispatch and weild the manifold and weighty affairs of that place), so if he continued he was like to be bereaved of both life and office; to preserve the one, he determined to foregoe the other. Yet for all, the Protestants, to make him the more odious, make report both at home and abroad, that More was thrust out of his chancellourshipp, as an unmeet man, yea and against his will. *Sed mentita est iniquitas sibi* (Psalm 26): for it was most false.

The duke of Norfolke, high treasurer of England, did openlie by the king’s speciall commandment declare, that Sir Thomas More, with much adoo, and after his earnest suite and supplication, was hardlie suffered to dismiss the said office. “For the kinge” (quoth the duke) “preferring Sir Thomas to that roome, tendered the good of the commonwealth, in chusing Sir Thomas More as the meetest man in all his realme for that place. So his grace dismissing him, upon his earnest suite, in respect of his infirmities of his body, and his now decaying yeares, hath showed more tender and compassionate affection and especiall favour to Sir Thomas.” The verie same thinge that the duke declared, the same also the lord Audley^s, who immediatelie succeeded him in his roome, in the kinge’s owne presence, and by his commandment, did notifie in his oration made in the parliament next following. And the verie same also Sir Thomas himself declared in his epitaph, which he had provided to be put upon his sepulchre. Wherefore the truth is, for all the hereticks babbling, that as he entered into the office with the kinges high favour, with the great good will of the nobilitie, rejoycing of the people, and the expected profit of the commonweale; so it is true also, that he was most favourablie and honourablie dismissed, and upon his great suite. At his dismissal the kinge said unto him, (as he himself in a certaine epistle of his doth testifie) “Sir Thomas, if there be anie thinge that shall concern your honour,

^s *Lord Audley.*] Sir Thomas Audley, K.G., afterwards (in 1538) created Lord Audley of Walden. He was in no way connected with the family of Touchet, Lord Audley.

(for that verie worde it pleased the kinge to use) or pertaine to your profit, you shall alwaies find us your good and gracious lorde, readie to pleasure you in anie thinge, and so make you account of us."

(Of this surrender he was mervelous glad, as though he had receaved a speciall benefitt; so departing to his house⁹ by the way he entered into the church, and gave God thanks for this favour, thinking as well worldlie adversitie as prosperitie to be God's blessings. And with his estate thus decayed, he so managed his minde and suited his port, as became a wise and holie man to doo. For as no prosperitie or worldlie worshipp did make him looke aloft, and solemne set by himself, with contempt or disdain of others; so could no mishap, troubles, and adversities (whereof he had his portion in full measure) dismay him, or any way infringe and break his constancie, and well settled mind.

(Of this change of fortune he made him game in this sort. It was a custome during his high office, for one of his gentlemen to wait on my ladie his wife, to know (as sone as service was done) her pleasure, when she would goo home. He himself came to my ladie's, his wife's pew, and making a low curtesie said, "Madam, my lord is gone; pleaseth it now your ladyship to goo home!" She knowing him to be her husband said, "I am glad Sir Thomas, you are so merrilie disposed." "Truelie madame" (quoth he) "my lord is gone, and is not here." She not knowing what he meant, he told her of the surrender of his office. The woman brooked it as a woman; he as himself, alwaies the same, merrie, wise, and constant.

5. Sir Thomas had a deep foresight and judgment of the tyme that followed; but rather he spake by the way of *prophecie* of that which we since have full heavilie felt, and he then seemed certainlie to know; and thereof tooke such compassion, that he wished his owne death and destruction might remedie the imminent danger of future calamities.

It fortun'd once, as he walked along the Thames side at Chelsea, with his sonne in law master Roper, talking of common

⁹ *Departing to his house*. "He gave over that office the 16th day of May in the year of our Lord God 1532. And after in that winter he wrote an epitaph in Latin, and caused it to be written upon his tombe of stone, which himself, while he was Lord Chancellour, had caused to be made in his parish church of Chelsey."—*Works*, p. 1419.

matters, upon the suddine he began thus to say, "I would God, sonne Roper, so that three things were well established in Christendome, that I were put in a sacke, and here presentlie cast into Thames." "What great things Sir, be these," quoth master Roper, "that should move you so to wish?" "Will you know, sonne Roper, what they be?" "Yea Marie, with a good will, if it would please you," said master Roper, "to tell me." "In good faith sonne, these they be," saith he. "The first is, that where the most part of Christian princes be now at mortal warre, they were all at one universalle peace. The second, that where the church of Christ is at this present sore afflicted with manie errours and heresies, it were well settled in a perfect uniformitie of religion. The third, that where the kinges matter of divorce is now in question, that it were, to the glorie of God and quietness of all parties, brought to a good conclusion."—This he spake when he was chauncellour, and when this matter was little thought to be of such importance as to trouble the whole Christian orbe, and to be the cause and wreck of manie thousands perishing, as afterwards it proved.

At another time, before this matter of marriage was brought in question, master Roper fell in talk with sir Thomas of the good estate of the realme; and of a certaine joy commended unto him the happiness thereof, that had so catholick a prince, so grave a nobilitie, so loyall and obedient subjects, all agreeing in one faith, and labouring for one end. "The truth is," (quoth sir Thomas) "as the face of all things now seemeth, all is well." So he highly commended all degrees and estates of this realme, in a fare better sorte than his sonne had done before. "Yet sonne Roper," (quoth he) "I beseech our Lorde that some of us, as high as we seem to sitt upon the mountaines, treadinge here-ticks under our feet like ants, live not the day to be at league and composition with them, and to let them have their churches quietlie to themselves, so they will be content to let us have our's, in the same manner." And when master Roper told him manie considerations, why there was no cause so to say or suspect; "Well, well" (quoth he) "I pray God, sonne, some of us live not to see that day," but giving no reason of this doubt, there staid. To whome answered master Roper, for which he was afterwards sorie, for his so ill placed speech, "Sir, it is desperatelie spoken." Sir Thomas perceiving him by his words to be in some passion, said merrilie againe, "Sonne Roper, be

content man, be content, it shall not be so for all my sayinge ;” (for his sayinge was no cause of the event, which afterwards happened.)

At that time when Cranmer had determined the matter touching the marriage of queen Anne, even accordinge to the kinges pleasure ; who had sequestered himself from the church of Rome, under the pretence that he could have no justice at the popes hands, sir Thomas said to Master Roper, “ Sonne Roper, God give grace that theise matters be not in a while confirmed with othes, and urged with further severitie.” At which tyme master Roper, seeing no likelihoode of any such matter, was somewhat offended with him for so sayinge.

It was much like to this that he answered the bishopps, when they sent him the twentie pounds I told you of before, at the tyme wherein they requested him to accompanie them to the coronation of queen Anne. “ My lordes” (quoth he to them) “ two thinges you required : in graunting to accept the one, I may be the bolder to deny the other. For the first, considering my estate, and your wealth, I thought it not amiss so to doe ; the other putteth me in remembrance of an emperour that had ordained a lawe, that whosoever committed a certain crime, except it were a virgin, should suffer the paines of death, such was the reverence he bare to virginitie. Now so it happened, that the first committor of the offence was indeede a virginne ; whereof the emperour hearing, was in no small perplexitie, being greatlie desirous to have the law put in execution, and by example of justice to terrifie others. Whereupon when his counsell sate long, solemnlie debating the matter, suddenly there arose one amongst them, and said, ‘ Why make you so much adoe, my lordes, about so smalle a matter ! Let her first be deflowered, then after may she be devoured.’ So though your lordships have in this matter of matrimonie hytherto kept yourselves pure virgins, yet take good heed, my good lordes, that you keep your virginitie still : for some there be that by procuring your lordships to be present at the coronation, next to preach for the setting forth of it, finallie to write in the defence of it, are desirous to deflower you, and when they have deflowered you, they will not fail soon after to devour you. Now my lords it lieth not in my power, but that they may devour me ; but by Gods holie grace I will provide they shall never deflower me.” Sir Thomas foresaw as a wise man, what after the bishopps indured with

greate grieve both of minde and bodie, which they little thought would ever come to passe.

There was a booke entituled the Supplication of Beggars¹⁰, the author whereof Symon Fishe (who afterwards recanted his errors, and died a good man) under pretence and colour of pietie forsooth, of helping and releeving the poor, fatherless, and other impotent persons, would have all monasteries and houses of religion pulled downe and turned into the kinges hands. And craftilie goo they about to cast out all the clergie, bearing men in hand that then-after the gospell should be preached, and money made of church mens goods, the number of beggers and baudes would decrease; of idle folks or theives we should have few or none, the realme would growe exceeding rich, and in short space everie man receive exceeding great benefits, both corporall and spirituall. But sir Thomas well foresaw what would then ensue, and so spake as though then he most certainlie sawe with his eyes all the garboyles and troubles, all the treasons and villanies, all the sinnes and enormities, that then would followe. “Expect, saith he, an ocean of evils, when this mans drift shall take effect. Then shall Luther’s gospell come in, and with it all evill: *cum eo omne malum*. Then shall heresies be preached; then shall the sacraments be set at nought; then shall fasting and prayers be neglected; then shall Gods holy saints be blasphemed; then shall God withdraw his grace, and let us run blindfold into our ownne ruin; then shall virtue be had in derision, and vice be greatlie magnified; then shall youth leave labour; then shall folke wax idle, and fall to unthriftiness; then shall hoares and theeves, beggers and bauds increase without number; then shall each man beare him bold of other, and seditiously flock together; then shall lawes be laughed to skorne; then shall the servaunte contemne his maister, and subject not obey, but constrained. What then but robberie, adulterie, perjuries, and all iniquitie!”

And how trulie he spake, daylie experience, to the greefe of all good men, doth certainlie, yea feelingly give testimonie to the worlde.

And to confirm that he had some insight in matters to come, mark this which now doth follow. On a tyme when his daughter Margaret resorted to him in the Tower, after he had a while

¹⁰ *Of Beggars*.] Given in Fox’s *Acts*, vol. ii. p. 280—4. edit. 1641. See also the note to the Life of Tindall, pp. 201, 202.

questioned with her of his wife and his children, and the state of his house, at last he asked how queen Anne did. "In faith father," (quoth she) "never better." "Alas! Meg," (quoth he) "it pitieth me to thinke what miserie, poor soul, she shall come unto, and that very shortlie!" And before one yeaere was ended, she dyed a violent death; for she was beheaded for heynous offences (as is to be seen in parliament acts).

And at another tyme, when it was told him how queen Anne delighted the kinge mervellous much with her dancing, "Well may it fare with her" (quoth he); "these sports will end in sorrow. Our heads for this dancing must pay for it; let hers stand fast¹, I charge her."

Once as he was coming from the court, he found all his children and nephews at their prayers. "This is well done" (quoth he). "Use this exercise, as much as you may. Tyme will come, my children, and you shall see it, that men will make no more account of prayer, than they do of their old shoes;" which long agoe we have seen fulfilled in this our countrie, by the means of that foule heresie that now infects the worlde with her poisoned doctrine of securitie of salvation.

At another time he said in this manner to his children. "It is now no maisterie, my children, to go to heaven, for everie bodie giveth you good counsele; and everie bodie good example. You see virtue rewarded, and vice punished; so that you are carried up to heaven even by the chins. But if you shall live, the tyme will come, when no man will give you good counsel, no man will give you good example; when you shall see vertue punished, and vice rewarded; if you will then stand fast, and sticke firmly to God, upon pain of my life, though you be but half good, God will allow you for whole good. This tyme, my good children, will come, therefore be provided for it."

6. We will now speak somewhat of his learning and writings².

¹ *Let hers stand fast*; Queen Anne Boleyn was beheaded the nineteenth of May, 1536; and the very next day the king was married to Lady Jane Seymour.

² *Of his learning and writings.* Of these bishop Burnet gives the following not very flattering opinion:—

"More was no divine at all. And it is plain to any that reads his writings that he knew nothing of antiquity, beyond the quotations he found in the Canon-law, and in the Master of the Sentences; only he had read some of St. Austin's treatises. For, upon all points of controversy, he quotes only what he found in these collections. Nor was he at all conversant with the cri-

whereby he hath consecrated his worthie name to immortall fame, till the worlds end. Somewhat we have spoken of this matter before; how in his youth in Oxforde he followed and profitted in the studies of philosophy, lawe, and divinitie. For an oration, he had few his fellowes; and for his verse he was little inferior.—It happened in the fourteenth yeare of king Henry the eighth, that Charles the fifth, the emperour, came into England, and was most magnificentlie receeved by the cittee of London³. At which tyme sir Thomas More made a merveilous eloquent oration in the presence of the emperour and king, in their praises and commendations, and of the great love and amity the one bare to the other, and how singular comfort and utilitie both the realms receaved thereby.

Whensoever the kinges highness would make his progression to Oxforde and Cambridge, where by those universities he was congratulated with most exquisite orations, his grace would alwaies assign Sir Thomas as one prompt and readie extempore to make answer: which to his great praise he would presentlie doe.—Yea in poetry he was excellent good. His epigrams were pleasant, wittie, not byting, nor contumelious; whereof some he translated out of Greeke, some he devised in Latin, some in English: for this he was liked of Beatus Rhenanus⁴ in *Epistola ad Billebaldum*⁵, where thus he saith; “Thomas More’s verses run sweet and pleasant, not harsh nor strained, no lameness nor obscuritie therein. More is eloquent, wittie, pure, plaine; and all is so tempered in so sweet a measure, that no musicke can be found more pleasurable. I think the Muses have consulted to bestow upon him all their elegances, beauties, graces, all their wittie and cal learning upon the Scriptures. But his peculiar excellency in writing was, that he had a natural easy expression, and presented all the opinions of popery with their fair side to the reader, disguising or concealing the black side of them with great art: and was no less dextrous in exposing all the ill consequences that could follow on the doctrine of the Reformers: and he had upon all occasions great store of pleasant tales, which he applied wittily to his purpose. And in this consists the great strength of his writings; which were designed, rather for the rabble, than for learned men. But, for justice, contempt of money, humility, and a true generosity of mind, he was an example to the age in which he lived.”—Burnet’s *Reformation*, vol. i.

³ *Cittie of London*.] 1523.

⁴ *Beatus Rhenanus*.] See p. 53.

⁵ *Billebaldum*.] i. e. Wilbolt, or, in Latin, *Bilibaldus* Pirckheimer, of Nuremberg, one of the most learned men of his age. His daughters are the *Bilibaldicæ* of Erasmus.

pleasant conceits." This was also the opinion of *Leodegarius a Quercu*⁶, a famous poet of France; and others held him in the same account; yet never tooke he liking of them himself, as he writeth to Erasmus. *Mea epigrammata nunquam placuerunt animo meo, id quod ipse mihi Erasmus conscius es.* "My epigrams never pleased my minde, as thou thyself, Erasmus, well knowest." His learning and skill in the Greeke tongue was verie great: and what a learned man he was in our common lawes, his great offices bear witness: what in civill pollicies and government, what in historie and divinitie, he left testimonie to the world by his bookes and monuments. He wrote the Life of Picus Earle of Mirandula, and translated into English his twelve rules of a good life; and this in his younger age; at which tyme he wrote manie devout and sweet epigrams. A little after he wrote a Treatise *De Quatuor notissimis*⁷, but left it unfinished. He wrote the Life of King Richard the third, both in Latin and English. He left them both unperfect, neither durst any to take upon them to finish the same, being by reason of the incomparable excellencie of the worke discouraged from that enterprise. He wrote also a booke of the historie of Henry the seventh: either the booke is smothered amongst his kinne, or lost by the injurie of this tyme. I doubt not but that it was like to the rest.

But the booke that carrieth the prize above all his other workes for eloquence, invention, and matter, is his *Utopia*; which he wrote about the thirty third yeare of his age. In it he painteth the patterne and platforme of a most perfect common weale, making it to be one of the new found lands. The invention was so wittely contrived, that they thought there had been such a countrie indeed; and of their fervent zeale wished that some divines might be sent thither to instruct them in the faith of Christ. This booke for the excellencie of it, is translated into the French, Flemish, and Italian tongues, with a good grace; but into English absurdly and lamely. After this he made another book, but in another kinde, against Luther. (Of this we spake before⁸. The matter was grave and substantial; the manner fit for the author of such filth as Luther in his book to the king shewed himself.

⁶ *Leodegarius a Quercu* } Léger Duchesne. See p. 53.

⁷ *De quatuor notissimis*. } See note at p. 53.

⁸ *We spake before* } See p. 76.

He wrote also a treatise against the Epistle of John Pomerane⁹, a great pillar of Protestancie. He wrote also an Exposition in Latin upon the Passion of our Lorde.

His bookes of controversie in English be these : The first is his Dialogues, commonly called, *Quoth he* and *Quoth I*. He wrote also a book against the Supplication of Beggers. Then wrote he against Tyndall, and Friar Barnes' nine books. After this, in the deffence of the blessed Sacrament, he wrote against John Frith. After this his Apologie. And then anone after another book intituled the Debellation of Salem and Bisance. After all this, being prisoner in the Tower he wrote three bookes of Comfort in Tribulation, a booke not inferior to any of the rest. There is nothing in it but religion and piety ; it is full of ghostlie and heavenlie counsaile. It is a work rather of an angel than of a man ; for he was destitute of all bookes and human helps when he wrote it ; he was close prisoner, and had neither inke nor pen for the most part, but onlie a cole. Although his penn was blunt and dull, and but a blacke cole, yet he had another cole that inflamed his heart, such as toucht and purified the lips of Esay^a ; and by the help of this sacred cole, that counsaile, which he gave to others in his bookes he practised himself in patient suffering the losse of his landes, goods, and life too, for the defence of justice. He wrote at this tyme a Treatise to receave the blessed sacrament : A Treatise of the Passion : manie godlie and devout prayers and instructions : and these most of them with a cole. And in effect theise be the works he made either in Latin or English, which (considering his continuall business and employments in the great affairs of the common wealth, his house and family) were verie manie. It is great question whether is more to be mervailed, how in the worlde, having so manie occasions of lets and troubles, he could write so much, or how afterwards, being destitute of bookes and other helps, he could write so cunninglie and exactlie of everie matter he handled.

Sir Thomas for his witt and learninge, even when he lived, throughout all christendome was almost miraculously accounted of : as appeareth by the writings of sundrie learned men. Collet was wont to say, " England had but one witt," meaning that he had no peer : he spake it of master More. Others compare him to Augustine ; some to Chrisostome ; and accounted he was of

⁹ *John Pomerane.*] i. e. John Bugenhagen. See note at p. 73.

^a *Isa.* vi. 6.

all of fame, for the mirrhour of the worlde. At that tyme John Colet, John Grocine, and Thomas Linacre were in place of his tutors. William Lillie, William Mountjoy, William Latimer his fellowe scholars: all excellent and learned men. His friends, Thomas Lupsett, the Greek reader in Oxforde; Thomas Eliot, not obscure of his writings; John Croke, king Henry the eighth his schole maister. Reginall Poole, afterwards cardinall, was his especiall friend; and so was Edward Lea, archbishop of Yorke, who wrote learnedlie against Erasmus. John Fisher, bishoppe of Rochester; and Cuthbert Tunstall, bishopp of London, after of Durham, godfather to the Queens Majestie, that now is (1600). His externall friends were these: Budeus¹, a learned Frenchman; Martin Dorpius; Beroaldus²; Buslidianus³; Peter Giles⁴ of Antwerpe; Johanes Cochleus of Saxonie, Luther's scourge; Francis Granveld; Conradus Gocloneus of Westphale; Ludovicus Vives of Spaine. But amongst all his friends none so deare and entire unto him as was the worshipfull merchant Anthonie Bonvice⁵ of the cittie of Luke in Italie; to whom Sir Thomas, a little before his arraignment, wrote an epistell in Latin, with a cole⁶, for lacke of a penn. Sir Thomas was wont to call him the apple of his eye. His epistell translated into English is in this manner⁷.

¹ *Budeus.*] Guillaume Budé, the author of the famous treatise, *De Asser.*

² *Beroaldus.*] Filippo Beroaldo the younger, librarian of the Vatican.

³ *Buslidianus.*] Jerome Busleiden of Luxembourgh, a learned man who had been ambassador to Julius II., Francis I., and Henry VIII. He died in 1517. His brother, Francis, archbishop of Besançon, had been tutor to Philippe le Beau, father of Charles V.

⁴ *Peter Giles.*] The editor of *Politian's Letters*, better known by his Latin name of Petrus Egolius. He must not be confounded with his French namesake and contemporary, Pierre Gilles, *Gyllius*, the naturalist.

⁵ *Anthonie Bonrice.*] Antonio Buonvisio, of a noble family of Lucca. (Of one of this name, viz., *Jeronymo Buonvisio* of Lucca, an agent of pope Julius II. in England, a very unfavourable account is given by Hollinshed. He was probably a brother of Antonio, although it is possible that either the author of this life, or Hollinshed, may have mistaken the Christian name, and that only one person is meant.)

⁶ *With a cole.*] "Yet still, by stealth he would get little pieces of paper, in which he would write diverse letters with a cole; of which my father left me one, which was to his wife, which I account as a precious jewell: afterwards drawn over by my grandfather's sonne with inke."—*Life of Sir Thomas More*, by his Great Grandson, Thomas More, Esq., p. 240. edit. 1726.

⁷ *In this manner.*] This letter, being somewhat long, unimportant, and very badly translated, is omitted. It may be found in the original Latin, in

Sir Thomas was so well known to the learned abroad, that his opinion was thought sufficient to decide anie controversie. It happened once that a verie excellent learned man a stranger, satt at the table at a great man's house in this realm with Sir Thomas More, whom this stranger had never before seen. There was great reasoning between the stranger and some others of deep points of learninge. At length Sir Thomas set in foot, and demeaned himself so cunninglie, that the stranger, who was a religious man, was astonished to hear so profound reasons at a layman's hands. Whereupon he enquired of those that satt next him, what his name was; which when he understood he said as queen Saba said to Solomon. "*Verus est sermo quem audiui in terra mea super sapientia hujus: non credebam narrantibus mihi, donec veni et vidi:*" (3. Regum 10.) "True is the fame I have heard of this man's wisdom in my countrie. I did not beleieve them that told it: but now I am come myself, and I find it to be true, yea and more I find than was reported."

One thinge encreased much the fame of his exquisite learninge: for his manner was, when he had occasion to be present where anie universitie was either in England, France, or Flanders; to goe to the scholes and hear the publick readings and disputations. And there he would often reason and dispute, so that he won the hearts of the learned, wheresoever he came. Againe one thing more gott him so many friends; for he was not curious in making choice of his friends, with such as desired it, and he liked; but entered once into friendship none more diligent to nourish and maintain it than he. In his friends affairs very diligent and carefull. In his owne negligent, in so much that in his apparell and expences he appointed John a Wood, a verie simple servant of his to be his tutor and overseer. In conversation with his friends he was not verie scrupulous or ceremonious, though he never omitted what civilitie and curtisie did require. He was sweet and pleasant in conversation, so that all tooke singular delight and content in his companie, for he had a speciall gift in merrie and pleasant talke, yet alwaies without gall or bitterness; never hurt, nor slander in his sport nor jestings. "*Pectus ejus omni nive*

Sir Thomas's *Works*, p. 1454. The reader who may wish to know more of the letters of Sir Thomas, will find a copious collection of the *Latin* portion of them, in Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, Appendix, No. LXIII. p. 308—400. 8vo. 1810. For the *English*, &c., see *Works*, fol. 1557. p. 1419—58.

candidus," as Erasmus speaketh of him. He was so pure and spotless, as no swan so white as his minde.

7. Sir Thomas, so wise a man and yet so sociable, so grave and yet so pleasant, it is hard to say whether he was a better senatour than a sweet friend: but this he solemnly observed both in earnest and in jest, to show no change of countenance in anie thinge that he happened to speake.

Presently after Sir Thomas was called to be one of the privie counsell. Cardinall Wolsey, who was president of the counsell, propounded to the lords and nobles present at the counsell table, that it was verie expedient to have a lord constable (an office seldome seen in England)¹. After he had urged the matter with many reasons, every man's opinion was demanded: who all seemed to like very well of the matter, and not one to gainsay the cardinall, till Sir Thomas More at last, as being the meanest in that honourable assemblie of great prelates, dukes, and cheefe earles of the realm, had showed his mind that he thought it an unmeet proposition. And there he made such probable reasons for his so saying, that the whole counsell began to forethinke them of their forwardness, and desired a new sitting before they would give their resolutions.

The cardinall stomaching the matter, as thinkinge himself injured by Sir Thomas, for he made full account to have had this office himself, spake in this bitter manner unto him. "Are you not ashamed master More, so much to esteeme of your wisdom, as to thinke us all fooles and set here to keep geese; and you onlie wise, and set to govern England. Now by my troth thou shouest thyself a verie proud man, and a more foolish counsellor." Sir Thomas not abashed with this public check, answered him according to his disposition in this merrie, yet wittie sorte. "Our Lord be blessed (quoth he) that my sovereign leage hath but one fool in so ample a senate;" and not a worde more.—The cardinall's drift was all dashed.

At another tyme Sir Thomas sitting as judge, some little pettie fellows were brought before him for picking and cutting of purses. Cut-purse art was not then so frequent, nor yet so heynous as now². They that were endamaged made means for

¹ *Seldome seen in England.*] It had been held, shortly before, by Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, who was beheaded in 1521.

² *So heynous as now.*] See Thomas Dekker's various works, and others, which, at the end of Elizabeth's reign and beginning of the reign of James

their losses, and one of the justices, a grave and an old man, all to rated the poor men, affirming that they were in great fault that had no better care of their money ; for their negligence and carelessness made theeves, by giving them so fair occasion that they could hardly but doo as they did. Sir Thomas seeing the importunity of the old man, sought occasion to depart for that present, referring the hearinge of these matters till the next morninge. In the meane time he caused the thief to be sent for to his chamber, and there, after he had thoroughly chidden him, said unto him ; “ I have good hope that thou wilt do better hereafter ; and see it prove so. For this time I will stand your friend, but you must shew me a tricke of your cunninge. You heard yesterday how the old gentleman chid them that lost their purses ; if thou canst take his purse from him, and let me know when it is done, I will warrant thee for this tyme thou shalt take noe harme.”

The poore knave promised his diligence, and being the next day the first man that was called to his answer, made a request to the bench, “ that it would please them to give him leave to speake, for he doubted not but to satisfie them at the full. But the matter he was to utter was secret ; therefore he desired he might tell it to some one first in secret.” That was graunted him, and when it was asked him whom he would have : “ Sir if it might be you,” said the thief, pointing to the old angrie gentleman, “ to you I would tell it.” Then he and the old man went apart. The old man’s purse was made fast to his girdle, which the thief spying gave it the looseing. After he had told a frivolous tale to him, he returned and gave notice of the purse to Sir Thomas. Sir Thomas taking occasion by giving an almes to a prisoner, whose discharge was staid for lacke of money to defray the keeper’s fees, requests the gentlemen on the bench to help the poor man. He himself gave first. When it came to the old justice, he put his hand to his pouch, and found it to be taken away ; as angrie as ashamed, affirming verie seriouslie that he had his purse when he came to the hall, and he merveiled what was become of him. “ It is well,” said Sir Thomas, “ you will now leave to chide my neighbours, who had as little care but not so good hap as you, for you shall have your purse againe.” So he told who had it.

the First, enter so fully into the art of thieving, and shew the wretched state of morales at that time.

Sir Thomas being beyond the seas in ambassage, happened to dine amongst manie strangers of divers countries; and amongst other discourses of table talk, a question was moved of the diversitie of the languages, each man praising his owne for the best. They concluded English to be worst of all. "Nay soft," said Sir Thomas, "*sum cuique pulchrum*: but yet by your leave, I must needs speake a word in defence of my language; and by good reason I will shew it nothing inferior to anie of your's. And first for antiquity; we Englishmen come of the old Britaines; the Britons of Brutus, he of Eneas Silvius, and he of the Gods. *O Chara Deum soboles*. So for antiquity I may compare with the proudest. Again you know, that *omne quod difficilius eo pulchrius*. Every thing the harder it is, the fairer it seems. Now let anie man here speak anie sentence in his owne language, and you shall hear me dialect and pronounce it as well as himself." And so they did. And without difficulty or difference he performed his promise. "Now I will speak but three words, and I durst jeopard a wager, that none here shall pronounce it after me. *Thurarts thruckit him with a thrittle*¹." And no man there could pronounce it.

There was a fellowe had lost his purse and tenn pounds in it; and hoping to have it againe caused a solemn bill to be set up in Paules². "Whoever hath found a purse," &c. Sir Thomas by chance went for all the bills there. Amongst the rest happening on this, he smiling tooke his pen, and wrote underneath THOMAS MORE, and so sent it backe againe. The fellowe seeing his name, was full glad; for knowing him to be a good man he hoped to have his purse againe; so with great joy he repaired to Sir Thomas; who caused him to be brought before him, demanded his name, his age, his abode; asked what money was in his purse, when and where he lost it. He wrote all this; then said to him, "My friend, I am sorrie for your losse; but I have not

¹ *Thrittle*.] *Thwittle*, or *whittle*, is still in use for a Sheffield knife so called. To *thwack*, or *whack*, can require no explanation.

² *In Paules*.] The old cathedral of St. Paul's was a place of general resort. It was not only a public walk, but also, its precincts being privileged from arrest, greatly frequented by idle and disorderly persons: notices of all kinds were here affixed.

"A man must not make choyce of three things, in three places; of a wife in Westminster, a servant in *Paul's*, or a horse in Smithfield, least he chuse a queane, a knave, or a jade."—*Choice of Change*.

See also the various passages in Shakespeare

your purse, nor I know not where it is." "Why then (said the fellowe) if it may please you, did you write your name?" "Marie (quoth he) to this end, that I might knowe thee against another time; for if you cannot keep your owne purse, you shall not keep mine." So he gave him fortie shillings towards his losse, bid him be more warie hereafter, and dismissed him.

There was another fellowe had made a verie foolish book in prose, and presented Sir Thomas More with it, hoping for a reward for his labour. Sir Thomas read it, and greatlie misliked the book. At the next meeting of the fellowe, he asked him if he could turn it into meeter. "Yea," said the fellowe; and he did quicklie. When he brought it againe, "What," said Sir Thomas, "is it the same booke?" "Yea," said the fellowe, "word for word; but that it is now in verse, before in prose." "Then it is a faire piece," said he: "before it had neither rime nor reason; now it hath at the least, some rime, no reason."

Sir Thomas being at Brussels in ambassage³ from his king to the emperour Charles the fifth, a bragging fellow vaunted himselfe the wisest and most learned in a countrie; and had placed papers in everie post, that he would dispute with anie, come who would, in anie question of what law soever, civil, common, municipale, yea in anie point of other learning. Sir Thomas, seeing the exceeding vanitie of the man, thought he needed modestie, and gave him this gentle gleeke; he caused this question to be written, "*Utrum avaria*⁴ *capta in withernamia*

³ *Ambassage.*] In 1521.

⁴ *Utrum avaria.*] "If the distress be carried out of the county, or concealed, then the sheriff may return that the goods, or beasts, are *eloigned*, *elongata*, carried to a distance, to places to him unknown: and thereupon the party replevying shall have a writ of *capias in withernam*, *in vetito* (or, more properly, *repetito*) *namio*; a term which signifies a second or reciprocal distress, in lieu of the first which was eloigned. It is therefore a command to the sheriff to take other goods, of the distreinor, in lieu of the distress formerly taken, and eloigned, or withheld from the owner. So that here is now distress against distress; one being taken to answer the other, by way of reprisal (in the old northern languages the word *withernam* is used as equivalent to *reprisals*), and as a punishment for the illegal behaviour of the original distreinor. For which reason goods taken in *withernam* cannot be replevied, till the original distress is forthcoming."—"The substance of this rule composed the terms of that famous question, with which Sir Thomas More (when a student on his travels) is said to have puzzled a pragmatical professor in the university of Bruges, in Flanders; who gave a universal challenge to dispute with any person in any science: *in omni scibili, et de quolibet ente*. Upon

sint irreplegibilia," "Whether chattell taken withername may be replevied," writing underneath that there was one in the companie of the English ambassadour that would maintaine dispute with him in that question. This glorioso, when he sawe this question, knew not so much as the meaning of the termes, so was hissed at, and made a fable¹ to all that court.

Sir Thomas being asked why he choosed little woemen for his wives, made answer, "Wote you not, that woemen be necessarie evils! then do I followe the philosopher's rule, who willet us of two evils to choose the least. So do I of my wives, and yet had I enough of the least."

Sir Thomas his last wife loved little dogs to play withall. It happened that she was presented with one, which had been stohn from a poor beggar woman. The poor beggar challenged her dog, having spied it in the arms of one of the serving men, that gave attendance upon my ladie. The dog was denied her; so there was great hold and keepe about it. At length Sir Thomas had notice of it; so caused both his wife and the beggar to come before him in his hall; and said, "Wife, stand you here, at the upper end of the hall, because you are a gentlewoman: and goodwife, stand there beneath, for you shall have no wrong." He placed himself in the midst, and held the dog in his hands, saying to them, "Are you content, that I shall decide this controversie that is between you concerning this dogg!" "Yea,"

which Mr. More sent him this question, '*utrum arvis ceruce, cepta in retulo namio, sint irreplegibilia*,' 'whether beasts of the plough taken in withernam, are incapable of being replevied.'" Blackstone's *Commentaries*, b. iii. ch. 9.

¹ *Made a fable.*] When Williams, afterwards shp. of York, was made Lord Keeper, by King James I., "one of the bar" (we are told) "thought to put a trick upon his freshmanship; and trolled out a motion crammed like a Granada with obsolete words, coins of far-fetched antiquity, which had been long disused, worse than Sir Thomas More's *Arvis De Withernam* among the Masters of Paris. In these misty and recondite phrases, he thought to leave the new Judge feeling after him in the dark; and to make him blush, that he could not answer to such mystical terms as he had conjured up. But he dealt with a wit that never was entangled in a bramble bush. For with a serious face he answered him in a cluster of most crabbed notions, picked up out of metaphysics and logic, as *Categorematical* and *Synecategorematical*, and a deal of such drumming stuff: that the motioner being foiled at his own weapon, and well laughed at in the court, went home with this new lesson. *That he that tempts a Wise man in jest, shall make himself a Fool in earnest.*" Bishop Hacket's *Life of Williams*, p. 78.

(quoth they). "Then," said he, "each of you call the dogg by his name, and to whom the dogg cometh, she shall have it." The dogg came to the poor woman; so he caused the dogg to be given her, and gave her besides a French crown, and desired her that she would bestowe the dogg upon his ladie. The poor woman was well apaide with his fair speeches, and his almes, and so delivered the dogg to my ladie.

The hereticks, finding fault with him that he was too long in his bookes, seeing their manner of writing was verie shorte, Sir Thomas answered, "as brief as they are, they be so much too long, even by so much as they are. For who can make a shorter voiage than he that lacks both his legges? for they have neither good matter, nor fit words. So these my good brethren may be as short as sweet, that is, never a whit."—Againe the hereticks, being galled by his writings, found fault with him that he would reprehend them, seeing it was not in him to amend them. "Well spoken, and to good purpose," said Sir Thomas, "so the fellow should never be hanged, except the judge would be bound to make restitution." "You must prove, master More," (quoth the hereticks) "your assertions with the express word of God, not with your dreams and fancies." "It is well," said Sir Thomas, "that my verie dreams so trouble you. I doubt not but when you shall see my day labours, you will better advise yourselves; and feare to provoke the expert and learned in divinitie, when the verie dreams of aliens in that faculty have so much astonished you."

Sir Thomas likened the manner of his adversaries repeating his arguments, alwaies leaving out the chiefest force thereof, to the play of little children, that make them in sport little houses of chipps, and will throwe them downe with a great facilitie; for this is solemn with all hereticks⁶, to misrehearse the catholics

⁶ *With all hereticks.*] This general reflection is exceedingly remote from truth.—What names, of those who had written when this author was alive, are more eminent in the popish controversy, on the side of reformation, than those of Cranmer, Jewel, and Bilson? Yet Cranmer, in his grand work, his *Answer to Stephen Gardiner*, lays before his reader every word of that prelate's animadversions, as well as the whole of the original book against which those animadversions were directed. In like manner, Jewel, in his defence of the *Apology*, produces first the *Apology* itself; next Harding's pretended confutation of it; and last of all his own defence against that confutation. He follows a like practice in his other great work, the "*Reply*." Bishop Bilson in the *True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian*

arguments, and to leave out the verie pith of their reasoning. "And herein," saith master More, "they do with me, as an ill champion doth to his adversarie, who having a day of challenge appointed to wrastle, and fearing his might and cunninge, seeketh to undermynd by craft. So he gets him by one sleight or other into his hand, before the time of tryall, and dieteth him with such thin cheer, that the man is half hunger-starved; and so when the day is come he is so feeble and faint, that poor sillie soule, he can scant stand on his leggs: *then* you wot well, it is no hard matter to give him a fall. But it is well with me that my feeding is so homelie, for I can battle and grow fat with anger and ill usage. So they can do me no great harm if they let me but live."

The heretick Tindall in his Bible, translated *Presbyter* priest, into *elder*; and *Ecclesia* church, into *congregation*. "This word congregation," saith Sir Thomas, "as Tindall useth it, no more signifieth the congregation of Christen people, than a fair flocke of unchristen geese. And this worde elder no more signifieth a priest, than an *elder sticke*." Tindall with Sir Thomas his substantiall reasoning was so amazed, that he was in a labyrinth, and manie times so brought to a bay, that he was like to a hare that had twenty brace of greyhounds after her, he so windeth and turneth himself in and out, this way and that way; so that with his subtile shiftinge he endeavoureth to blinde the eies of the simple; but he maketh the more watchful and learned sort as blind as a catt; so he can be no more seen where he walketh, than if he had danced all naked in a net; and thus he plaieyth *the blind Hob about the house*. But at last, after much ado, Tindall mendeth his translation of the word *presbyter*, which before he had translated *elder*: he afterwards translated it into *senior*; and therein he laboured so learnedlie, that Sir Thomas declared to him, that in his later translation he was much more helped

Rebellion, "repells" a considerable portion of his antagonist's performances, as he tells us "word by word." What also does Fulke with regard to the Rhemish Testament; and to Gregory Martin's attack upon the English translations of the Scriptures? Again, let any one refer to Nowell against Dorman, Dering against Harding, and a great many more protestant writers, and he will immediately find not only that this imputation is not true; but that the authors had taken the very best means to protect themselves if it were possible from such a charge, by inserting in their own books every syllable of those treatises which were the subjects of their animadversions.

with four faire vertues, malice, ignorance, errour, and follie. "And whereas" (saith Sir Thomas) "you promised to mend the errour; by translating *elder* into *senior*, you have as well performed it, as he that were blinde of one eye, to amend his sight, would put out the other."

After manie disputes with these wrangling and unlearned mates, he puts Tindall, Barnes and the rest to dispute with the limping and halting Good Wife of the boothe at Pudle Wharfe, and makes her not to limp and halt so much as the lame and weake reasons of frier Barnes do. But what they lacke in good reasoning, they have it in rayling; for in scoffing they are peerless; and especiallie frier Barnes, who fareth as if he were from a frier waxen a fidler, and would at a tavern go gett him a pennie for a fitt of mirth. With these and such like merriments he seasoned the tediousness of his writings. These evangelical brethren found great fault with Sir Thomas, that he was so merrie and pleasant in his writings. "I would have hardlie beleeved" (quoth he) "that ever they would have thought me pleasant to them; for I thinke they have found little in my writings to have pleased them. But seeing I please them so well, I will be as pleasurable as I may: for it is better to be merrie than waywarde."

Sir Thomas kept his accustomed mirth as a testimonie of a clear conscience in his greatest afflictions. Being brought to the Tower, the porter at his entrance demanded, as the manner is, to have his uppermost garment, be it cloke or gowne. Sir Thomas delivered him his hat: "Here hold my friend," (quoth he) "here is my hoode: for this is my uppermost; for it covereth my topp."

Being prisoner in the Tower, the lieutenant⁷, who was his good friend and old acquaintance, desired him, that he would accept in good part such cheer as he was able to make him. "Yea," quoth Sir Thomas, "here is good cheer, master lieutenant, God be thanked! And if any here like it not, turn him out of doors for a churl."

After he was close prisoner, and had his books taken from him, and had neither inke nor paper allowed him, he caused all the windowes of his chamber to be fast shut. Being asked why he did so, "Is it not meet" (quoth he) "to shut up my shop windows when all my ware is gone?"

⁷ *Lieutenant.*] Sir William Kingstone probably. See Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, vol. i. p. 653.

Sir Thomas More being condemned, Sir Thomas Pope was sent to him from the kinge, to bid him prepare himself to die, for by such an hour he should loose his head. When master Pope perceived that Sir Thomas More was nothing dismayed nor altered for this message, he thought that master More did not beleve it. Wherefore he sought in earnest manner to persuade him that it was true, and saide to him, "Sir, you are but a dead man. It is impossible for you to live till the afternoon." Master More said not a worde, called for an urinall, and looking on his water said, "Master Pope, for any thing that I can perceave, this patient is not so sicke but that he may doo well, if it be not the kinges pleasure he should die. If it were not for that, there is great possibilitie of his good health. Therefore let it suffice that it is the kinges pleasure that I must die."

At another time, there came a man of some reckoning, and was merveilous earnest and importunate with Sir Thomas, to have him change his minde, and that he should not be so obstinate and self-liked, as to persevere still in one minde. Sir Thomas either wearie of his tedious speeches, or desirous to be merrie, or to learne the man to speake more intelligible, for in all his discourse he never mentioned wherein he should change his minde, nor spake one worde, either of the marriage, or of the kinges supremacie, or of any particular matter that concerned Sir Thomas, but onlie desired and urged that he would be better advised and change his opinion: "Sir," (quoth Sir Thomas to him) "I will tell you the verie truth. I have considered and preponderated all my affairs and doings, both publick and private: and now I see it very expedient for me to change my opinion: and so I meane to doe. Wherefore I meane—" and there he staid. The courtier interrupting him, neither asking him, nor expecting the rest of his speeches, shewes himself merveilous glad, congratulates him in his good chaunge, and desires him to continue it. And away he hyed to the king, to whom he told the good successe he had gott by conference with Sir Thomas. The king was verie glad to heare it, and commands him presentlie to retourne againe, and saith, "Commend me to Sir Thomas, and tell him" (quoth the king), "how gratefully I take it, in that he will not seem to strive with us anie more. And moreover give him to understand from me, that for further satisfaction of the worlde, it is our pleasure that he sett it down in writing, that all may see his loyalty and love to us, his kinge and lordes." The

over hastie reporter of this blessed newes, repaires with speed to Sir Thomas, and declares to him the kinges will and pleasure. Whereat Sir Thomas being abashed: "Now God forbid" (quoth Sir Thomas) "that anie worde passed betwixt you and me here in secret, should be told the king." "It is well enough" (quoth the courtier) "for I know it will verie much please his majestie, to heare so good tidings." "What tidings be these?" (quoth Sir Thomas) "You told me," (quoth he) "you had changed your opinion." "Now our Lorde help us" (quoth Sir Thomas) "my opinion, my opinion, I have changed—but *in what*, I perceive you did not understand me, which had been verie requisite to have been done, before you had informed his majestie. For now he may be highlie offended, as thinking himself abused by one of us." "Why" (quoth he) "have you not chaunged your opinion concerning the supremacie and the divorce?" "We talked of no such matters" (quoth Sir Thomas): "but you were still urging me to change my opinion; and I told you I had; and being about to explicate my meaninge, you were over hastie, for you interrupted me, and so in haste you departed; and in my mind a little sooner than good manners would. This then I would have said unto you. I have changed my opinion,—concerning the cutting of my beard! For you see it is now all growne out of fashion since my coming into prison: and you know it is the manner of those that have been of the kings counsell, or be judges of the realm, to have their beards cut shorte and notted. And once I thought to have gone to my death, notted, as I was wont to wear it. But now I have changed my opinion; for my beard shall fare as my head, though the one be dearer to me than the other."

As he lived, so he died; allways posessing his soule in peace and tranquillitie. *Mens securo, jure convivium*, "a quiet mind is a continuall banquet."

Going to the scaffold to loose his head, the ascending of the stairs not being verie easie, "Help me up with one of your hands," said he to one of the officers, "for as for my coming downe, let me shift as I may: for by then I am sure I shall take no great harme." His head being laid on the block, the executioner asked him pardon, as the custom is. "I forgive thee with all my heart" (quoth he). "Marie, my neck is so shorte, I feare me thou shalt have little honestie by thy workmanship. See therefore that thou acquite thyself well;" and therewithall he gave him an

angell for his paines. These his sweet and pleasant speeches^a purchased good will of all that knew him; and therefore in his epitaph he speakes this of himself, "*Neque nobilibus eram incivis, nec injucundus populo* : Neither was I misliked of the nobles, nor unpleasant to the commons." I must say, to theeves, murtherers, and especiallie to hereticks, he was no great friend, therefore he in the same place saith, "*Furibus, homicidiis, hereticisque molestus fui*. To theeves, murtherers, and hereticks I was allwaies grievous and offensive." And to be troublesome to hereticks he counted it a praise; and therefore in an epistle to Erasmus he saith in this manner. "*Quod in epitaphio profiteor, me hereticis esse molestum, hoc ambicioso feci*. In that I confess me to have been displeasing to hereticks, this I say I wrote ambitiouslie: for there is not any sorte of men that I worse like than they: for I see by daiele experience, so much evill by them, that it greeveth me to the heart to think of it."—Yet all the while he was chauncellour there was not one man put to death for heresie.

8. Now let us a little consider his demeanour towards his wife,

^a *His sweet and pleasant speeches.*] We may borrow here a short extract from Lloyd's *State Worthies*.

"His apophthegms were grounded on experience and judgment. He would say,—

" 'He was not always merry that laughed.

" 'The world is undone by looking at things at a distance.

" 'To aim at honour here, is to set up a coat of arms over a prison-gate.

" 'If I would employ my goods well, I may be contented to lose them; if ill, I should be glad.

" 'He that is covetous when he is old, is as a thief that steals when he is going to the gallows.

" 'The greatest punishment in the world were to have our wishes.

" 'Puillanimity is a great temptation.

" 'Affliction undoes many; pleasures more.

" 'We go to hell with more pain than we might go to heaven.

" 'Who would not send his alms to heaven? Who would not send his estate whither he is to be banished?'

"When any detracted from others at his table, he said, 'Let any man think as he pleases, I like this room well.'

" 'It is easier to prevent than redress.' " P. 49, 50.

"To one who told him of his detractors, he said, "Would you have me punish those by whom I reap more benefits, than by all you my friends?'

"When my lord Cromwell came to him in his retirement, he advised him to tell the king 'what he ought to do, not what he can do; so shall you shew yourself a true and faithful servant, and a right worthy counsellor. For if a lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him.' " P. 53.

children, and familie, which was so well ordered, that rather it might seem a religious monasterie of regulars, than a mansion house of a lay-man. And some perhaps will thinke it rather a wittie invention what it should be, than a historie what in truth it was. For everie bodie there had his time and taske so sett, either in reading spirituall books, prayers or other vertuous exercises, that you would thinke it Mary and Martha's house, fitt to give entertainment to their Creator. There was no strife, no debate, no wanton or unseemlie talke. Idleness the bane of youth was quite excluded. To labour and to be vertuous was their onlie care. His servants he would in no case suffer to be idle ; for he would say " large food and rest bring diseases both to bodie and minde." Therefore some he appointed to trimme and weed his garden, allotting to each a plott, that by striving each to keep his portion best, they might delight to be working. Some he appointed to teach musicke, both song and instrument. Others to write ; others to painte. Some he would have to mend and sowe apparell. Of cards and dice no use at all. Besides this, he observed that his men should lodge in one part of his house, and woomen in an other : nor would he suffer any familiarity amongst them ; hardlie to speake ; more seldome to converse together, but upon especiall occasion. When he was at home, his custome was, besides private prayers which he never omitted, daylie in the morning with his children to say the seven psalms and the letanies with the suffrages⁹ ; and at night, before he went to bed, he would call all his household to goo with him to the chappell, or to his hall, and there on his knees to say the psalm *Miserere mei, Deus misereatur nostri*, &c. the anthem *Salve Regina*, and the psalme *De profundis*. This he did even when he was lorde chancellour. He had also the care that on everie feaste and Sunday all should hear masse. At the solemnities of Easter, Christmas, Whit Sunday, All Saints, and the like, he would have all to arise at night, and go to the church, there to be present at mattins, and after at even song.

He would never strike any of his servants, nor give them any words of contumelie or reproach. If he had anie occasion to chide them, it was in such mild sort, that his verie chiding made him more to be loved. They would be glad to have given occasion in some light matter, (yet feared to give occasion) that they

⁹ *Suffrages*] See note at p. 66.

might enjoy his sweet and loving chiding. Often he would, but especiallie upon Good Friday, cause the passion of our Saviour to be red before all his familie. And he would here and there explicate the text by manner of exhortation. Allwaies at his table he had red first a chapter out of the bible: then some comentarie, or some spirituall book. Not a word was spoken all that tyme. Either one of his daughters, his sonne John, or Margaret Gige, till they were married, by turns did reade. The reading was ended when the sign was given with, "*Tu autem Domine miserere nobis,*" according to the ecclesiasticall manner.

He conversed with his children in most loving manner. He would talk with them of the joyes of heaven, and the pains of hell; of the lives of the holy martyrs, of their patience, and love of God; and tell them what a happy and blessed thing it was, for the love of God, to suffer the losse of goods, imprisonment, losse of lands, and life also. And he would further say unto them, that upon his faith, if he might perceave, that his wife and children would encourage him to die for a good cause, it should so much comfort him, that for verie joy thereof it would make him merrilie to runne to death. And to have them the better prepared against troubles, he would show what was possible, though not like to fall unto him. If his wife, or anie of his children were sick or diseased, he would say unto them, "We may not look, at our pleasures to go to heaven in feather-beds, and with full bellies; it is not the way; for our Saviour himself went thither with great paine and tribulation; and the crosse was the path wherein he walked, leaving us example to followe his steppes. The servant is not to look to be in better case than his master. Be of good comfort, and be patient; for this sickness is sent you of God to purchase you heaven." He would tell them the means to attain to this vertue, or to that; and to flie or shunn this vice, or some other; and as speculatively, so practically taught them to embrace vertue, and speciallie humilitie.

His sonne John's wife often had requested her father in law, Sir Thomas, to buy her a billiment¹¹, sett with pearls. He had often put her off, with many prettie sleights; but at last, for her importunity, he provided her one. Instead of pearls, he caused white peaze to be sett; so at his next coming home, his daughter

¹¹ *Billiment.*] Any ornament for females. Qu. from *habillment*.

demanded her jewell. "Aye marrie, daughter, I have not forgotten thee." So out of his studie he sent for a box, and solemne delivered it to her. When she with great joy lookt for her billiment, she found, far from her expectation, a billiment of peaze; and so she almost wept for verie greefe. But her father gave her so good a lesson, that never after she had any great desire to weare anie new toy.

They having so vertuous and good education, could not chuse but prove most toward children. He provided good maisters for them. Dr. Clement, a famous phisitian, was one. William Gunnell (whose memorie is yet fresh in Cambridge, for his learning and his workes of pietie), Richard Hart, and others taught them humanitie, Greek, Latin, logique, philosophie, the mathematiques; and withall they red unto them some easie things in divinitie; and how much they profitted herein, we will particularlie sett downe:—but first we will speak of his wives.

Sir Thomas was twice married, as before I said: first to Joan Colte¹¹, a young maid, and a gentleman's daughter of Essex. She was very vertuous, and pliable to all his will and pleasure. By her he had three daughters, Margaret, Elizabeth, Cicilie; and one onlie sonne whose name was John. His wife, when he first married her, she was after her cuntrye fashion rude and untaught: but he soon framed her to his disposition and appetite. He caused her to be instructed in learning, and all kind of musicke; and shee so well liked him, that no doubt if she had lived, he should have had a sweet and contented life with her.

His three daughters were thus married. Margaret to maister William Roper; who had by him two sonnes, Thomas and Anthony, and three daughters Elizabeth, Marie, and Margaret. His second daughter had to husband, John Dansey¹; and she had five sonnes and two daughters. Cicilie was given in marriage to Giles Heron; and they had two sonnes and a daughter. John More, his onlie sonne, married mistress Anne Chrisacre, a gentleman's daughter of worshipp in Yorkshire. She was the onlie heir of her father, and by her came a fair living. Master John More had by her six sonnes; Thomas, Austin, Edward, Bartholomew, another Thomas, Francis, and one onlie daughter called Anne. Thomas the eldest sonne of John, and god-son to Sir Thomas the grand-father, married the daughter of master Scroope,

¹¹ *Joan Colte.*] See p. 55.

¹ *John Dansey.*] See State Papers, i. 366 (or William? see p. 56).

and are now both living. (Anno Domini 1599.) He hath three comelie gentlemen to his sonnes, and five daughters now alive. He hath had thirteen children, of whom I could relate particular matter much worthie the noting; but seeing they are yet living, and they desire rather to be known by their vertues, than by others' pennis, I shall cease from that labour. Eleven of this offspring were born before Sir Thomas his death and imprisonment.

Now that Sir Thomas had so manie children, and so great a family, he knew the care in ruling and governing them was great; and to ease himself of that burden determined to marrie againe; so for that end principallie he married a widdowe², whose skill in such matters he thought would much ease him. This wooman most lovinglie he used. Though she was aged, blunt, rude, and barren, yet he of his wisdome, or rather pietie, so cherished, and made much of her, as if she had been his first young wife, adorned with happy issue of her bodie. She was also sparefull, and somewhat given to niggardliness. Yet such as she was, he by his dexterity so fashioned her, that he had a quiet and pleasant life with her, and brought her to that order that she learned to play and sing: and ever, at his returne home, he tooke an account of the task he had enjoined her touching these exercises; but with such shewe of love, that she desired to please him the better. The greatest fault she had, was she would now and then show herself to be her mother's daughter, kitt after kinde: it is but their nature to be a little talkative.

Once after shrift³ she had Sir Thomas be merrie: "for I have" (quoth she) "for all this whole day left my shrewdness; for I have been at confession: but to-morrow I'll begynne afresh."

² *Married a widdowe.*] Mrs. Alice Middleton.

³ *After shrift.*] His latter wife was a widow, of whom Erasmus writeth that he was wont to say, that she was, "*nec bella, nec puella*" Who as she was a good housewife, so she was not void of the fault that often followeth that virtue, somewhat shrewd to her servants. Upon a time Sir Thomas found fault with her continual chiding, saying, "If that nothing else would reclaim her, yet the consideration of the time" (for it was Lent) "should restrain her." "Tush, tush, my Lord," said she: "look here is one step to heaven-ward," shewing him a Friar's girdle. "I fear me" (quoth Sir Thomas More) "this one step will not bring you up a step higher."

"One day when she came from shrift she said merrily unto him, 'Be merry, Sir Thomas, for this day was I well shriven, I thank God; and purpose now therefore, to leave off my old shrewdness.' 'Yea,' (quoth he) 'and to begin afresh.'" (*Camden's Remains*, p. 275. edit. 1657.)

And though it was spoken in merriment, yet was it full often true ; as himself acknowledgeth in his Books of Comforte, though as his manner was, under a disguised woman of Hungary he reported it. That she had a tongue you shall see by this. For when she saw Sir Thomas had no list to grow upwarde in the worlde, nor labour for office of authority ; and besides that, forsook a right worshippfull place when it was offered him, she fell in hand with him, and all to be-rated him. “What will you doe” (quoth she) “that you list not to put yourself forth as other folkes doe? Will you sit still by the fire, and make goslings in the ashes with a sticke, as children doe? Would God I were a man, and look then what I would doe?” “Why wife” (quoth Sir Thomas) “what would you doe?” “What? marrie, goe forward with the best of them all” (quoth she). “For as my mother was wonte to say, (God have mercie on her soule!) it is ever better to rule, than to be ruled. Wherefore I would not by God I warrant you, be so foolish to be ruled, where I might rule.” “By my troth wife” (quoth he) “in this I dare say you say true ; for I never found you willing to be ruled so long as I have knowne you’.”

Againe, when he was prisoner in the Tower, and had continued there a good while, she at last obtained licence to see him. Who at her first coming, like a simple, ignorant wooman, after her homely manner, thus bluntly saluted him : “What a good yeare⁴, master More, I mervaile what you mean. You have been hitherto taken for a wise man ; and will you now so much play the foole, as to lie here in this close and filthie prison ; and to be shut up alone with mice and ratts, when you might be abroad at your libertie, with the favour and good will of the king, and all his counsell, if you would but doe as all the bishoppes, and the best learned in the realme have done? And seeing you have at Chelsea a faire house, your librarie, your books, your gallerie, your gardin, your orchard, and all other your necessities, so handsome and fitt about you, where you might, in the companie of me your wife, your children, and houshold be merrie ; I muse what, a Gods name, you mean, to be here still.” After he had

⁴ *As I have knowne you.*] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 1224.

⁵ *A good yeare,*] “Quick.—Sir, the maid loves you, and all shall be well ; we must give folks leave to prate: *What the good jer.*” *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act I. Scene 4. “Conrade.—*What the goujere*, my lord : why are you thus out of measure sad?” *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act I. Scene 3.

heard her awhile quietlie, with a cheerful countenance, he said to her. "I pray thee good mistress Alice" (for that was her name) "tell me one thing." "Whats that?" (quoth she). "Is not this house" (quoth he) "as near heaven as my owne?" She not likinge such talke answered, "Tillie vallis, tillie vallis." "But how say you, good wife, is it not so" (quoth he)? "*Deus bone, Deus bone*, will this geare never be lefte" (quoth shee)? "Well, then, my good Alice, if it be so" (quoth he), "it is well. Moreover I see no great cause, why I should so much joy, either of my gay house, or of any thinge belonging thereunto, when if I should be buried but seven yeares under the ground, I should not fail to find some therein, that would not sticke to bid me get out a doore, and tell me the house were none of mine. What cause then have I to like such a house that would so soon forget his maister?"

At another tyme she came againe to visit him; and amongst many matters that she was sorrie for, for his sake, one she much lamented in her mind; which was, that he should have his chamber door made fast upon him everie night. "By my troth" (quoth shee), "if the door should be shut upon me, I thinke it would stop my breath." At that Sir Thomas smiled, but durst not laugh out for fear of displeasing her (as he saith himself); and thus he answered: "Gentle wife, I wott well you use to shutt your chamber within, both doores and windowes, and not to have them opened all the long night: and what difference is there between them, for the stopping one's breath, whether the chamber door be shut within or without?"

When Sir Thomas divers times had beheld his wife, what paines she took¹ with straight binding up of her hair, to make her a faire large forehead; and with lacing in of her bodie to make her middle small, and all for a little foolish praise; he said to her, "Madam, if God give you not hell, he shall doo you great wrong; for of right it is your's; you buy it so deare, and take such paines for it." Therefore you see Sir Thomas had some cause, as well as his father, who was wont merrilie to say, "that the choice of taking a wife is like as if a blinde man should put his hande into a bagge full of snakes, and celes together; seven snakes for one ele." And if he had heard any man say, his wife was a shrewe;

¹ *Within or without.*] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 1247.

² *Paines she took.*] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 1205.

he would say, "you defame her, and so do all those that saie the like of their wives: for there is but one shrewe in the worlde, and that one is mine; and so weeneth everie man that is married." But Sir Thomas so much bettered the state of her minde, that I doubt not she is a saved soule: and now enjoyeth each the other's companie in blisse.—Thus much of his wives.

Wee will beginne with his *eldest daughter*, mistress Margaret Roper, who prickt nearest her father, as well in witt, learning and vertue, as also in merrie and pleasant talke, and in feature of bodie. She was to her servants meek and gentle; to her brothers and sisters most lovinge and amiable; to her friends stedfast and comfortable; and would give verie sound counsaile,—which is a rare thinge in a woman.

Some men, of good callinge and experience, in their perplexities and difficult causes would consult with her, and found, as they afterward reported, as grave and profitable counsaile at her hands, as they doubted to find the like else-where, for age and sex more likely than shee. To her children she was a double mother, as not onlie to bring them forth into the worlde, but also brought them to heaven warde, by instructing them in vertue and learning. It happened her husband, upon a displeasure taken against him by the kinge was sent to the Tower; whereupon certaine commissioners were sent to search his house. So upon a sodeine coming to her, they found her, not puling and whining (as commonlie they doo in such cases), but cheerfullie teaching her little children. They delivered to her their message; wherewith she was nothings apalled, but in her talke to them she showed such constancie, gravitie and wisdome, that they were in great admiration at her demeanour, and afterwards they would say that they could never speake so much good of her as she deserved.

To her husband she was such a wife as I suppose it were hard to match her. For she was so debonaire and gentle a wife, that Master Roper thought himself a happie man, that ever he happened upon such a treasure; and he had her in such estimation, that he would often say "that she was more worthie, for her excellent qualities, to have been a princes wife." And he againe was of his part, so sober to her, so sweet, so modest, and so loving a husband, that if he had not been her husband, it might have seemed to have been her owne germaine brother, as Erasmus was wont to say of a happie couple. But above all she was to her father a most naturall loving childe. And albeit her behavioure

and reverence towards him all her life time was much to be commended, yet never so notablie as after her father's trouble and imprisonment; and then not so much for her paines and travaile, which she took to procure him some ease and relief, as for her wise and godlie talke, and for her comfortable letters she often sent him, and for some other reasons; so that it well appeared, she was the chiefest and onlie comfort almost he had in this worlde.

It happened once, long before his troubles, his daughter was verie sicke. The Phisitions, and all other, despaired of her health. The disease was then unknown, and dangerous^a. The onlie re-

^a *Unknown, and dangerous.*] "This distemper began at first in 1483, in Henry VIIIth's army upon his landing at Milford haven, and spread itself in London from the 21st of September to the end of October. It returned here five times, and always in summer; first in 1485; then in 1506: afterward in 1517, when it was so violent that it killed in the space of three hours. It appeared the fourth time in 1520, and again in 1528, which seems to be the time when this lady had it, and proved mortal in the space of six hours. . . . The only cure was to carry on the sweat, which was necessary for a long time: sleep to be avoided by all means."—Dr. Freind's *History of Plisick*, vol. ii p. 335.

In addition to the above note, borrowed from Lewis's edition of Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 46, I shall produce, from a contemporary writer, a description of the *moral phenomena* which displayed themselves, upon the return of this dreadful malady in the reign of Edward VI. The account deserves to be classed with those of a like kind given by Thucydides, in his description of the Plague at Athens: by Hodges and other writers, in their narratives of the great plague in 1665, &c. &c. The extract is taken from the famous *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power*, by D. J. P. B. R. W. initials, as it has been supposed, intended to denote Dr. John Ponet, bishop (of) Rochester and Winchester.

"When the Great Sweat was in England, in the tyme of King Edward, a little signification of a greater scourge foloweing; and many that were merry at dyner, were buried in the evenyng; some that went at night to aspe lusive, were founde in bedde dead in the morning; some that went not farre from their owne house, never returned: then as long as the ferventnesse of the plage lasted, ther was cryeng, 'Peccari, peccari, peccari; I have sinned, I have sinned, I have sinned: Mercie, good Lorde, mercie, mercie, mercie.' The ministers of Gods worde were sought for in every corner: they could not rest; they might not slepe. 'Ye must come to my lorde. Ye must come to my lady. My maister prayeth you to come straight unto him. My maistres must needs speke with you. Come, if ye love God. And if ye love their salvation, tarye not.' 'For Goddes sake, master minister' (saye the sicke folkes), 'tell us what we shall doo, to avoide Godds wrothe. Take these bagges. Paye so much to suche a man, for I deceived him. Give him so much, for I gat it of him by usurie. I made a craftie bargaine with suche a

medie they could then find out by experience was to be kept from sleeping. It was in the time of the great sweat. All means were sought to keep her awake, but it would not be, so there was no hope of her recoverie, Her father, who most entirely loved her, sought remedie at Gods hands : so went to the chappell in his New building, and there upon his knees with tears most devoutlie besought the Divine Majestie, that it would like his goodness, unto whom nothing was impossible, if it were his blessed will, at his mediation to vouchsafe graciouslie to hear his humble petition for his daughter. It came then presentlie into his minde that a glister would be the alone remedie to help her sleeping, which waking she would not have suffered ; and therewith she was thoroughly waked. The phisitians misliked this counsaile, yet it pleased God, for her fathers fervent prayer, as we may verilie thinke, to restore her to perfect health. Yet Gods markes (an evident token⁹ of present death) plainly appeared upon her ; whereby it is plain that this help was more than naturel. Her father loved her so dearlie that if it had pleased God then to have taken her to his mercie, he had determined never after to have meddled with worldlie matters. But now in his imprisonment her daughterlie affection did double itself. In one letter to her, he writeth, that to declare what pleasure and comfort he tooke of her wise and elegant letters, a pecke of coles will not suffice to

one ; restore him so muche, and desire him to forgeve me. I have taken bribes of suche a one, I pray you geve him so muche more again. I have spoken evil of suche a man, God forgeve it me. I have bene a hooremonger, a bawde, God perdone me. Dyvide this bagge among the poore. Carrie this to the hospital. Pray for me for Goddes sake. Good Lord forgeve me, I have dissembled with thee. I pretended to love thy word with my lippes, but I thought it not with my hart. But now I see thou knowest the secretest secretes, and wilt not leave evil unpunished. Have mercie on me, and forgeve me Good Lord, I beseche thee from the botome of my harte.’—This was the dissimulacion of the people for three or foure daies, whiles the execucion was. But after whan the rage was somewhat swaged, than return they to their vomite, worse than ever they were. Than, that they had before caused to be restored, and geven in almose, they seke to recover by more evil-favoured chevisaunes. But God is not blynde, nother is his hande shortened.” Signat. M. edit. 1556. Compare Donne’s *Sermons*. Sermon xxi. See also the note to the *Life of Colet*, in vol. i. p. 444.

⁹ *Gods markes, an evident token.*] “We used to say, that those that have God’s tokens upon them, are past hopes of life : here you may plainly see God’s tokens upon these men, they are reserved to everlasting damnation.”—Ussher in Parr’s *Life of Abp. Ussher*, p. 69.

make him pennis; merrilie insinuating what lack he had of fitter tooles.

Erasmus wrote many epistles to her, and dedicated his Commentaries on certaine hymnes of Prudentius to this gentlewoman, and calleth her the flower of all learned matrones of England. Nor was she meanlie learned. She compounded in Greek and Latin both verse and prose, and that most eloquentlie. Her witt was sharpe and quicke; and to give you a taste thereof, know this: Saint Ciprians workes had been in those days oftentimes printed; yet there remained amongst other faults one notable uncorrected, and thereof no perfect sense could be made, to the laming, and blemishing of a most notable sentence and testimonie of so ancient and sacred a writer. The words were these. "*Abest enim ab ecclesia Romana vigorem suum tam profana facilitate demittere, et nisi vos aeceritatis errora fidei maiestate dissolvere.*" Which place when mistress Margaret red, presentlie without anie help of other example or instruction, "These words nisi vos must be" (saith shee) "*nervos.*" So the sentence by mending of that worde nisi vos into *nervos*, is made plain and perspicuous. This correction of hers is noted of John Costerius in his commentaries uppon Vincentius Lirinensis, and by Pamelius in his Annotations on Saint Ciprian's epistle thirty first.

Quintilian, to shew the excellencie of his cunnige in witt, made an oration in the behalfe of a poor man, whose bees standing in a rich man's garden, were killed with poison sprinkled upon the flowers. She made another oration, answering his, in the defence of the rich man, wherein she quitted herself so well, that it is nothing inferior to that of Quintilian, though her part was the harder to defend.

Reignold Poole, after cardinall, and John [Voysey] byshopp of Exeter, so liked her epistles, that they could hardly be perswaded that such learning could be found in that sex, as there they found. Sir Thomas answered the byshoppes, that he could assure them that they were her owne doings, without any helpe. The next day Sir Thomas sent to her from court to write another epistle of a theme that one of the byshoppes sent her. The next day she returned her letter, and thereby contented so much the byshoppes, that they gave her great praise and commendations; and one of them sent her a portigue¹⁰ in token of his good liking. Yet for

¹⁰ A portigue.] A Portugal piece: "*nummum aureum Portugalesem.*"—Stapleton's *True Thomas*, p. 242.

all this, she was of that modestie, and rare humilitie, that she misliked to hear herself praised for anie qualitie. She thought so lowlie of her own witt and learning, that she was ashamed to have anie man to see her workes. This mind of hers greatlie pleased her father.

Seeing we have said so much of the wife, it will not be amiss to enterlace somewhat of the husbände; who when he married her was a zealous Protestant; and withall liked so well of himself, and his divine learning, that he took the bridle in the teeth, and ran forthelike a head-strong horse, and could not be pulled back againe by anie means. Neither was he contented to whisper it in *hugger muggar*, but thirsted verie sore to divulge his doctrine to the worlde, and thought himselfe able to defend it against any; so he much longed to be pulpitted. His zeal was so great in Luther's new religion, he could have been contented, so that he might have satisfied his madd affection, to have forgone a good portion of his lands, which by inheritance were fair and ample; for his father was the king's attorney-generall, and had procured for him the protonotaries office of the king's bench, which hitherto hath continued in his name. At this time some of this new sect had taken such an itch of preaching, that they could hardly charm their tongues: yet for feare, making with their lipps a shew of the catholick faith, they contained themselves whilst their heresie lay festering in the bottom of their hearts, only upon hope as they afterwards confessed, that the time would serve them better to preach openlie. His fall into heresie, as he afterwards would often say, did first growe of a scruple of his owne conscience, for lacke of grace and better understanding. For he daylie did use immoderate fastinge and manie prayers; which if discretion and counsaile had prescribed, it had been well; but using them of his owne head, without order and good consideration, thinking God never to be pleased therewith, he did wearie himself *usque ad tædium*, even unto lothsomeness thereof. Then did he understand of certaine books of frier Luthers; and as Eve, of a curious mind to knowe good and bad, so he, for the strangeness and pleasantness of the doctrine, had a desire to read some of the bookes. He happened of one entituled *De Libertate Christiana*, and on another *De Captivitate Babylonica*, two venemous and pestilent bookes. He was so infected with the poison of them, that he believed everie thing that Luther said to be most true: and thus through his owne pride, ignorance, and corrupt

affection, Luther's false allegations, sophisticall reasonings, and doubtfull arguinge, he was pitifullie deceived; and was fullie of that opinion *that onlie faith doth justifie*, and that good workes do nothing profitt; and that if a man would once believe that Christ died for him, it was enough; then that all the ceremonies, rites, and sacraments used in the church of God were vaine and superstitious. And so farr he waded in these heresies, that he wished he might be suffered publickly to preach; thinking, as we have said, that he should be better able to edifie the people, then the best doctor that comes to Powles Crosse. And thus for his open talk, and companing with divers merchants of the still-yarde, and others, suspected of heresie, he was convented before cardinall Wolsey. The merchants abjured at Powles Crosse; yet maister Roper, for some respect the cardinall bore to Sir Thomas, his father-in-lawe, was after a friendlie warning, quietlie discharged for that tyme.

Albeit maister Roper married Sir Thomas his eldest daughter, yet of all men in the worlde, at that time he least loved hym; yea in his heart abhorred him. And no mervaile, for Luther's easie, shorte, and licentious doctrine, had cast him to so sweet a sleep, that he gave over his fastinge, his prayers, and loathed both good bookes and good folkes, and gott himself fornoorth a Lutheran bible, wherein upon the holidays, instead of his prayers, he spent his whole time, thinking it sufficient to gett a little knowledge, to be able amongst the ignorant persons to habble and talke, as though he had been a great doctor. Thus he continued some yeaeres, and could not be recovered by anie means. Upon a time Sir Thomas talking with his daughter Margaret, said unto her in this sorte, "Megg, I have borne a long time with thy husband. I have reasoned and argued with him, and still given him my poor fatherlie counsaile; but I perceave none of all this can call hym home againe. And therefore Megg, I will no longer dispute with him; nor yet will I give him over, but I will another way to worke, and gett me to God, and pray for him. And presentlie upon this, through the great mercie of God and the devoute prayer of his father-in-lawe, he perceaved his owne ignorance, malice, and follie, and returned againe to the catholic faith. And so firmly he was rooted and fixed in it, that he continued verie resolute and constant unto his life's end, and left it as an inheritance to his house and children; and was afterwards a singular helper and patrone to all afflicted catholicks,

and especiallie to such as were in prison, or otherwise troubled for the defence of the catholick faith. His ordinarie alms, as yet to be seen in his book of accounts, amounted yearlie to one thousand pounds; his extraordinaries were as much, and sometimes more; sometimes two, three, and four thousand pounds a yeare.

He was, for relieving by his almes a learned man, maister Beckenshawe, sent to the Tower, in the reign of king Henery the eighth. His charitie and alms were so great to poor and needie persons, that it were a hard matter to find another of his degree, who might in that respect be compared to him: for he was "*oculus cæco, pes claudò, et pater pauperum*, an eie to the blinde, a foote to the lame, and a father of the poore." (Job, c. 29.)—This is a goodlie faire president for other of this tyme, being of less witt, vertue, and learning, to teach them to reforme themselves to the catholick faith, and learne them to retourne from whence they went, and to redeem their sins by almes.

This blessed couple had a daughter whose name was Mary: full learned she was in the liberal sciences. First she was married to master Clark, afterwards shee was married to master Basset, one of the privie chamber in queen Mary's time; and shee herself was one of the maides of honour. This gentlewoman very handsomelie translated the Ecclesiasticall Historie of Eusebius out of Greek into Latin, (and after into English, yet extant, to the shame of the hereticall of Meredith Hanmer) which for that Christopherson bishopp of Lincolne his translation was then famous and extant, her's came not to print. The English may hereafter. She translated the historie of Socrates, Theodoretus, Sozomenus and Evagrius. These of her modestie they¹ caused to be suppressed. She also translated a treatise of her grandfather Sir Thomas, made upon the Passion; and so elegantlie, and so eloquentlie hath penned it, that a man would thinke it were originallie written in the English tongue by Sir Thomas himself.

Now it remaineth to say something of the rest. Master John More, Sir Thomas his eldest sonne, was well learned, and verie vertuous. Erasmus dedicated unto him, as to one deserving well of good letters, Aristotle in Greek, corrected by him. Symon Grineus dedicated his commentaries on Plato and Proclus in the

¹ *They.] Quære She?*

same language. Margaret Gige, though not one of his naturall children, yet brought up with his other children even from her youth, was furnished with the knowledge of both the Greeke and Latin tongues, and had good skill in phisicke, as by this you may see.

It happened that Sir Thomas, some yeares before his death, had an ague, and had passed two or three fitts. After, he had a fitt out of course, so strange and merveilous, that a man would thinke it impossible; for he felt himself at one time bothe hote and cold, throughoute all his bodie; and not in one part hote, and in another colde, for that is not strange; but he felt sensible and painfullie at one time in one place, both contrarie qualities. He asked the phisitians how it might be possible. They answered it could not be. Then this little maide (for then shee was verie younge, yet had read Galen) told Sir Thomas, that there was such a kind of fever; and forthwith she shewed a book of Galen *De differentiis febrium*, where he avoucheth as much. This gentlewoman, after married doctor John Clement, famous for his singular skill in Greeke, and in phisicke.

This schole of Sir Thomas More was liked and prayned of great and learned both at home and abroad. Erasmus for the renowne of it, dedicateth to this schole his commentaries upon certaine workes. And Ludovicus Vives highly prayned it, and with great reason surelie. If we do consider their great increase in learning, it was rather an universitie than a private schole; if their profitt in vertue, a monasterie, rather than a courtiers house. And he being such as we have said, his wife, children and familie could be no other than they were, singularlie learned, and merveilouslie vertuous.

BOOK THE THIRD.

1. HITHERTO we have described Sir Thomas how wise, how eloquent, how learned, how honourable a judge and magistrate he was: how loving a husband, how careful a father, how sweet a friend, how zealous against hereticks, and in life how saintly and holy he was. But the chiefest thing, and the most memorable

and worthie to be written in letters of gold is this ; that Sir Thomas More, for the defence of justice and veritie, most gladlie and willingly offered himself to death. The narration of whose glorious martyrdome, being a thing of great comfort and edification, it were not meet sleightly or briefly to shut it upp. Therefore we will ripp upp the verie beginninge of this tragedie.

Then first we must speake of cardinall Wolsey, whose doings I do not willinglie speake of, yet being incident unto our matter, we are forced somewhat to rehearse them. Who though he had some good parts and gifts in him, yet he was of so aspiring and ambitious a nature, fraught with the fruits of pride, disdaine and revenge, that well had it been with him if never he had been borne a man ; for by these detestable vices he threw himself headlong into utter ruine and shame ; corrupted his prince with enormous vices ; caused the death of manie good men ; opened the gate to fowle and hideous schisme and heresie ; with which sinne our poor countrie hath been most lamentably overwhelmed. All this, though not intended by him, yet originallie sprange of his wicked and cursed ambitions. For this cardinall first moved² question and doubt concerning the divorce between ladie Katherine of Spaine, and Henery the eighth king of England. This Katherine was before married to prince Arthur, elder brother to Henery aforesaid. Arthur, being of a weak and feeble constitution, died presentlie after this marriage ; whereupon their wise and prudent fathers, Henery the seventh of England, and Ferdinando of Spaine, for the good and quiet of both realms, concluded upon a second contract betwene prince Henery and Katherine. So they made suite to Alexander, then pope of Rome, for a dispensation : and the impediment being taken away, which was thought then by the whole worlde to be neither against the positive lawe of God or of nature, but only against the lawe of the church, it was granted by pope Julius the second. So these two young princes continued quietlie in marriage, without anie scruple, twentie yeares togeather.—This cardinall I say, was the first actor and incensour of this divorce ; and it was upon this occasion, as the ladie Katherine laid afterwards to his chardge openlie.

He aspired to be invested with the papall dignity : and made much laboure to that end ; and had manie likelihoods to atchieve

² *Cardinall first moved.*] But see note to vol. i. p. 551.

unto it, both by means of the emperour Charles, and by some cardinals of Rome, wrought by his indirect meanes for that purpose; so once or twice when the sea was voide, he mightilie expected to have been pope. But at last perceaving himself frustrated and illuded of that expectation, and that chiefly (which galled him not a little) by the emperour Charles, who commended to the cardinals, cardinal Adrian, sometimes his scholemaster, who for his learninge, vertue and worthiness, and by the emperours letters, was elected: so he came from Spaine, where he had the chief government under the emperour, and entered the citie of Rome bare footed and bare legged. Wolsey seeing another preferred before him, and himself without hope, waxed wroth, and offended with all, so that he studied by all ways revengement of his grief against the emperour³. Wherefore he, not ignorant of the king's inconstant and mutable disposition, soon inclined to withdraw his devotion⁴ from his owne vertuous and lawfull wife Katherine, aunt to the emperour, whom now mortally he maligned, determined to make the king's light nature an instrument to bring about his ungodlie designment. And for the better complotting thereof, he would not at the first immediately deale with the king, but sent for Langland bishop of Lincoln, then ghostlie father to the king, and told him, what scruple and doubt he had, concerning the kings marriage: sayinge, "I Yeare it is not as it should be: for verie manie learned men hold it unlawful for him to marrie his brother's wife. And forasmuch as the charge of the king's soule lies on your hands, I thinke it but your dutie, to inform his majestie of the perill and danger he stands in." So he never left urging him, till he had won him to give his consent that he would admonish the king to have it debated and discussed amongst the learned; the better to satisfie and quiet the consciences of his faithfull and loving subjects. The king at the first hearing of this, was much amazed, and seemed to be grieved. "What my Lord," (quoth he) "let us take heed what we doe! *Consulta et definita* to call againe into question." Uppon this Langland told the cardinall, that he would meddle no more in the matter. "What my lord" (quoth the cardinall) "shall the breathe of a man make you start one

³ *Against the emperour*. See vol. i. p. 509.

⁴ *To withdraw his devotion*; It does not appear, that there is sufficient foundation for these severe imputations against the cardinal. See his *Life* by Cavendish, in the preceding volume, p. 560.

jott from your dutie? Be he kinge, be he keasar⁵, you doe what becomes a priest, a bishopp. Speake to the kinge againe. ‘*Urge, obsecra, opportuna, importune*’⁶: Move the matter once more, and I shall be present. Let it not be known that I am thus much acquainted with it; and then will I ridd you of much labour.’ For Wolsey thought, if once the divorce were sett on foote, to bring it to passe even as he would. So he devised to allure the king to cast his fancie on Lady Elianor, duches of Alonson⁷, sister to the French king. At this tyme there was great warre between the king of France and the emperour. If so he could bring to passe this marriage, two wayes he thought it would grieve the emperour: first by the dishonour and shame done to his aunt, queen Katherine, causing her to be rejected, as having lived in incest twentie yeares togeather. Again he thought he should mightily back the French king against him, by linking and uniting togeather the strength of England and France. And for this purpose, he persuaded with the king to be sent ambassadour into France, onlie to entreate and conclude for the perfecting of the aforesaide marriage. Never went anie forth of this realm with more pomp and glorie⁸, then now this cardinall did: he meaning thereby to make to hymself the kings favours, (which alreadie he thoroughly possessed, and ruled as he would,) more firme and sure. Yet never was there anie that had less honoure, and worse lucke than he gott by this ambassage. For it was the providence, and just judgement of God, that that which he intended to the harme of others, should be the occasion of his owne overthrowe. For the king (the cardinall nothing less expecting), had fallen in love with Ann Bullen, and upon her his heart was so thoroughlie and entirely fixed, that he had contrarie to his speeches to the cardinall, resolutely determined to marry her. Wherefore there was a messenger dispatched, with letters to the cardinall, willing and commanding him, that of other matters he should breake with the French kinge, but in no cause he should speake a worde of the marriage.

⁵ *Be he keasar.*] See note to vol. i. p. 473.

⁶ *Urge, obsecra, opportuna, importune.*] ii. Tim. iv. 2. “— opportune, importune, argue, obsecra.” Vulg. version.

⁷ *Duches of Alonson.*] Not *Eleanor* but *Margaret* of Valois, duchess of Alençon, afterwards queen of Navarre. See note to Cavendish’s *Life of Wolsey*, in vol. i. p. 604.

⁸ *Pomp and glorie.*] See vol. i. p. 519.

Yet the cardinall moved it, as being the chief thing to bring his malicious drift to effect. Which ladie Anne understanding, afterwards never ceased to urge and press the king against him, till he was utterlie overthrowne. The king also was otherwise incensed against him, as hereafter we will declare.

2. Now when this matter was once broched, the king (some thinke at the first upon some scruple, others were of opinion, he was never of so tender a conscience, but for some other respects) opened the matter with the first to Sir Thomas More, whose counsaile he required therein, shewing him certaine places of scripture that might seem somewhat to serve for his appetite. Which when he had perused, as one not professing the studie of divinitie, he excused himself to be unmeet anie way to meddle with such matters. The king not satisfied with this answer, so sore pressed upon him, that in fine he condescended to his grace's motion. And forasmuch as the cause was of such importance as needed great deliberation and advice, he brought his majestie of sufficient respite advisedlie to ponder and consider thereon. With that the king was well contented. "Aye marie," (quoth the king) "thou saiest well: consult with Tunstall and Clerk (bishoppes of Durham and Bath), and maister doctor Nicholas the Italian frier⁹, and with other of my counsell; for I have commended the matter to the wisest of them all." So Sir Thomas departing conferred these places of scripture, with the exposition of divers of the old doctors, and at his next coming to the court, talking to the king of the aforenaide matter, saide in this sorte. "Might it please your grace to give me leave to speake. My opinion is, that neither my lord of Durham, nor my lord of Bathe, though I know them both to be vertuous, wise, and learned men; nor myself, with the rest of your counsell, being all your grace's owne servants, for your manyfold benefitts bestowed upon us most bounden unto you, be not in my judgement meet counsellors herein, as being subject to be suspected either for favour or feare to utter their mindes. But if your grace mind to understand the truth, such counsellors may be devised, that neither for respect of their owne worldlie commoditie, nor for feare of your princelie authority, will be inclined to deceave you, or can justly be thought partiall. And such they be, as their verie names are to be revered; to witt Saint Austine, Saint Ambrose, Saint

⁹ *Italian frier.*] *Soto de' Ghinucci?*

Jherome, Saint Chrisostome, Saint Basill, and divers others, old holy doctours, both of the Greek and Latin churchē.” And there-withall he delivered to his Majestie certaine places, that he had gathered out of these fathers for the deciding of the present question. This was not much agreeable to the kings humour, yet then he seemed to like them : for Sir Thomas in his communication with the king most discretely behaved himself, and so wisely tempered his speech, that at that time the king took all in good part ; and oftentimes had conference with him againe about the same matter.

3. After this, amongst the counsell it was debated at Hampton court, and at York place, whether the king in this case needed to have scruple at all, and if he had, what way were best to be taken to deliver him of it. The most part were of opinion, that there was good cause of scruple : for the dischargē whereof, meet they thought, that suit should be made to the sea of Rome. This greatly misliked not the king, for there he hoped by money and other indirect meanes to obtaine his purpose ; wherein, as afterwards appeared, he was sore deceived.

Presently¹ upon this, Sir Thomas More with bishopp Tunstall², were sent beyond the seas for certaine affairs of the kings. Then was suite made to Rome ; and for further triall of the matter, a commission was procured in which cardinall Campagius and cardinall Wolsey were joined commissioners ; who for the determination hereof sat at the Blackfriars in London ; where a bill was exhibited for the annulling of the saide marriage, alledging that it was unlawfull. But for the proove of the marriage, there was brought forth a dispensation ; for then it was holden of all to be onlie against the positive lawes of the church. So there was brought forth a dispensation, and great disputation was holden to prove the said bull by lawe to be insufficient as being *surreptitium* ; for concealing some particularities, that in the first demand of it had much increased the difficultie in the graunte.

For it was saide, that in the bull of dispensation graunting license to king Henry to marrie ladie Katherine, it was not particularly specified, whether Arthure, king Heneries brother, did carnally know Katherine or no. So then appeared, they saide, an imperfection. But to prevent this cavill, the two kings of Spaine and England procured another brief from the pope, in the which,

¹ *Presently.*] In 1529.

² *With bishopp Tunstall.*] And with William Knight and John Hacket.

for more abundant cautele, it was distinctly sett downe, that notwithstanding anie carnall copulation, if anie such were betwixt the said Arthur and Katherine, the marriage should be good and available. Search was made for this brief, and it was found in the treasure of Spaine; and so with speed it was sent to the commissioners into England; and judgement should accordingly have been given by the pope (not by the legate) he reserving this to himself. But the king, upon intelligence thereon, appealed as his last refuge to the next Generall Councell. After which appellation, the legates sat no more. But before the matter passed thus farr, Sir Thomas concluded a most honourable peace between his highness the French king and the emperour, returned into England, and repaired to the king; where the king broke this matter againe unto him, and showed him that his marriage was not onelie against the positive lawes of the church, and the written word of God both in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, but also in such sorte against the lawe of nature, that by no wise it could by the church be dispensed withall: and incontinentlie laid open the bible before hym, and there red such wordes, as moved him and other learned persons so to thinke. But when he asked Sir Thomas More what he thought upon those wordes, and perceaving his mind not correspondent to his; he willed him to confer with master Fox his almoner, and to read a booke with him, which was then in making in defence of the unlawfulness of the marriage.

4. It happened that the king was marveilously displeased with the cardinall Wolsey for the long delay he made in the matter, as thinking that either he had changed his mind, or disliked the whole matter; or at least to be nothing so forward and conformable to his mind, as he looked for at his hands, and as at other times he had found him. So his highness displaced him of his office of chancellourship; and within a while after, albeit he was taken and receaved as a legate from the ninth year of the kings reign, as well by the whole realme as by the king himself; and as it was thought the office was procured for the cardinall not without the king's speciall help and mediation; yet besides manie other great and heynous offences, was laid to his charge by the kings learned counsell, the practise, and exercise of that office, without the kings speciall license in writing, as a most grievous offence, and so that he was fallen into a *premunire*, by vertue of a statute made in the time of Richard the second: and the whole clergie

of England, for acknowledging the same legatine authority was thought worthie to be punished in like manner³. So the province of Canterburie, to recover the kings favour and grace was fined to pay an hundred thousand pounds. The like contribution for the rate, the province of Yorke was fain to defray. I say for this matter, and for the hatred that the ladie Anne Bullen bore to the cardinall, for moving the aforesaid marriage with the French King's sister; and also by means of doctor Stokesly, bishopp of London, whom the cardinall not long before in the Star Chamber openlie put to rebuke, and after sent to the Fleet, the cardinall was out of the kings favour; and colourable devices were daily sought and urged to bring him to publicke triall. Articles were drawn against him, presented to the king, and followed by mighty men. So Wolsey in his diocese of Yorke, whereunto (spoiled of his other livings) he betooke himself, was arrested of high treason by the earl of Northumberland, and other of the kings privie chamber; and sent for up to London, there to make his answer to such accusations as should be laid against him. But the many sorrowes and greefes receaved of these troubles, with fear of worse event, did so deeplie sinke into his harte, that it cut off part of his journey, and his life with all, not without some suspicion of poisoning himself⁴. So in his way to London at Leicester he died in the abbey. Others denie this poysoning: but this was the end of him, who was the first and principall instrument of this divorce. *Malum consilium consultori pessimum*: he was the first that smarted for this matter.

In this place Sir Thomas More was elected⁵: who was thought

³ *In like manner.*] See the *Life of Cromwell*, in this volume.

⁴ *Suspicion of poisoning himself.*] It is observable, that no mention of this circumstance of poisoning is made by Harpsfield, from whom the substance of this account is taken. He says merely, "that the many sorrowes and griefs that he had conceaved of these his troubles, with further feare of other grievous event, had so deeply suncke into his harte, that it cut off a great parte of his journey, and life withall. And this ende fell upon him, that was the first and principall of this unhappie divorce." Lambeth MSS. No. 827. fol. 15. Compare above, vol. i. *Life of Wolsey*, p. 631.

⁵ *More was elected.*] In 1529, see note at p. 71, Erasmus, in an epistle to Giovanni Vergara, says that the chancellorship had been offered to archbishop Warham before More. "Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis vocatus, imo revocatus est ad Cancellarii munus, quo non aliud in Anglia majus, sed is excusavit ætatem, jam imparem tanto negotio. Itaque provincia delegata est Thomæ Moro, magno omnium applausu, nec minore bonorum omnium lætitia sub-
rectus, quam dejectus Cardinalis." Operum tom. iii. ed. 1703.

the rather to have had this office given him, that he might be induced thereby the sooner to condescend to the king's request : who estoons repeated, that no dispensation (the effect being directlie against the lawe of God) could make it good. So he willed him againe to confer with byshopp Stokesley, " who in that point," said the king, " can fullie satisfie you." Yet for all this conference he could by no means be persuaded to change his minde. Notwithstanding, the byshopp shewed himself to the king's highness verie favourable in his relation, and said he found Sir Thomas, in his graces cause, verie desirous to find some matter wherewith he might serve his turn to his contentation. Yet this man was but too forward in the behalfe of the king, for all his gentle reporte : but this he did in respect of the love he bare to Sir Thomas, in delivering this qualified answer to the kinge.

5. The kinge being more desirous to winn Sir Thomas to assent, then one half of his realme, presentlie after his entering into this office, he moved him againe and againe to consider of this his great matter. Sir Thomas falling downe upon his knees, humble besought his highness to stand his gracious lord, as heretofore he had found him ; saing that there was nothing in the worlde, that had been so grievous unto his hart, as to remember that he was not able, as willinglie he would, yea with the losse of his limbs, to finde anie thinge in this matter, whereby he might with safetie of conscience serve his graces contentation. " For well I bear in minde," (quoth Sir Thomas) " those most goodlie wordes, that your highnes spake to me, at my first entering into your noble service ; that first I should attend and looke to God and his honour ; and then to yourself. And so hitherto, in good faith, I have done ; or ells might your grace account me a most ungracious and unworthy servant." To this the king answered, " If you cannot herein, with the safetie of your conscience serve us, we will be content to accept of your service otherwise ; and use the advise in this matter of my other learned counsell, whose consciences I well wott can agree herunto. And yet I thinke, you will not condemn them of a large conscience, you taking them for good and vertuous men. Well, Sir Thomas, I shall continue my favour towards you, and never hereafter more trouble youre conscience with this matter."

After all this, the king being fullie determined to proceed in the marriage with queen Anne, called a parliament for that purpose ; where, for the furtherance of the marriage, Sir Thomas

was commanded by the kinge to goo into the Lower House, there to shew unto them what the universities, as well for the parts beyond the seas, as of Oxforde and Cambridge, had done in that behalfe ; and their publicke seales testyfyng their dislike of the former marriage. All this at the kings request he opened unto them ; neither adding nor detracting of that which he was commanded to utter ; and not showing of what minde he was himself therein.—And so much Sir Thomas condescended unto, for the satisfying of the kings mind as he could : first he red that which served for the deciding of the matter ; then he diligentlie conferred with whom he was appointed ; and after these speeches above rehearsed of the king, he gladlie red all the books that were made for the marriage of queen Anne : and of the other part, he would neither read, nor suffer any booke to lie by him, whether they were made in England or beyond the seas ; nor would willingly talk with anie that favoured queen Katherines part, more than was of necessitie or dutie ; nor would give ear to the popes proceedings in the matter. For having once settled his owne mind in quiet, he shewed himself so conformable as any reasonable man in such a case could thinke meet and convenient : insomuch that those that favoured most of the kings proceedings, would alwaies say and averre, that there was no obstinacie or lacke of good will, that Sir Thomas did not change his mind according to the kings desire.—By chance he found a booke in his studie amongst other papers, that the byshopp of Bath⁶ made, in that time when the legates satt, for the defence of the first marriage ; he caused it presentlie to be burnt, and would neither write, nor hear any to dispute of this matter in his presence.

6. All the time that Sir Thomas was chauncellour, this matter of the divorce lay in doubt. Now after two yeares and a half (for so long he continued in that office ; for the twentie sixth of October he was admitted to it, in the yeare 1529 ; and on the fifteenth day of May in the yeare 1532 he was dismissed), seeing still the king was resolutelie bent to proceed in this new marriage, yea though it were with the dislike of the apostolicall sea, so doubting lest further things would be demanded of him, by reason of his office, than might stand with his conscience, he made suite to the duke of Norfolk, his singular good friend, to be a meane to the king that he might with his graces favour be discharged of

⁶ *The byshopp of Bath.*] John Clerk.

his chauncellourship, pretending other colourable, yet true and probable reasons why he demanded it; and at the length having this gratuslie granted him, he purposed not to meddle further with princes' affaires, nor with anie other worldlie matter; but especiallie and chieflie not with this cumbersome question of the marriage. So he determined to spend the residue of his life in meditating of heaven and heavenlie things; and that he might the more quietlie settle himself thereunto, placed all his gentlemen and yeomen with byshopps and noblemen his friends. His barge and watermen he gave to the lord Audley of Walden, who succeeded him in his office. He put from his table Pattison his foole, whom he sent home to his father. He disposed of all his lands, in manner as before is saide; most part of his moveables, especiallie his plate and jewells, reserving only his chaine of gold for hymself; and his wife's golden beads, as he himself merrilie saith, he sold, and gave away, and made thereof well nigh to the value of two hundred pounds: part of this he distributed to the poor, part to his children; so tooke himself to his house at Chelsea, and lived a very private and solitarie life, tending to no other thinge, as being now ridd of all worldlie combers, than to prayers, studie, and writing against hereticks, who then begann to trouble the world.

Presentlie after the resignation of his office, Thomas Cranmer archbishopp of Canterbourie having commission sent him to define and determine of the king's marriage, pronounced in open consistory at St. Albans sentence definitive¹ against the marriage of queen Katherine, and declared the same to be of no force and validity. And withall by act of parliament, the king, pretending that he could find no justice at the sea of Rome, disannulled the authority of the pope in this realme. Then Sir Thomas was much laid unto to hold with the king; but being perseverant in his former constancie, every day some quarrelling matter or other was pickt against him. First they begann to examine his life; how in his office he had behaved himself; wherein he was found to be most just and innocent, so nothing could be fastened against him. Though some things were objected by Pernell, and divers others, yet when matters came to be examined, all made for Sir Thomas his integritie and cleanness from all corruption and bribery. It was reported he was a busie bodie; that he was about the making

¹ *Sentence definitive.*] May 23, 1533. See *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 360.

and devising, and meant to publish in print, an answer to certaine articles, put forth by the authority of the king and the counsell; wherein he was most guiltless; and so upon his oath purged himself by his letter, sent to Sir Thomas Cromwell, one of the kings privie counsell.

7. Amongst other quarrels, this was the most grevous and dangerous that was sought agaynst him, by reason of a nunn dwelling in Canterbury, for her vertue and holiness not a little esteemed amongst the people; unto whom, for that cause, manie religious persons, doctors of divinitie, and divers others of good worship and credit used to resort. She affirmed, that she had revelations from God to give the king warning of his wicked life, and of the abuse of the sword and authority committed to his charge by God. And she, understanding my lord of Rochester John Fisher, her ordinarie, to be a man of virtuous living, and learned, repaired to him, and disclosed all her revelations, desiring his advice and counsaile therein. Which the byshopp perceiving right well might stand with the lawes of Gods holie church, willed her to repaire to the king herself; and to lett him understand the whole circumstances. Whereupon she went to the king, and told him all the revelations; and so retourned home againe. Shortly after she made a voyage to the nuns of Sion³, by means of master Reignolds⁴, a father of that house; where talking of such secrets as had been revealed unto her, she happened to touch the king's supremacie, and his marriage with Anne Bullen, which shortlie after followed. This father brought her to Sir Thomas More, who notwithstanding he might at that time without any danger of any lawe, freelie and safelie have talked with her; in all the communication between them he demeaned himself¹ so discretely, that even in the judgement of his enemies, he was sure

³ *To the nuns of Sion.*] At Isleworth.

⁴ *Reignolds.*] Richard Reynolds, who was afterwards executed.

¹ *He demeaned himself.*] Sir Thomas, in a long letter to secretary Cromwell, gave a full account of the interview which he had with this nun, and of all that he knew, or had ever heard respecting her. This letter is not printed with the others in the collection of his Works, though it is contained in the manuscript from which that edition was published. His judgment there being unfavourable to the nun, who in the reign of queen Mary was set up as a prophetess, a saint, and a martyr, it is very likely that the letter was omitted by design. It is preserved, however, in Bishop Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 257—263. *Records.* Edit. 1715.

from all blame and sinistre suspition. Yet notwithstanding at the next Parliament following, there was put into the Lower House a bill to attaint the said Anne¹, and divers other persons of high treason; and the bishopp of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, with some others of misprision of treason². This the King supposed would of all likelihood cause him to relent and condescend to his request; but therein he was much deceived.

Sir Thomas was a suitor to be personallie received in his owne defence, to make answer to the bill. But the king not liking that, assigned the bishopp of Canterburie³, the lord chauncellour⁴, the duke of Norfolk, and master Cromwell, at a day and place appointed to call Sir Thomas before them. At which time master William Roper, thinking that then he should have good opportunitie, earnestlie advised him to be discharged out of the parliament bill. At his coming before them according to their appointment, they entertained him verie friendlie, willing him to sit downe with them; which in no wise he would. Then began the lord chauncellour to declare unto him, what benefitts and honours the king had bestowed upon him, and how he could ask nothing at his hands, but it was graunted. He hoped by this declaration of his kindness and affection towards him, to provoke Sir Thomas to recompense his grace with the like againe, and to give consent unto those things that have bene enacted by the authority of the parliament. To this Sir Thomas More mildly made answer saying, "No man there is my lord, that would with better will doo the thing that might be acceptable to the kings highness than I, who must needs confesse his manifolde goodness and bountie most benignlie bestowed upon me. Howbeit, I verily hoped I should never have heard of this matter, which now you have propounded unto me, considering I have from tyme to tyme, from the beginning, most plainly and truly delivered my mind unto his grace; which his highness, like a most gracious prince, ever seemed to take in good gree, promising never to molest me more therein; since which time I could never finde any thing that might cause me to change my minde; which if I

¹ *The said Anne*; Anne Bullen, a. d. 1536. See *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 409—14.

² *Misprision of treason*; See *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 395—408.

³ *Bishopp of Canterburie*; Cranmer.

⁴ *Lord chauncellour*.] Sir Thomas Audley, afterwards Lord Audley of Walden.

could, no man would be more glad of than I." Many more things were uttered of like sort of both sides; but in the end, when they sawe, by no means of persuasion they could bring him from his former resolution, then they begann to deal with him in a more rougher sort, telling him that the kings highness had given them in speciall commandement, that if by no gentleness they could winn him, then in his name to charge him with his great ingratitude. "For never was there," said the chauncellour, "servant to his soveraigne so villanous, nor subject to his prince so trayterous, as he; for he had by his subteltie and sleight conveiance, most unnaturallie caused his majestie to his great dishonour, to put a sword in his enemie the pope his hands, to fight against himself, by inducing him to make a book⁶ for the maintenance of the popes authority, and the seven sacraments." With that they laid forth all the terrours they could imagine. "My lord" (quoth Sir Thomas) "terroures and freights be arguments for children and fooles, and not for men. But to answer that wherewith you chieflie burden me:—I beleeve the kings highnes of his honour will never lay it to my chardge, for there is none that can in that point say more for my excuse than himself; who right well knoweth, that I was never procuror nor counsellor thereunto; but after the book was finished, by his graces commandment, I was onlie a sorter out and placer of principall matters in the same contained. Wherein when I found the popes authority highly advanced, and with many good reasons mightily defended, I said unto his grace, 'I must put your grace in mind of one thing, and that is this: the pope, as your grace knoweth, is a great prince, as you are. It may hereafter so fall out, that your grace and he may varie upon some points; whereupon may grow breach of amitie, and warre between you both. I thinke it therefore best, in my simple judgement, that this place be mended, and his authority more slenderly touched.' 'Nay,' (quoth his grace,) 'that shall not be. We and all Christians are so much bound to the sea of Rome, that we cannot do it too much honour.' Then did I put him in minde of a statute of *premunire*, made in the time of Richard the Second, by which a part of the popes pastorall cure here in England was pared away. To that his highness answered, 'Whatsoever impediment be to the contrarie, we will sett forth,

⁶ *To make a book.*] See p. 76.

for our parts, his authority to the utmost as it deserved: for from that sea we first received our faith, and after our imperiall crown and scepter,' which till his grace with his owne mouth told me, I never heard of before; so that I trust that when his grace shall call to remembrance my doing in this present behalf, his grace will never speake more of it, but cleere me throughlie herein."

And thus displeasanthlie for that time they departed, never moving to him the matter of the nunn, or the bill which was to be put up against him.

8. Going to his house from the commissioners, he was verie merrie and pleasant by the way; whereat master Roper was in good hopes he had got himself discharged out of the parliament bill. So walking in his garden master Roper came to him, and verie desirous to know how he had spedd, said to him, "Sir, I hope all is well, because you are so merrie." "It is so indeed, sonne Roper" (quoth Sir Thomas): "I thank God for it." "Are you then out of the bill" (quoth master Roper)? "By my troth sonne, I never remembered it" (said Sir Thomas More). "Never remembered it" (quoth master Roper)? "Seeing it is a thing that toucheth you so neare, and us all, I am verie sorrie to hear it; for I verilie thought when I saw you so merrie, that all had been well." Then said Sir Thomas, "Will you know, sonne Roper, why I was so merrie?" "That would I gladly" (quoth he). "In faith I rejoiced," said Sir Thomas, "that I have given the devill a foul fall: because I have gone so farr with these lords, that without great shame I cannot goe back againe." At which words master Roper was verie sadd; but at his request he wrote a letter to master Cromwell, and another to the king concerning this matter of the nunne, which I will here set downe.

*To Master Thomas Cromwell, one of his Majestie's Privie Councill.
Sir Thomas More, knight.*

"Right worshipfull! after heartie commendations. So it is that I am informed, that there is a bill putt up againste me into the Higher House before the lords, concerning my communication with the nunne of Canterburie, and my writing unto her; whereof I not a little mervaile, the truth of the matter being such as God and I know, and as I have plainly declared unto

you, by my former letters ; wherein I found you then so good, that I am now bold, upon the same goodness, to desire you to shew me the favoure, that I might by your meanes have a copie of my bill, which seene, if I find anie untrue surmise therein, I may make my humble suite unto the king's good grace, to declare the truth either to his grace, or by his graces commandment to anie whom he shall please : for I am so clear herein, that I nothing mistrust his grace's favoure towards me, nor the judgement of anie honest man. Never shall there anie losse in this matter greve me, being myself so innocent, as God and I knowe, by the grace of Almightye God ; who both bodily and ghostlie preserve you !

“ At Chelsey ann. 1533, March. By the hand of heartilie all your owne,

“ THOMAS MORE, Knight.”

A Letter of Sir Thomas More to the King.

“ It may like your highness to call to your gracious remembrance, at such tyme as of your great and weighty roome of chauncellourshipp (unto the which, farr above my merites, your highness of your incomparable goodness, exalted me), you were so good and gracious unto me, as, at my humble suite, to disburden me, giving me licence, with your gracious favoure, to bestow the residue of my life to come, about the provision of my soule, in the service of God ; it pleased your highnes further, that for the service I had done, that in anie suite I should have hereafter to your grace, that either should concerne mine honour or appertaine to my profit (for these verie words it liked your highnes to use to me), I should find your highnes my good and gracious lord. So it is now, gracious soveraigne, that worldlie honoure is the thing whereof I have resigned both the possession, and the desire, in the surrender of your honourable office ; and as for worldlie profitt, I trust experience proveth, and daylie more and more shall prove, that I was never verie greedie thereof. But now is my most humble suite to your excellent highnes, to beseech it somewhat to tender my poor honestie : howbeit, principallie, that of your accustomed goodness, no sinister information can otherwise move your noble grace to have anie mistrust of my troth and devotion towards your majestie, than I have or shall give just cause, which I hope there is none. For in this

matter of the nunne of Canterburie, I have unto your trustie counsellour master Thomas Cromwell, by my writing as plainly declared the truth as possible I can; which my declaration is made known as I understande to your noble grace. Of all my dealings with the nunne, whether any other man may peradventure put any doubt or move any scruple of any other meaning than I had, that can I neither tell, nor lieth in my hand to lett: but unto myself it is not possible anie part of my demeanour to seem evill; the clereness of my conscience testifying, that in that matter, my mynde, intent, and proceeding, was lawefull and good. Wherefore most gracious soveraign, I neither will, nor yet can it well become me with your highness to reason or argue the matter; but in most humble manner prostrate at your graces feet, I beseech your majestie, with your owne highe prudence and accustomed goodness, consider and weigh the matter. And if that in your so doing, your owne vertuous mynde shall give you, that notwithstanding your manifold goodness, that your highness hath used towards me, I have most unnaturallie and ungratefullie digressed from my bounden dutie of allegiance towards your majestie; then desire I no further favoure at your grace's hands, than the losse of all I may. Let me loose goods, lands, libertie, and finallie my life.—Howbeit, if in the considering my cause, your high wisdom, and gracious goodness shall perceave, that I have not otherwise demeaned myself, than may well stand with my bounden dutie and faithfullness towards your royall majestie; then in most humble manner I beseech your noble grace, that the knowledge of your true gracious persuasion in that behalf, may relieve the torment of my present heaviness conceived of the dread and feare (by that I heare of a greivous bill, put upp by your learned counsell unto your high court of parliament against me), lest your grace might by some sinister information be moved to thinke the contrarie. Which if your highness doe not (as I trust in God, and your great goodness, the matter by your wisdom well examined, you will not) then in most humble manner I beseech your highness further, with your highness hath here before of your mere abundant goodness, heaped on me both worshipp and honour; and with now I have left off all such things, and nothing make or desire, but the life to come, and to pray for your grace the while, that it may like your highness of your accustomed benignitie somewhat to tender my poor honestie, and never to suffer any man, by meane of such a bill,

to take occasion against the truth to slander me ; although this by the perill of their owne soules would doe them more hurt then me : for I sett my hart to depend upon the comfort of the truthe, and the hope of heaven, and not upon the failable opinion of some changeable persons.—And thus most dread and deare sovereign lord, I beseech the blessed Trinity to preserve your noble grace, both bodie and soule, and all that are your well willers, and amend the contrarie ; among whom, if ever I be, or ever have bene one, then I pray God that he may with my open shame and destruction declare it !”

Notwithstanding this letter, and the report made by the chauncellour in the favour of Sir Thomas, the king was so highlie offended, that he plainlie told the lords of his counsell, that he was fullie determined that the foresaid parliament bill should undoubtedly proceed against Sir Thomas. To whome they returned this answer ; “ We know for certaine, that the lords of the Upper House are resolutely bent to heare him make answer in his owne defence ; so if he be not put out of the bill, it will without fail be an overthrowe to great matters.” Yet needs would the king have his owne will, and said that at the passing thereof he would be personally present himself.

Then the lord Audley, seeing him so vehemently sett thereupon, on his knees most humbly besought his grace to forbear this same ; considering that if he should there in his owne presence, receave any overthrowe, it would not only encourage his subjects ever after to contemn him, and indare them to attempt the like or greater matters ; but also throughout all Christendome redound to his dishonour for ever. They added that they nothing mistrusted but in time to find some other matter against him, more fit to serve his turn than this ; for in this case of the nunne all the lords there affirmed he was of all men accounted so innocent and clere, that he deserved rather praise then reproach. Whereupon, at length through their earnest persuasions, he was content to condescend to their petition.

The next day after this, master Cromwell, meeting with master William Roper in the parliament house, willed him to tell his father that he was out of the parliament bill. Whereof when Sir Thomas was informed, “ Well ” (quoth he), “ *quod defertur, non aufertur*, delay is no payment.” And indeed so afterwards he behaved himself, as though he had knowne what afterwards

happened. And the better to encourage his wife and children patiently to accept these expected troubles, and that they might not be dismayed at the suddenness thereof, he caused a pursuivant, unknowne to any of his house, suddenlie at dinner time to knocke at his doores, willing him in the king's name the next day to make his appearance before the lords of his counsell. This craft he used once or twice ; and so cunninglie he applied it, that when it happened indeed, it no more troubled them, than when it was fained. "*Spicula præcisæ minus lædunt*, foreseene harmes, less hurt."

After this, the duke of Norfolke and Sir Thomas chanced to fall into familiar talke together. The duke said unto him, "by the masse, sir Thomas, it is perilous striving with princes ; and therefore I would wish you somewhat to encline to the king's pleasure : for *Indignatio principis mors est*." (Prov. 6. 16.) "Well my lord," (quoth Sir Thomas,) "my account is cast : but is this all ? Then is there no more difference between your grace and me, but that I shall dye to day, and you tomorrow ; but what kinde of death, it skilleth not. My lord I say I feare not to dye, because I serve a good Maister."

9. Within a month or thereabout, after the making of the statute for the oath of the supremacie, there was a great appearance of the clergie to have the oath tendered, before certaine commissioners appointed for that end. No layman was then to appear, but onlie Sir Thomas, who on Palme Sunday, being at London to heare the sermon at Pawles Crosse, at master Clements house, was summoned to appear before the lords at Lambeth. Presentlie he returned home ; went to the church ; was confessed ; spent most part of the night in prayer ; earlie in the morning was housled¹ ; and for other matters had little care. When he departed from his house, he kissed his wife and children, and bade them farewell ; and desired them to pray for him, saying "he would doe the like for them." He would not suffer² any of them to followe him out of the gate ; pulled the wicket after himself, and shutt them, and all carnall affection from him ;

¹ *Housed* ; See p. 35, of this volume.

² *He would not suffer.* "And whereas he evermore used before, at his departure from his wife and children, whom he tenderly loved, to have them bringe him to his house, and there to kisse them all, and bidde them farewell, then would he suffer none of them furthe of the gate to followe him."—*Life* by Harpsfield. Lambeth MSS. No. 827.

so tooke him to his boate for Lambeth; where sitting with a heavie hart, verie sadd for a while, at last suddenlie he told master Roper, who accompanied him with fower servants, "I thanke our Lorde the field is wonne." After that he seemed to be verie merrie. What he meant by that, master Roper then wist not; but it was evident it was no other cause, but that his love to God wrought so effectuellie in him, that he conquered all affection of wife and children. When he came to Lambeth, what there happened none can better tell than himself; which is this that followeth, all-most worde for worde in a letter he sent⁹ to his daughter Margaret.

"When I was before the Lords at Lambeth, I was the first that was called in, either⁹ priest or layman, albeit divers were come before me. After the cause of my sending declared unto me, whereof I somewhat mervailed, considering they sent for no temporall man besides myself, I desired a sight of the oath, which they shewed me under the great seal. Then I desired a sight of the act of the succession, which was also delivered me in print: which I red secret by myself, and the oath considered with the act. I shewed unto them, 'that my purpose was not to put anie fault, either in the act, or in anie man that made it; or in the oath, or anie man that sweareth to it; nor to condemn the conscience of anie other man; but as for myself, (my conscience so moving me in the matter) though I would not denie to sweare to the succession, yet to the other oath I could not sweare, without the jeoparding of my soule to perpetuall damnation. And that if they doubted, whether I refused the oath of supremacie onelie for the grudge of my conscience, or for anie other fantasie, I was readie herein to satisfie them upon my oath: which if they trusted not, what should they be better to tender me anie oath? and if they trusted, that I would herein sweare true, then trusted I of their goodness they would not move me to sweare the oath they offered me, seeing that to sweare to it was against my conscience.' Unto this my lord chauncellour said 'that they were verie sorrie to hear me say thus; and see me thus to refuse the oath.' And they all affirmed, that on their faith and honours, I was the first man that ever refused it. And this would cause the kings highness conceave great indignation against me. And therewith they shewed me the roll of the names of the lordes and the commons that had alreadie sworne and subscribed to it in the parliament

⁹ *A letter he sent.*] See *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 1428.

house. When they sawe that I refused to doe the like, I was in conclusion commanded to goe downe to the garden : but I tarried in the old burned chamber, that looketh downe to the garden, and would not goe down, because of the heat in that time. I sawe doctour Latimer, with divers other doctours and chaplains of my lord of Canterburie wayting there. I sawe Latimer verie merrie, for he laughed and tooke one or twaine about the necke so handsomely, that if they had been women I would have weened he had waxed wanton. After that came maister doctor Wilson forth from the lords, and was by two gentlemen brought by me ; and was gentleman-like sent to the Tower. What time my lord of Rochester was called in before them, that cannot I tell ; but I heard he was called ; but where he remained that night, and so to the tyme that hither to the Tower he came, I never heard. I heard also maister doctour the Vicar of Croydon¹, and all the remnant of the priests of London that were sent for, were sworne. They had such favoure at the councells hands, that they were not suffered to dance long attendance to their great travaile and cost, as suitors are wont to doe, but were sped apace to their comforts ; so farr forth that maister Vicar of Croydon, for gladness, or for dryness, or els that it might be sene *quod ille notus erat pontifici*, went to my lord's butterie barr, and called for drinke, and dranke *calde familiariter*.

" When they had played their pageant, and were all gone, then was I called in againe : where it was declared unto me, what a number had sworne, even since I went aside, even gladdie, without anie sticking at the matter : wherein I laide no blame in any man, but for my owne part I answered as before. They laide obstinacie to my charge, because in that I refused to swear, I would not declare anie speciall cause² of the oath that greeved my conscience, nor open the cause of my so doing. And thereupon I said unto them, ' that I feared lest the kings highness would, as

¹ Vicar of Croydon] Rowland Phillippe, whom Wood calls " a famous and notable preacher, and a forward man in the convocation of the clergy, an. 1523, in acting and speaking much against the payment of a subsidy to the king." *Athen. Oxon* vol. ii. p. 61.

² Speciall cause.] See Cranmer's Letters to Cromwell, in *Cranmer's Works*, vol. i. p. 101. Jenkyn's edition. See also *Sir Thomas More's Works*, p. 1440. " But, Margaret, for what causes I refuse the othe, that thyng as I have often tolde you I will never shew you, neither you nor no body elles, except the kings highness should like to commaunde me."

they had saide, take displeasure enough towards me, for that I onlie refused the oathe ; and that if I should open and disclose the cause, why I refused to be sworne, I should therewith but further exasperate his highnes ; which I no wise would doe, but rather would abide all that might hap, than give his grace anie occasion of further displeasure, than the bare refusing of the oath, that pure necessity constrayneth me unto.' They reputed this for stubbornness and obstinacie, that I would neither sweare the oath, nor yet declare the causes why I refused it. Rather than I would be accounted obstinate, I granted them thus much ; that I would, (upon the kings gracious licence, or rather commandment, to be my sufficient warrant, that my declaration should not offende his highnes, nor put me in danger of anie statute,) be content in writing to declare the causes ; and over that, to give an oath, that if I might find those causes in such wise answered as I might in my owne conscience be satisfied, I would afterwards sweare the principall oath. To this I was answered, that though the king would give me licence under his letters patent, yet would it not serve against the statute. Whereunto I saide that if I had them, I would stand to the trust of his honour, at my perill for the remnaunt. ' And my lords ' (quoth I), ' seeing to declare the causes is so dangerous, then to leave them undeclared is no obstinacie.' The bishopp of Canterburie, taking hold of that which I saide, that I condemned not the consciences of them that swore, said unto me, ' that it well appeared that I tooke it not for a certaine and sure thinge, that I might not lawefullie sweare it, but rather as a thinge uncertain and doubtfull. But then you know ' (saith he) ' for a certainty, and a thinge without doubt, that you be bound to obey your sovereign lord and king ; and therefore are you bound to leave off the doubt of your unsure conscience in refusing the oath, and take a sure way in obeying your prince and sweare it.' Now albeit that in mine owne minde I thought the matter not well concluded, yet this argument upon the suddaine seemed to me so subtle, especiallie being urged by the authority of so noble a prelate, that I could not answeare thereunto, but onlie, ' that I thought that for mine owne part I might not so doe, because that in my conscience I was fullie persuaded, that this was one of the causes in which I was bound that I should not obey my prince ; sith whatsoever other folk thought of the matter, whose consciences and learning I would not condemn and judge, yet in my conscience, the case seemed to be

plain, and the oath unlawfull. Wherein, I said, I had not informed my conscience, neither suddenlie nor sleightlie, but by long leisure and diligent search. And of truth, if that reason may conclude, then have we a readie way to avoide all perplexities. For in whatsoever matter the doctours stand in great doubt, the king's commandment, given upon whether side he list, solveth all doubts.' Then said my lord of Westminster unto me, 'that howsoever the matter seemed to mine owne mind, I had good cause to feare that my minde was eronious, when I see that the great councell of the realme determined the contrarie; and therefore I ought to change my conscience'. To that I answered, 'that if there were no more but myself on my side, and the whole parliament on the other side, I would be sore afraid to followe mine owne opinion against so manie: but on the other side, if it be so, that in some things for which I refuse the oath, I have as I thinke as great a councell and a greater too, I am not then bound to chaunge my conscience and to conforme it to the councell of one realme against a general councell of all Christendome.' Upon this master Cromwell, my verie good friend, said, and swore a great oath, 'that he had lever that his owne onlie sonne had lost his head, then that thus I should have refused the oath; for the king's highnes will conceave a great suspicion against me, and thinke that the matter of the nunne of Canturburie was all contrived by my drift.' To which I saide, 'the contrarie was true, and that it was well knowne; but whatsoever should mishappen, I see it lieth not in my power to remedie it, without the perill of my soule.'

Then my lord chauncellour repeated to master secretarie, because he was to go to the king's grace, to enforme his highnes of my proceedings, and in repeating thereof, his lordship saide, 'Master secretarie, remember that he is content to swear to the succession.' Whereunto I saide, 'As for that point I would be content, so I might see my oath in that point so framed as might stand also with my conscience.' Then saide my lord againe, 'Aye marrie master secretarie, mark that too; that he will not swear that neither, but under some certaine manner.' 'Verily no, my lord' (quoth I), 'but I will see it made in such wise, as I shall see, that I neither be forsworne, nor swear against my conscience; and so to swear to the succession I see

¹ (change my conscience) See *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 417—511.

no great perill: for I thinke it reason, that I looke well to my oath, and be of counsell in framing thereof; for I intend not to sweare to a piece, and set my hand to the whole oath. Howbeit (as God help me) I never withdrew anie man from it, or advised anie to refuse it; but leave everie man to his owne conscience: and methinks in good faith, it were great reason that everie man should leave me to mine.’”

So when they could get no other answeere of him, he was committed to the custodie of the abbott of Westminster⁴, being then Munday the fifteenth of April A. D. 1534. Regni Hen. VIII. 28.

10. Sir Thomas remained in durance with the lord abbott of Westminster⁴ by the space of fower days, during which time the king consulted with his counsell, what order were best to be taken with him; and albeit they were in the beginning⁵ resolved to discharge him upon some lawefull oath, one or other, but they would not have it knowne, whether it were the oath of supremacie or no. This had passed, had not queen Anne, with her importunate clamours, so sore exasperated the king against him, that contrarie to his former resolution, he caused the oath of the supremacie to be ministered unto him. Whereunto though his answeere was verie discreet and moderate, he was nevertheless committed to the Tower on friday the seventeenth of April.

Sir Richard Cromwell⁶ had the conveiance of him thitherward. Sir Richard advised him to send home his chaine of gold that he wore about his necke to his wife, or to some child or friend of his. “Nay Sir” (quoth he) “that I will not; for if I were taken in the field with mine enemies, as I am a knight, I would they should fare somewhat the better for me. At his landing, master lieutenant of the Tower was readie at the Tower gate to receive him; who conveyed him to his lodging, where he was allowed to have one of his owne servants to waite upon him, his name was John a Wood; he could neither write nor read; he was sworne if he

⁴ *Abbott of Westminster.*] William Boston, or Benson, who had been previously abbot of Burton-upon-Trent.

⁵ *They were in the beginning.*] Cranmer interposed in the behalf of Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, by a humane, temperate, and politic letter, addressed to secretary Cromwell. See Strype’s *Life of Cranmer*, p. 28.

⁶ *Sir Richard Cromwell.*] So also says Roper, p. 82, Lewis’s edit. But Harpsfield attributes this to Sir Richard Southwell; which I apprehend is the true reading. In the *Life* by his great grandson More, the name is Winkefield, p. 225. edit. 1726.

should see or hear any thing spoken or written against the king, the councell, or the state of the realme, he should incontinentlie reveal it to the lieutenant.

Not long after his coming into the Tower, he wrote certaine letters to his daughter Margaret, whereof this is one '.

A Letter of Sir Thomas More to his Daughter Margaret Roper.

"My owne good daughter, our Lord be thanked I am in good health of bodie, and good quiet of minde ; and of worldlie things I no more desire than I have. I beseech him make you all merrie in the hope of heaven. And such things as I somewhat longed to speak unto you, concerning the world to come, our Lord put them in your mind, as I trust he doth, and the better by his holie Spirit, who bless you, and preserve you all !

"Written with a cole by your tender loveing father, who in his poore praiers forgetteth none of you all, nor your babes, nor your nurses, nor your good husbanda, nor your good husbanda shrewd wives, nor your father's shrewd wife neither, nor our other friends. And thus fare you heartily well, for lacke of paper.

"THOMAS MORE, knight."

"Postscript. Our Lord keep me continuallie faithfull and plaine, to the contrarie whereof I beseech him hartely never to suffer me to live. For as for long liffe (as I have often told thee Megg) I neither look for, nor long for, but am well content, if God call me hence, to go tomorrow. And I thanke our Lord I know no person living that I would had one phillipp for my sake, of which mind I am more glade then all the world besides. Recommend me to your shrewd Will, and other friends ; and to John Harries my friend ; and yourself knoweth to whom else : and to my shrewd wife above all. And God preserve you all, and make and keep you his servants all ! farewell."

Within a while, after Sir Thomas had been in prison a month's space, or thereabouts, his daughter Margaret longing to see him, wittily invented this craft. She wrote a letter and sent it to her father, wherein she seemed to labour to persuade him to take the oath. She nothing doubted but that the letter would be inter-

cepted ; but this she did to winne thereby credit with master Cromwell, so to get libertie to have free access to her father ; which by this sleight she obtained. Others say it was seriouslie written ; and so her father tooke it, and thereon did write to her againe^a accordingly.

11. Mistress Margaret Roper having leave to goo to her father, often resorted unto him. His custome was before he would talke with her, usuallie to say the Seven psalmes, and the Litanies : he begann and she answered on her knees. At her first coming, it seemed she laboured to persuade with him, that he should not refuse to take the oath, seeing that both wise and learned had subscribed thereunto. To whome Sir Thomas answered, “ What mistress Eve, hath the serpent sett you a worke to tempt your father ? What daughter, doe you love me so well, that by swearing against my conscience you would send me quicke to the Devill ? I have answered you often, that if I might in this matter content the king’s highnes, and not offend God, there is no man that would more gladly take this oath than I. But since I cannot, I must give God thanks for this tribulation, and desire of him to give me patience and strength to endure for his holy name whatsoever in this matter may happen unto me. For Megg, the worst and uttermost that possiblie may befall me, long ’ere this is not unconsidered. And albeit I knowe my owne frailtie full well, and the naturall faintness of my hart, yet if I had not trusted that God will give me grace to endure all things, thou mayest be sure I had not come hither.” “ Father ” (quoth she), “ I will not dispute with you in this matter ; for it little beseemeth me : for both your learning and conscience is such, that I can neither add to the one, nor may presume to informe the other. Yet I can assure you this much, your conscience in this point is accounted by men of great skill, and reckoning, for a mere scruple. For both wise and learned, and all the nobles and peers of the realme stick not at this matter ; onlie yourself and bishopp Fisher^b .

^a *Did write to her againe.*] *Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 1431.

^b *Onlie yourself and bishopp Fisher.*] “ As touching the bishop of Rochester and Thomas Moore, whom the kynges majestie caused to be beheaded, if I should say they were not learned, I should repugne the veritie ; butt in very dede their learnyng was much more grounded on the Thomisticall, Aristotically, and Scholasticall philosophy, then in the gospel of Christ, as hereafter you shall perceyve. For when the kynges hignes was fully perswaded to understand the popes usurped power not by these my rehersed authorities, butt by more profes then a whole Byble would conteyne, and by

stand out; and I am persuaded good father, that they that love you best, will not give you counsaile to leane to one man

the consent of the greatest learned mens opinions of all the universities of Christendome, as there be dyvers alyve in Paris, Pavia, Padua, Bologna, and elsewhere can testifie, whose counsell his majestie examined or ever he would attempt the annulling and extyrping thereof: his highnes then, I say, called his generall parliament, without which he determined no greate matters. And the parliament, to lett you wete, is divided into two counsailes; the one of the nobilitie and prelates, and the other of the comons of the realme; that is to say two of the wysest men of every citie, of every greate borough, and of every provynce of his dominions. Now among those counsels the popish matter was proponed, and there was *pro et contra* held and kept more than a whole yere longe. For in the parliament the law permitteth all men without daunger to speake as well agaynst as with the kynge: so that the old supersticion havynge more authoritie in the obstacle hertes, than the present veritie, wold not geve place to the kynges purpose, untill by open preaching throughout the realme, the blynde people began so manifest to se, that many of them, who before most earnestly favoured the pope, became then his greatest enemyes: whereof there followed a statute made by the same parliament, that no man under payne of death should call the pope other then the byshop of Rome, nor in any wyse mayntayne his quarrell. And thus ceased the pope's revenue of Peter pence, of jubileis, of indulgencies, and pardons of dispensacions, and such other baggage as before tyme avayled the popes purpose better than an hundred thousand ducates a yere out of England. - You must now nevertheles understand that though this acte passed so in parliament, yett all the parties of the same consented not unto it: for the judgment in the parliament house is gyven by divydyng all the persons, all that say 'yea' on the one syde of the house, and all that say 'nay' on the other syde, and the most nombre do alwayes attayne the sentence. And so to the purpose. The bishop of Rochester and Moore amonge the rest held agaynst the regalyne parte, accordyng to their conscience (as I suppose) for when they saw the contrary to have place, then hanged they downe the head and murmured agaynst the kynge, provokynge his displeasure otherwise then it became true subjectes to do. And his majestie thinkyng nevertheles by reason and fayre meanes wyth tyme to perswade them, supported their ignorance more than nine monthes. But when their predestinate mischief would not suffer his benignitie to overcome their hardened hertes, and that the kynge att lengthe perceyved their invincible obstinacie, to have a begynnyng of operation;— for the cardinal's hatt was already upon the way comyng toward the same bishop of Rochester, not onely as a worthy reward of his merite, butt also for a buckler under the which the pope thought to handle his cruell sword, his highnes, I say, scaryng the example of his predecessor Kinge John, or ever they had arryved, shaved the bishops crowne by the shoulders, to see afterward where the pope would bestow his cardinal's hatt and served Moore of the same sauce, after he had kept them both four monthes in prison, and used all the meanes possible to dissuade them from their error"—William Thomas's *Defence of K. Henry VIII.* Works, p. 44—7

against all other." "I suppose" (quoth Sir Thomas) "that manie both spirituall and temporall thinke my conscience scrupulous, and yet I doo not thinke that every man so thinketh that so speaketh. And though they did, it should not much move me; no though my lord of Rochester would also sweare. For albeit, Megg, I have him in that reverent estimation, that I reckon no man in this realme for wisdom, learning, and vertue meet to be compared to him; verilie daughter, I never intended to pinne my soule to another man's sleeve, not even the best man that I know this day living; for they may for favoure, feare, or other respect goe awrie. For like as if my owne conscience served me, I would not lett to sweare though others refused; so now though others refuse it not, my conscience giving me against it, I dare not doe it. And if I were not so perfectlie resolved in this, I should have cause to feare to leave so manie learned and wise as I doe; but I have not lightlie nor slenderlie, as you know, studied for this matter." "But father" (quoth she) "they say you may well feare lest you be deceived in this point, for they may see as much or more in the matter than yourself, and have as great a care not to forswear as others have. So you ought to conform your conscience to theirs, especiallie you taking them for such men as they be: and sith (say they) there is a law by the parliament made commanding so to doe, you are bound to change your conscience." "Marrie daughter, (quoth he) for the part you play, you play it not amiss: but Margaret, first for that lawe of the land, though everie man being borne and inhabiting therein, is bound to keep it in everie case upon some temporall paine, and in many cases also upon paine of Gods displeasure, yet there is no man bound to sweare that everie lawe is well made, nor bound in conscience to perform what he thinketh is unjustlie enacted. Now if such a lawe be made, though some be content to allow it, yet he that thinketh it unlawfull may not sweare it. Well, daughter Margaret, for what cause I refuse the oath, I will never shew it to anie man, except the king's highnes will command me: but surelie I refuse it for more causes then one; and such they be as yet never they could be satisfied; and I am sure some of the best learned have affirmed so much, though since I heare, they have sworne to the contrarie: and I know that then they spake as they thought, and laboured then to knowe the truth, as much as could be possible; but how since they be chaunged I knowe not. I misjudge noe man." "That might

be father" (quoth she): "for *since* they might see more in the matter then *before*." "Well" (quoth he), "I will not dispute that; but this I wote well, I never heard the cause of their chaunge to be anie new thinge, that they had not before well weighed. So to me all things seem as before they did; if to them otherwise, I am the glader for their sakes. But this know; let them thinke, and all others in England as they will, yet have I more on my side then them all, that thinke as I thinke. I meane of men of former ages, and now in other parts of Christendome; and daughter, of this I am assured, that the doctours and fathers of God's church, whose bookes are now extant, were of the same minde that now I am. Yet I shewe thee not all that I have for myself in the discharge of my conscience. And for conclusion, I take not upon me to define or dispute of this matter; neither have I written or spoken of things passed in the parliament; nor judged anie man's conscience for holding contrarie to me; but for mine owne self, I tell thee Megg, for thy comfort, that my conscience in this matter is such, as may well stand with my owne salvation; and hereof I am as sure, as God is in heaven: and if happilie it fortune me to loose my heade for this, I may have wronge, but no harme."

With that speeche mistress Roper sat musing, and seemed verie sadd. "What" (quoth he), "where are you? What mother Eve, are you musing with the serpent in your brest, uppon some new persuasion, once more to offer the apple to father Adame?" With that quoth she, "Father, I can no further goe. I am come, as Chaucer¹ said of Cressed to Dulcarnon, 'to my witts ende;' and I see not what can be saide more, unless I should give a woman's reason. 'You need not refuse to sweare; I have sworne myself', as master H. Patterson said to me of you, when I met him t'other day." At this Sir Thomas laughed. "But father" (quoth she), "I feare me this will bring greater troubles to you; for you know what master secretarie sent word, that the parliament was not yet done." "Well" (quoth he) "Megg, I have not left these events unthought on; and if they should make a lawe to doe me harme, by the grace of God, they shall doe me no hurt: and this is a riddle. A man may lose his head, as I have

¹ Chaucer; *Troilus and Cressida*.

² *I have sworne myself.* She took the oath, with this condition annexed, "so far as it was agreeable with the law of God."—Compare Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. I. p. 195. Patterson was Sir Thomas's fool. See p. 132.

often told thee, and yet be never a whit the worse. But I hope God will not permit them to do anie thing otherwise to me, then I deserve. But (saith he) there is nothing impossible to happen. I made my account before I fell to build this castle: and in devising thereon, I spent manie a restless night, with a heavie hart, while my wife slept, and thought I had slept too." "But father" (quoth she), "it is another matter to thinke on a thing that may be, and to see a thing that is, or infalliblie shall be. For then peradventure, you would thinke otherwise then now you doe; and then peradventure, it will be too late to chaunge. Therefore it were good, if ever you should chaunge, that now you would chaunge." "Well fare thee daughter, that thou saiest it will be perchance too late. Too late may it be, that ever I should so chaunge! For I wote well, that the chaunge which growes by feare onelie, cannot be good for my soule; and therefore I pray that chaunge may never be. And if so it were, that I wist well now that I should faint, and for feare sweare, yet would I wish to take harm by refusing first, for so should I have greater cause by the grace of God to rise againe. And albeit my lewdness, I wote well, hath been such, that I know myself well worthie that God should let me slipp, yet can I not but trust in his mercifull goodness, that as his grace has strengthened me hytherto, and made me content to be readie to lose goods, lands, and life, rather than offend him by swearing against my conscience, I cannot mistrust the goodnes of God, but that he will tourne the heart of the king, (in whose hands it is) to be gracious unto me: or ells, if it be his pleasure, that for my other sinnes I should suffer trouble in this cause; or that I do not deserve his holie grace, I hope he will give me strength to beare it patientlie, and peradventure gladlie; and that it may be in lieu of the paine that I should otherwise suffer in purgatorie, or over that, for increase of some rewarde in heaven. Megg, Megg, I serve so good a Lord, I will never mistrust; and this I know well, without my owne fault, he will never let me be lost; and therefore I commit me wholie to him. So my good daughter, trouble not thy minde with anie thing that shall happen to me in this worlde: for nothing can happen but what God will; and I assure my selfe the worst in the sight of the worlde will be my best. And so my good child, be merrie, and rejoyce in our Lord, and commend me to all our friends and kinsfolks, and tell them from me, that I account this my imprisonment, as one of the greatest benefits,

that ever I receaved at the king's hands." And thus they departed for that tyme. At their departure he gave her a letter to all his friends. The copie is this.

" To all my loving Friends.

" Forasmuch as, being in prison, I cannot tell what need I may have, or what necessity I may hap to stand in, I heartilie beseech you all, that if my well beloved daughter Margaret Roper (which onelie of all my friends hath, by the king's gracious favoure, license to come to me) doe anie thing desire of anie of you, of such things as I hap to need, that it may like you to regard and tender it, no less then if I moved it to you, and required it of your person myselfe. I beseech you all to pray for me, and I shall pray for you. Your faithfull lover, and poore beedman,

" THOMAS MORE, knight, prisoner."

12. After this, Sir Thomas was not so restrained, but that his daughter, wife, and some other friends with licence, might repaire unto him. But a little before the enacting of the forethreatend lawe, he was sodenlie shut up, the rather to incline him to the king's pleasure; or that they intended to deale with him most sharply. So there besides the old disease of his breast, he was greeved in his raynes, by reason of the gravell and the stone, with the crampe, and divers other maladies; all which he did moderate and temperate, with patience, spirituall consolation, and comfort to heaven-ward. And for all his griefs, and pains, and hard usages he never showed anie token of sorrow or lamenting, but alwaies a sweet and quiet minde fixedlie seated in the uprightness of his cause, and kept his old merrie talke whensoever occasion served. Presentlie after the making of the saide statute, wherein the king was recognised as supreme head of the church of England under God; and that whatsoever should speake againste his saide supremacie, should be taken as a traitor, and suffer as in case of high treason; then master Cromwell, secretarie, the king's solicitor¹, and divers others resorted unto him; and saine would wring somewhat out of his owne mouth, that would make against him.

What particular speech passed between them I will relate out

¹ *King's solicitor*] Sir Richard Rich, afterwards Lord Rich and Chancellor.

of his letter written to his daughter Margaret. Anno 1535. May the third.

“ Our Lord bless you.

“ My dearlie beloved daughter, I doubt not but by reason of the kings councellors resorting hither in this tyme, in which the fathers of the Charter House, and some others be judged to death for treason, may hap to put you in some feare, especiallie for that it is not unlikely, but that you have heard, that I also was brought before them ; I thought necessarie to advertise you, to the end that you should not conceave more hope than the matter giveth, or more grieve than the present occasion ministereth. Therefore shall you understand, that on Fridaie last, the thirtieth of April, in the afternoon, master lieutenant shewed me that master secretarie would speake with me. Whereupon I went out with him into the gallery ; where his master-shipp sat with master attourney³ and master solicitour, with divers others, I was offered to sitt downe with them, but in no wise would.

“ Master secretarie told me ‘ that he nothing doubted but that I had seen the new statutes made the last sitting of the parliament ? ’ I answered, ‘ Yea verilie ; howbeit for as much as I being heere, and not minding to meddle with these matters any more, I thought it little nede for me to bestowe much tyme upon them. ’ He asked me, ‘ whether I had red the first statute of the king’s being heade of the churche. ’ I answered ‘ Yea. ’ Then his mastership declared unto me, ‘ that sith it was now by act of parliament ordained, that his highnes and his heirs, is, and was, and perpetuallie should be supream head in earth of the church of England immediatelie under Christ ; the king’s pleasure was, that those here of his councell assembled should demaund my opinion therein. ’ Whereunto I answered, ‘ that in good faith I had well trusted that his highnes would never have commanded anie such question to be asked of me : considering that I ever from the beginning well and truelie declared my minde to his majestie, and also unto your mastership, both by mouth and writing ; and now I have discharged my minde from all such matters, meaning not hereafter to dispute kings’ or popes’ titles. I am the king’s faithful subject, and will be ; and daylie pray for

³ *Master attourney.*] — Maring.

him, and all his realme; and otherwise than this I intend not to meddle.' Whereunto master secretarie answered, 'that he thought that this manner of answer would not satisfie the king's highness; for that his grace expected a more full answer, and that to the purpose.' And he added, 'that the king was a prince not of rigour, but of mercie and pitie; and though he had found obstinacie in anie of his subjects at some time, yet if they submitted themselves, his grace would shewe mercie. And for you master More, I knowe so much, that his grace would be glad to see you take such conformable waies, that you might be abroad againe, with as great credit and worship as ever you were.' Whereunto I answered, 'I would not meddle in the worlde againe, to have all the worlde given me,' as in effect I answered before.

"Then was I commanded to goe forth awhile; and presently called in againe. Then said master secretarie unto me, 'Though you are a prisoner condemned to perpetuall imprisonment, yet thereby I was not discharged of my alleageance to his highness.' Whereupon he demanded 'whether I thought his highness might not exact a direct answer from me, of such things as might be demanded, as of anie other.' I answered, that I thought his highness might. 'Then,' said he, 'that like as his highness would be gracious to them that he found conformable, so his grace fullie determined to followe the course of the lawe, towards such as shall show themselves wilfull and obstinate; and your demeanour in this matter, master More, hath made manie so stiffe therein as they be.' Whereunto I answered, 'that I gave no man occasion neither by worde nor writing to hold on the one side, or the other. And for conclusion, I would goe no further, whatsoever paine should me befall. For I am the king's true faithfull subject and bedesman. I doe noe bodie anie harme; I say no harme; I think noe harme. I wish everie bodie well; I pray for them; and if this be not enough to keep me alive, in good faith, I desire not to live. I am at the king's pleasure. I would to God my death would doe him good.' 'Well master More,' quoth master secretarie, 'report shall be made to his highness; and his gracious pleasure knowne you shall heare further.' So he bade me farewell. And so to my chamber by master lieutenant I was brought againe."

Not long after this, there came againe certaine other of the privie counsell, and begann afresh to presse him to some plaine

and determinate answer, touching his opinion of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the foresaide statute; and the matter is penned by himself. His words shal shewe his minde, as he sett it downe in a letter to his daughter mistress Roper. Anno 1535.

“ Our Lord bless you, and all your’s.

“ Forasmuch (dearelie beloved daughter) as it is likely you have hearde that the councell was here with me, I thinke it necessarie to send you worde, how the matter standeth. And to be short, I see little difference betwixt this time and the last; for as farr as I can see, the whole purpose is either to drive me to say preciselie the one waie, or the other. Here sat my lord of Canterburie, my lord chauncellour, my lord of Suffolk, my lord of Wilshire, and master secretarie. At my coming master secretarie made rehearsal in what wise he had reported to the king’s majestie concerning my last days answer, at my being before him. Then he added, the kings highnes was nothing content by my answer, but thought I had been by my demeanour occasion of much grudge and harme in this realme; and that I had an obstinate and evill will towards him; and that it was my dewtie to make a plaine and determinate answer, whether I thought the statute lawfull or no. And that his majestie had sent them in his name to commande me upon my alleageance to give direct answer yea or noe; and that I should say his highnes is supreame head of the church of England, or else utter plainlie my malignity. Whereunto I answered, ‘that I had no malignity, and therefore none could utter; and as for the matter I will give no other answer, than I had before made; and verie sorrie I am that his highnes should have any such opinion of me. For I am verie sure that I have no such corrupt affection; but have faithfullie observed his vertuous lesson; viz. *first to looke to God, and then to his highnes.*’ Then said my lord chauncellour ‘that the king might by his lawes compell me to make a plaine answer.’ ‘I will not dispute the king’s authority in this case; but, I said, that under correction it seemed to me somewhat harde. For if it were so, that my conscience gave me against the statute; (wherein *how* my conscience giveth me I make no declaration,) then I nothing doing, nor nothing sayinge againste the statute, it were a hard thing to compell me to say precisely

with it against my conscience to the losse of my soule, or preciselie against it to the destruction of my bodie.'

"To this master secretarie said, 'that I had, when I was chauncellour, examined hereticks, theeves, and other malefactors, and that I used (at least the bishoppes doe), to examine hereticks whether the pope be head of the church; and used to compell them to make a precise answer thereunto. And why should not the king compell his subjects to make a precise answer to his own lawe, as he did concerning the pope?' I answered, 'I intend not to defend my part; yet there is a great difference between these two cases; because at that time, as well here as elsewhere, the pope's authority was recognised for an undoubted truth; yet this matter, though here in England it was agreed upon, yet in other places of the worlde the contrarie was taken for truth.' Master secretarie answered 'that they were as well burned for the denying of that, as now beheaded for denying of this; and therefore as good reason to compell them to answer directlie, as well to the one, as to the other.' I answered, 'the lawe of one particular place, or a locall lawe, cannot prejudice the lawe of the whole corps of Christendome. So the reasonableness or unreasonableness in binding a man to make a precise answer, standeth not in respect of difference between heading and hanging, but by reason of the difference in charge of soule; so the difference standeth between heaven and hell.' 'Well master More' (quoth one of them), 'you will be content to be sworne, to make true answer to such things as shall be asked of you, on the king's behalfe, concerning his owne royall person?' I answered, 'I never purposed to take anie oath more while I lived.' Then they said, 'I was verie obstinate, if I refused that which everie man in the Starr Chamber and elsewhere doth.' I said, 'it was true, taking it as the lawe doth understand it, to answer to such matters as they know or guess why they are there present. And I said, I had not so little foresight but that I might conjecture, what should be part of my interrogatories, and as good it was at the first to refuse them, as afterwards.' Whereunto my lord chauncellour answered, 'that though I could guess truelie, yet I should see them; and so they were shewed me, and they were but twaine. The first *whether I had seen the statute?* the second, *whether I believed it to be a lawefull statute or no?* So I refused the oath, and would make no other answer but this:

‘If this that I have (confessed) will not suffice, I have no meane to help me, but to comfort myself with the hope of a joyfull day to come, wherein it shall plainelie appear, that I am the king’s true and loving subject : and so God’s holie will be done, come life, come death!’ ‘Nay’ (quoth they), ‘if you are so resolute that you had as leave be out of the world as in it, as you make shew, why do you not then speake plainlie against the statute? so it well appeareth that you are not so well content to die, as you beare the worlde in hand.’ ‘The truth is, I have not been a man of so holie life, as I might be bold to offer myself to death, lest God for my presumption, might suffer me to fall; and therefore I put not myself forward, but draw backward; howbeit if God shall please to call me to it, then trust I in his mercie, he will give me grace and strength to goe through.’ Then said master secretarie, ‘he was verie sorrie for me: and said he liked me worse then the last day, for he thought I meant not well.’ Well, God and I knowe that I mean well, and truelie, and so I pray God doe by me!—Be you, and other my good friends of good cheer, whatsoever shall befall me; and take no thought for me, but pray for me, I will not fail to pray for you, and all them. Fare you well.

“Your tender loving father,

“THOMAS MORE, knight.”

“*Mense Maii*, A.D. 1535.”

13. Sir Thomas, in these his severall examinations, so wiselie demeaned himself with meeting the craftie drifts of his adversaries, that they could not entrap him in anie thing; and to the malignity of the time, so that he incurred not the penaltie of any statute just or unjust: for he had neither spoken nor done any thing to his prejudice. And this he did doe, that he might reserve the integritie of a good conscience; nor yet farther exasperate the king’s displeasure against him. So reverence to his prince, and feare to God, managed his actions.

Not long after this, certaine religious men of the order of Saint Bruno, with some other⁴, were condemned of treason, for denying the king’s supremacie; and in the moneth of May and June were hanged and quartered. Sir Thomas looking out of

⁴ *Order of Saint Bruno, with some other.*] John Houghton, prior of the Charterhouse, near London; Augustin Webster, prior of Axeholme; Robert Laurence, prior of Bevoll; Richard Reynolds, a monk of Sion, John Hall, a secular priest, vicar of Isleworth, &c.

the windowe, chanced to see some of these Carthusians goe towarde their execution. Longing to accompanie them in their journey, he said to his daughter then standing by him, " Loe dost thou not see Megg, that these blessed fathers be now as cheerfullie going to their death, as bridegrooms to their marriage. Wherefore hereby (then said he) see, my owne good daughter, what a difference there is between such as have in effect spent all their days religiouslie, in a penitentiall and spirituall life, and such as have lived in the worlde, like worldlie wretches, as thy poore father hath done, and consumed all their time licentiouslie in pleasure and ease: for God considering their former life painfullie spent in his holie service, will no longer suffer them to remain here in this vale of miserie and teares; but speedilie taketh them hence to his fruition of his everlasting deitie. Whereas thy silly father, Megg, that like a wretched caitiff hath passed forth the whole course of his life sinfullie, as not worthe to come to that eternall blisse, is still left in the world, to be further plunged in his miseries. But God's holie will be done!"

So Sir Thomas being the self same for all these terrible examples, it was thought not the worst to change their manner of proceeding with him, and an other while to trie, if by faire meanes he would relent. So master secretarie came to him, not long before his arraignment, from the king's highnes, and pretended great friendship towards him; and for his comfort, told him that his majestie was his good and gracious lord, and that it was not his pleasure from henceforth to trouble him with anie matter that should be anie manner scruple to his conscience. Sir Thomas easilie perceived the drift of the devill, and gave master secretarie as faire speeches as he brought. And presentlie after his departure, to express the comfort he received of this court holy-water, he wrote these verses following with a cole, for inke had he none. Intituled,

A BALLAD.

LEWIS THE LOST LOVER.

" Fye! flattering fortune, looke thou never so faire.
 Or never so pleasant begine to smile,
 As though thou wouldest my ruines all repair,
 During my life thou shalt not me beguile.
 Trust shall I God to enter in a while
 His haven of heaven, sure and uniforme;
 Ever after thy calme, looke I for a storme "

make a lawe that God should not be God, would then you master Rich, say that God were not God?" "No Sir" (quoth he), "that I would not; sith no parliament can make anie such lawe." "No more can the parliament" (said Sir Thomas, as master Rich reported, and afterwards deposed, but how true God knoweth) "make you king, and constitute you supream head of the church of God." Upon this bare reporte was Sir Thomas indited of treason⁶, upon the statute⁷ whereby it was enacted and made treason to denie the king to be supream head of the church.

So Sir Thomas, about a week or thereabouts after the death of bishopp Fisher of blessed memorie, the first of Julie was brought to Westminster Hall to be arraigned at the Kings Bench before certaine commissioners appointed for that end. After that his enditement⁸ was red, which was long, and contained manie heynous words, as that *maliciously, traiteronalie, against the crown and regall dignitie of his sacred majestie, &c.*; the lord chauncellour and the duke of Norfolk said unto him, "Sir Thomas More, you see that you have heynouslie offended the kings majestie: howbeit, we are in verie good hope, such is his bountie and clemencie, that if you will revolt, and reforme your wilfull and obstinate opinion, that you have so wrongfullie maintained, you shall taste of his gracious pardon." "My lords" (quoth Sir Thomas), "I do most humble thanke

⁶ (*Of treason.*) See Howell's *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 385-96.

⁷ (*Upon the statute.*) "The late-mentioned statute" (26 Hen. VIII. cap. 1. for establishment of the king's supremacy), "having no penalty annexed, was insufficient to affect the life of Sir Thomas More. For this reason another act was passed in the same session, by which it was made high treason (26 Henry VIII. cap. 13) for 'any person maliciously to wish, will, or desire by words or writing, to deprive the king's most royal person, the queen, or her heirs apparent, or any of them, of their dignity, title, and name,' &c. And thus, upon W. Rich's evidence, that Sir Thomas More should say, 'the parliament could not make the king supreme head of the church,' he was declared to be within the statute, and was pronounced guilty of high treason." Preface to *Life of Sir Thomas More* by his Great Grandson, Thomas More, Esq., 1726. 8vo. P. xvi.

But observe that this life has, in a subsequent edition, been shown, by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.A.S., to be the work of a younger brother of Thomas, Mr. Cresacre More.

⁸ *Enditement.* It is to be found at full length among the Arundel MSS. in the British Museum, No. 152, fol. 30v, whence it has been recently printed in the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. xxvii. p. 370.

your honours, for your great good will towards me; howbeit I make this boon and petition unto Almighty God, before whose dreadfull tribunall we shall all stande, that he will vouchsafe of his goodness to nourish and maintaine this my honest and upright minde even to the last hour that ever I shall live.—Concerning the matter that you chardge and challenge me withall, the articles are so prolix and long, that I feare, what from my long imprisonment, what for my lingring disease, and what for my present weaknes and debilitie, that neither witt, nor my memorie, nor yet my voice, will serve to make so full effectuall and sufficient an answer, as the weight and importance of these matters doe crave.”

When he had thus spoken, susteyning his weak and feeble bodie with a staffe⁹, which he had in his hand, commandment was given

⁹ *With a staffe.*] Cardinal Pole, in his third book *Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis defensione*, thus finely describes More’s appearance at his trial:—

“Quin illud libenter scire velim, quibus oculis, quibus auribus hæc quæ jamdudum narro, de condemnatione et supplicio Mori, vel audire cum referrentur, vel cum fierent aspicere potueris. Sed tu potius, Londinensis Civitas! cujus in conspectu hæc gerebantur, cum e carcere eductum ad causam majestatis dicendam videres eum, ad cujus tribunal aliquanto ante reos majestatis sisti memineras: quem tu puerum, adolescentem, virum, ingravescente denique ætate per omnes honorum gradus summa cum laude et omnium gratulatione propter rarissimas ejus virtutes processisse, et tandem ad amplissimum munus conscendisse videras, et quia civis idem et alumnus tuus erat non sine tacito quodam gaudii sensu videras, quod in eo laudem tuam ac decus agnosceres: cum eundem e carcere sordidatum ac reum exeuntem, non tam annorum numero quam carceris pedore et molestia senem jam factum (tunc enim primum canum in conspectum tuum carcer exhibuit) toto corpore, viribus fractis, debilitatum, *cum scipione innitens*, et sic etiam vix ægrum corpus sustentans, non tam ad causam dicendam, quam ad certam condemnationem, longissima et maxime celebri via potius traheretur quam iret: quibus hæc oculis aspiciebas? Quid cum eadem via jam condemnatum ut proditorum pœnas lueret, redeuntem videbas, cujus fides erga te nullo nec præmio nec supplicio ostentato potuerat expugnari, quibus oculis aspiciebas? Nempe lachrimantibus scio. Non enim certe aliter fieri potuit, cum videam alienissimos etiam homines, qui eum nunquam noverant, nunquam ab eo beneficium acceperant, tantum dolorem ex ejus morte accepisse, ut cum quæ de ea re scripta circumferuntur legerent lachrimas tenere non potuerint: sed ut si suum civem ac de se optime meritum, crudelissime et iniquissime necatum audirent, ita Moro homini externo, neque alia re quam fama sibi noto illachrimaverint. Ac mihi plane, tanto intervallo, hæc de illius morte scribenti, qui non tam multas privatim amoris causas cum eo habui, sed virtutis potius et probitatis ergo, quodque patriæ utilissimum esse scirem, eum amavi et colui; sic tamen (testis est mihi Deus) invito lachrimæ oboriebantur, ut scriptionem maxime impe-

to bring him a chair, wherein being sett he commenced his answer much after this fashion.

"First, as touching the article, wherein it is laid to my charge, that I doe utter and shew my malice against the king: and at his late marriage have ever repined, and resisted the same to my power: I can say nothing but this; that of malice I never spake anie thing against it; and whatsoever I have spoken in that matter, I have no otherwise spoken, but according to my minde and opinion; in the which, if I should for the discharge of my conscience towards God, and my dewtie to my prince otherwise have done than I have done, I might well account myself to be herein both unfaithfull and disloyall. And for this my errour, if I may call it an errour, or have been deceived herein, I have not gone free and untouched; for all my goods, lands and chattells be confiscated, and myself judged to perpetuall imprisonment, where I have been now shutt up above fifteen moneths; and all be to Gods honoure!—Moreover I answer; whereas in this article is conteyned that I have incurred the danger of the last act of parliament, made since I was last imprisoned, touching the kings supremacie, and that I have, as a traytor and rebell, gone aboute to robb and spoil the king of his title and due honour; and againe how that I am chaullenged, that I would not answer master secretarie, and other of the kings privie counsell; nor would utter my minde unto them upon my alleageance, what I thought of the statute, either in disliking or liking, but onlie this, 'that I was a dead man, and mortified towards the worlde, refusing to thinke of anie other matter, than of the passion of Christ, and my passing out of this world;' touching I say this accusation, I answer that for this my taciturnity and silence, neither your lawe nor anie other lawe in the worlde is able justlie to punish me, except besides this, they can prove some worde facte or dedde." To this the king's attourney, master Maring, said, "Marie, this verie silence of your's is a verie sure token and demonstration of a corrupt and perverse nature, maligning and repining against the statute. Yea there is no true and faithfull subject, that being required of his minde, upon his alleageance,

Rev. et ipsas urpe literas delectant, ut vix ultra progredi possem." Fol. Mr. Cress. is part of the passage alluded to at p. 150.

* *Indifferens dedde.*] Here, according to Lord Herbert, he added, "It is God in the British the judge of the secrets of our hearts." *State Trials*, vol. 1. in the Archæol

touching this statute, that is not deeplie bounde, without anie dissimulation, to confess it to be lawefull and goode." "Truelie" (quoth Sir Thomas), "if the rule of the civill lawe be allowed, that '*qui tacet consentire videtur*, he that holdeth his peace, seemeth to consent,' then this my silence importeth rather a confirmation, than a condemnation of your statute; and for that you said, master Maring, that everie good subject is obliged to answere and confesse as you said, you must understand that in things touching conscience, everie true and faithfull subject is bound more to have respect unto his conscience, and his soule, than to anie other thinge in the worlde besides; especiallie when his answere may give occasion of contumelie, or reproach, or dishonour against his king. And for me, I assure you I have forborne to disclose my minde to anie man living in the worlde, in respect of the honour I bear to my prince, lest my plaine meaning might be interpreted an occasion of others offending."

The second article did enforce all the foresaid accusations of transgressing the statute touching the king's supremacie, for that Sir Thomas, (as it was said) wrote divers letters to John Fisher, bishopp of Rochester, willing him in no wise to condescend to the said statute. "Would God, those letters" (quoth Sir Thomas) "might be produced and openlie red! But forasmuch as you say, that my lord of Rochester had burned them, I will not sticke truelie to utter the contents of them. In one of them there was nothing in the worlde but certaine familiar talke, and recommendations such as was seemlie and agreable to our old acquaintance. In the other was contained my answere that was made to the said bishopp, demanding me what I had answered in my first examination upon this statute, whereunto I answered nothing ells, but that I had settled and quieted my conscience, and so I would he should doe his; and other answere than this, upon the chardge of my soule, made I none. And these be the tenours of my letters, which little advantage you, whereby any thing might be fastened upon me by lawe to condemn me to death."

After this, answered he to the third article, wherein was laid to his chardge, "that at such time as he was examined in the Tower, he should answere, that the statute was like a two edged sword, the which if anie man would keep and observe it, he should thereby lose his soule; and in case he did not observe it, he should thereby lose his corporall life. The verie same answer the bishopp

of Rochester made ; whereby it doth evidentlie appear that it was a purpose, and a sett matter between you, by mutual conference and agreement."

To these Sir Thomas answered, " that he did not preciselie but conditionallie answer, that in case the statute were like to be a double edged sworde, he could not tell in the worlde, how a man should demean and order himself, but that he should fall in one of the daungers. Neither doe I know what answer the bishopp made ; whose answer, if it were agreeable and correspondent to mine, that had happened by reason of the correspondence and congruitie of our witts, learning, and studie, not that anie such thinge was purposelie concluded upon and accorded betwixt us. Neither hath there at anie time, anie worde, or deed maliciously scaped or proceeded from me against your statute ; albeit it may be that my wordes might be wrongfullie and maliciouslie reported to the kings majestie." And thus did Sir Thomas More easily cast and shake off such and like criminations. Amongst other things it was said, that he would upon the inditement have abiden in lawe, but that thereby he should be driven to confess of himself the matter indeed, which was the deniall of the kings supremacie, which he protested was untrue. Wherefore he thereto pleaded *Not Guilty* ; and so reserved to himself advantage to be taken of the bodie of the matter, after verdict, to avoide the inditement ; and moreover added that if onlie these odious terms *maliciouslie, traitorouslie, diabollicallie* were put out of the inditement, he sawe nothing therein justlie to chardge him.

Wherefore at the last cast and refuge, to prove that Sir Thomas More was guiltie of that treason, master Rich was called to give evidence to the jury, upon his oath, as he did. Againste whome thus sworne, Sir Thomas More begann in this wise to say : " If I were a man, my lords, that did not regard an oath, I need not, as it is well knowne, in this place, at this time, nor in this case stand here as an accused person. If this oath of yours, master Rich, be true, then pray I that I never see God in the face ; which I would not say were it otherwise, to winne the whole worlde." Then recited he to the court, the whole discourse of all their whole communication in the Tower, according to the truth, and said " In good faith, master Rich, I am sorrier for your perjurie, than myne owne perill. And you shall understand, that neither I, neither anie man else to my knowledge, ever took

you to be a man of such credit, as in a matter of importance, I, or anie other would vouchsafe to communicate with you. And I as you knowe, of no small while have been acquainted with you, and your conversation; who have knowne you from your youth hitherto, for we long dwelt in one parish togeather; whereas yourself can well tell, (I am sorrie you compell me so to say), you were esteemed verie light of your tongue, a common lyar, a great dicer, and of no commendable fame. And so in your house at the Temple, where hath been your chief bringing up, were you likewise accounted. And therefore may it seem likelie to your honourable lordshipps, that I would, in so weightie a cause, so unadvisedlie overshoot myself, as to trust master Rich, a man of me alwaies reputed for one of little trust, as your lordshipps hath heard, so farr to abuse my sovereign lord, or anie of his noble counsellors, that I would unto him utter the secrets of my conscience, touching the kings supremacie, the speciall point and onlie marke at my handes so long sought for; a thing which I never did, nor never would, after a statute made, reveal to the kings highnes himself, nor to anie of his honourable counsellors; as it is not unknowne to your honours, at sundrie severall times sent from his grace's owne person unto the Tower to me for no other purpose? Can this in your judgements, my lords, seem like to be true? And yet, if I had so done indeed, my lords, as master Rich hath sworne, seeing that it was spoken but in familiar secret talke, nothing affirming, and onelie in putting of cases, without other displeasant circumstances, it cannot justlie be taken to be spoken *maliciouslie*; for where there is no malice, there can be no malicious offence. And never thinke my lords that so manie worthie bishopps, so manie honourable personages, and so manie other worshipfull, vertuous wise and well learned men, as at the making of that lawe were in that parliament assembled, ever meant to have anie man punished by death, in whom there could be found no malice, taking *malitia* for *malevolentia*, for, if *malitia* is generallie taken for *sinne*, no man is then that can excuse himself. "*Si dixerimus quoniam peccatum non habemus, ipsi nos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.*" (1 Joan. 1.) And overlie this worde *maliciouslie* is in this statute materiall; as this term *forcible* is in the statute of *forcible entry*: by which statute, if a man enter peaceable, and put not his adversarie out forcible, it is no offence; but if he put him out forcible, then by that statute it is an offence, and so shall he be punished by this term *forcible*.

Besides this, the manifold goodness of the king's highness himself, that hath bene so manie waies my singular good and gracious sovereign, even at my first coming into his noble service, with the dignitie of his honourable privie counsell, vouchsafing to admit me into offices of great credit and worshipp, most liberallie advanced me, and finallie with the great weightie room of his graces high chauncellourshipp (the like he never did to temporall man¹ before), next to his royall person, the highest office of this noble Realme; so farre above my merits and qualities, thereto of his incomparable benignitie, honoured and exalted me, by the space of twentie years, and more, shewing his continuall favour towards me; and untill at my poore humble suite it pleased his majestie, (giving me licence with his highness' favour, to bestowe the rest of my life for the provision of my soule, in the service of God), of his especiall goodness, therefore to discharge and disburthen me; all this his highness's goodness I say, so long, so bountifullie extended towards me, in heaping honours upon honours, were in my minde my lords, matter sufficient to convince this slanderous surmise by this man so wrongfullie imagined against me."

Master Rich seeing himself disproved, and his credit so fowllie defaced, caused Sir Richard Southwell and master Palmer, who at the time of their communication were in the chamber with them, to be sworne what words passed betwixt them.

Whereupon master Palmer upon his deposition said, "that he was so busie about trussing up of Sir Thomas his books in a sacke, that he tooke no heed to their talke." Sir Richard Southwell likewise upon his deposition said, "that because he was appointed onlie to looke to the conveyance of his bookes, he gave no care unto them."

After this were manie other reasons by Sir Thomas More in his owne defence alledged, to the discredit of master Riche's fore-said evidence, and proof of the clearness of his owne conscience. All which notwithstanding, the jurie found him guiltie, in a verie short time. And incontinent upon their verdict, the lord chancellour, for that matter chiefe commissioner, beginning to proceed in judgment against Sir Thomas, Sir Thomas interrupted him: "My lord" (quoth he), "when I was towards the lawe, the manner in such cases was, to aske the prisoner before judgment, why judgment should not proceed against him." Whereupon

¹ *To temporall man.*] See p. 59.

the lord chancellour, staying his judgment, wherein he had partlie proceeded, demanded of him what he was able to say for the saving of his life. Who in this sort most humblie made answer. “Seeing that I see you are determined to condemn me, (God knoweth how justlie), I will now, in discharge of my conscience, speake my mind plainlie and freelie touching my inditement, and your statute therewithall.—And forasmuch as this statute is grounded upon an act of parliament directlie repugning to the lawes of God, and his holie church, the supream government and authority of which, or of anie part thereof may no temporall prince or king presume by lawe or right to take upon him, as rightfullie by the lawes of God belonging to the sea of Rome, a spirituall preeminence by the mouth of our Saviour himself, personallie present upon earth, onelie to Saint Peter and his successors, bishoppes of the same sea by speciall prerogative graunted; to him, it was said ‘*Pasce oves meas*’; let Cæsar give to Cæsar that is Cæsar’s; to God that is God’s:—it is therefore a lawe, amongst Christian men, insufficient and of no effect to chardge anie man therewithall.”

This was spoken concerning the statute, and for proof, hereafter, like as amongst divers other reasons and authorities, he declared³, “that this realme of England, being but one member⁴ and part of the church of God, might not make a parliament lawe disagreeable to Christ’s universall catholicke Church; no more than the citie of Bristowe, being but one poore member, in respect of the whole realme, may make a lawe against an act of parliament, to bind the whole realme under pain of death to obey it. So further he shewed, that it was not onelie contrarie to the lawes of God⁵, but also contrarie to the lawes and statutes of our

² “*Pasce oves meas.*”] See Casaubon’s dedication of his *Exercitationes contra Baronium*. *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 58—60.

³ *He declared.*] But see Twisden’s *Historical Vindication*, p. 71—3, 118, &c.

⁴ *But one member.*] See More’s Letter to Cromwell. *Strype’s Eccles. Mem.*, vol. i. p. 134. Records.

⁵ *The lawes of God.*] Yet time was when More did not entertain any such lofty notions of the divine right of the papal authority in England. In his *Confutation of Tindal’s Answer*, part ii. p. 615, he thus expresses himself: “I never dydde putte the pope for parte of the dyffinicion of the church; diffynyng the church to be the common known congregacyon of all christen nacions under one head the pope.

“Thus did I never defyne the church, but purposely declyned therefrom,

owne nation, yet in force and unrepealed, as most evidentlie it doth appear in Charta Magna, *Quod ecclesia Anglicana libera sit, et habeat omnia jura sua integra, libertates suas illesas*: Also he showed that it was contrarie to the sacred oath, which the kings highness himself, and everie other Christian prince alwaies received with great solemnity at their coronations, inviolately to observe; alleaging moreover, that with no more right this realme of Englande refuseth obedience to the sea of Rome, than the child refuseth obedience to his owne naturall father. For as Saint Paul said to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 4.) '*I have regenerated you, my children in Christ*;' so might Saint Gregory pope of Rome, of whome by Saint Austin, his messenger, wee first received the Christian faith, of us Englishmen truelie say, "You are my children, because to you I have given salvation, a farre higher and better inheritance, than anie carnall father can leave to his

for I would not intrike and entangle the matter with two questions at once. For I wiste very well, that the church being proved this common known catholyke congregacion of all chrysten naciones, abyding together in one sayth, neither fallen off, nor cut off; there might peradventure be made a seconde question after that, whether over all that catholyke church, the pope must needs be head and chief-governor, or chief spiritual shepheard; or elles, that the unyon of saythe standyng among them all, every province might have their own chief spiritual governor over itself, without anye recourse unto the pope; or any superioritie recognised to any other outward persone.

"And then if the pope were pope, or no, but, as I say divers provincial patriarchs, archbushoppes, metropolitanes, or by what name soever the thing were called,—what authority, and what power either he, or they should have among the people;—these things well I wist woulde rayse among manye menne manye moe questions then one. For the avoydyng of all intraction whereof I purposely forbare to putte in the pope as parte of the diffynicon of the church, as a thing that needed not; sith if he be the necessary headde, he is included in the name of the whole bodye. And, whether he be or not, if it be brought in question, were a matter to be treated and disputed beayde, and by itself."

In another place, he names, in a letter to Cromwell written about February, 1534—41 a time and occasion for the change in his sentiments, flattering indeed to the controversial vanity of his royal master, but somewhat unreasonably brought forward in the present altered state of affairs. "Trueth it is, that as I told you, when ye desired me to shew you what I thought in the question of the primacy of the pope, I was myself sometime not of that mind that the primacy of that see should be begun by the institution of God, until I read in that matter those thinges that the king's highness had written in his most famous booke against the heresies of Martine Luther." *Works*, p. 1437, or Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 134.

children; and by regeneration I have made you my spirituall children in Christ."

Then was it by the lord chancellour answered, "that seeing all the bishoppes, universities, and best learned of the realme had to this act agreed, it was much merveiled, that he alone against them all would so stifelie sticke thereat, and so vehementlie argue there against." Which reason in effect the abbot of Westminster made against him, when he appeared before the commissioners at Lambeth. To this Sir Thomas replied, saying, "that this seaven yeares, seriouslie and earnestlie he had beset his studies and cogitations upon this pointe, chieflie amongst others, of the pope's authoritie; neither as yet, said he, have I chaunced upon anie ancient writer or doctour that so advaunceth it, as your statute doth of any secular or temporall Prince. If there were no more but myself upon my side, and the whole parliament upon the other, I would be sore afraid to leane to mine owne mind onelie against so manie; but if the number of bishoppes and universities be so materiall as your lordshipp seemeth to take it, then see I little cause my lord, why that thing in my conscience should make any chaunge; for I nothing doubt but that, tho' not in this realme, yet in Christendome about, of these well learned bishoppes and vertuous men that are yet alive, they be not the fewer part that are of my minde herein. But if I should speake of those that are alreadie dead, of whome many are now holie saints in heaven, I am very sure that it is the far greater part of them, that all the while they lived, thought in this case, that way which I thinke now, and therefore am I not bound my lorde to conforme my conscience to the counsell of our realme against the generall counsells of all Christendome; for of the foresaid holy byshopps, I have for everie byshopp of yours above an hundred, yea well might I add, a thousand; and for one counsell of parliament of your's (God knoweth what manner of one), I have all the counsells made this manie hundred yeares; and for this one kingdom I have all other Christian realms." Then answered the duke of Norfolk, "Wee now plainlie perceave, that you are maliciouslie bent." "Nay, nay" (quoth Sir Thomas), "verie and pure necessitie, for discharge of my conscience, enforceth me to speake so much, wherein I call and appeal to God, whose onelie sight pierceth the verie depth of mans hart, for witness: howbeit it is not so much for the supremacie that you seek my bloud, as because I would

not condescend to the second marriage of the king, his first wife yet living."

Now Sir Thomas More for the avoiding of his inditement, had taken so manie exceptions as he thought meet, and manie more reasons than are here alleaged; the lord chancellour loath to have the inditement wholie to depend upon him, there openlie asked the advice of the lord Fitz-James⁶, then lord chief justice of the kings bench, and joined with him in commission; "whether this inditement were sufficient or not." Who like a wise man answered, "My lord, by Saint Julian" (that was ever his oath) "I must needs confess, that if the act of parliament be lawfull, then the inditement is good enough." Whereupon the lord chauncellour said to the rest of the lords, "My lords, you heare what my lord chief justice saith. What thinke you?" No man made answer in particular; and so immediatelie he gave judgment without anie further adoe, against Sir Thomas, in this manner. "Wee command, that Sir Thomas More, sometime knight, be carried back to the place from whence he came, and from thence be drawn through the citie to the publicke place of execution, there to be hanged till he be half dead, then to be cut down, his bowells presentlie to be taken out and burned, his head to be cut off, and his bodie to be quartered into fower parts; and the bodie and head to be sett up where the king shall appoint. So the Lord have mercie upon you!"

This sentence was chaunged into beheading onlie⁷. For it is an ancient custome of our countrie for men of high birth or office, condemned to die though for treason, to have this graunted them as a priviledge, to have but their heads cut off.

After this sentence was ended, the commissioners did further courtesilie offer him if he had anie thing els to alleage for his defence, to graunt him favourable audience. Who answered, "My lords, more I have not to say; but that like as the blessed apostle Saint Paul, as we reade in the Actes, was present, and consented to the death of Saint Stephen, and kept the cloathes of

⁶ *Lord Fitz-James.* Sir John Fitzjames; the title of *Lord* must allude to his office: there never was any peer of that name.

⁷ *Into beheading onlie.* "Of which mercy of the king, word being brought to Sir Thomas, he merrily said, 'God forbid the king should use any more such mercy to any of my friends; and God bless all my posterity from such pardons.'" Lord Herbert, in *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 394.

them that stoned him to death, and yet be they both twaine companions and holie saints in heaven, and shall continue there friends together for ever; so I verilie trust, and shall therefore right hartilie pray, though your lordships have now here on earthe been my judges to my condemnation; wee may yet hereafter in heaven, all merrilie meet together to our everlasting salvation. And thus I desire Almighty God to preserve and defend the king's majestie, and to send him good counsell!"

Thus much now concerning his arraignment. After the which, he departed from the barre to the Tower againe, ledd by Sir William Kingstone, a tall, strong and comelie knight, constable of the Tower, and his deare friende. Whom when he had brought from Westminster to the Old Swanne, towards the Tower, with a heavie heart, the tears running downe amaine the old knights cheeks, he bade him farewell, scarce able to speake another worde. Sir Thomas More seeing him so sorrie, comforted him with as good words as he could possiblilie devise, saying, "Good master Kingstone, trouble not yourself. I beseech you be of good cheere; for I will pray for you, and for my good ladie your wife, that we may meet in heaven together, where we shall be merrie for ever."

15. When Sir Thomas came from Westminster towards the Tower, his daughter Margaret, desirous to see her father, whom she thought she should never see againe in this worlde, and also to have his last blessing, gave attendance about the Tower wharfe, where she knew her father would passe: whome as soon as she sawe, she reverentlie bowed herself upon her knees to take his blessing. After she hastened towards him, without consideration or care of herself, pressing in amongst the thickest of the throng and companie of the guard, who with halberts and bills went round about him: she ran to her father, and there openlie in the sight of them all imbraced him about the necke, and kissed him most lovinglie. Who well liked her naturall and deare daughterlie affection towards him; gave her his fatherlie blessing and manie godlie words of comfort; besides telling her that whatsoever he suffered, though he suffered as an innocent, yet did he not suffer it without Gods holie will and pleasure. "For thou knowest, Megg, my deare daughter, thou knowest the verie bottom and secrets of my hart. So thou hast cause rather to congratulate and rejoyce with me, and for me, that God hath thus graciouslie advanced me to this high honour, and hath made me worthie to spend my life, for the defence and upholding

of virtue, justice, and religion, than to be dismaide or discomfited. Therefore be of good comfort." O noble and worthie voice of our Christian Socrates! The old Socrates, that excellent philosopher, was also unjustlie put to death; who when his wife at that time following, outrageously cried out, "Shall Socrates, so good a man, be put to death?" "Peace my good wife" (quoth he) "and content thyself: it is farr better for me to die a true and good man, than to live as a wretch and a malefactor."

To come againe to mistress Roper. Being departed from her father, she was not satisfied with the former sight of him; like one that had forgotten herself, being ravished with the entire love of her deare father, having no respect to herself, nor to the multitude of people that were about him, suddenlie she turned backe againe, ranne to him as before, tooke him about the neck, and divers times most lovinglie kissed him; and at last with a full heavie hart was faine to depart from him: the beholding whereof was to manie there present so lamentable, that it made them for verie sorrowe and compassion to weep. Yet Sir Thomas, as one quite mortified to the worlde, and all worldlie affection, as though he were whollie fixed in the love of heaven, albeit he was a most loving, tender, and natural father to all his children, and above all other most dearelie loved this his daughter Margaret; yet the love of God, and the desire of heaven, had so mightilie subdued and conquered even nature itself, that he neither sighed nor wept, nor shewed any token of sorrowe or griefe, no nor once, for all this, chaunged his countenance: such was his temper and moderation of minde; such his resolution and carriage in this matter; as if he had been discharged of all human affection and incombrances of the same; more like an angell than a man*. The like temper of his mind he showed at

* *Then a man.* This translation has not done justice to the singular beauty of the description in the original.

"His ita peractis, Thomas Morus reductus est in Turrin. Ille obiter accidit spectaculum ipsa condemnatione miserabilis. Margareta filiarum Mori natu maxuma, mulier præter eximiam formæ venustatem cum summa dignitate conjunctam, judicio, ingenio, moribus et eruditione Patris simulima, per machinam populi turbam, perque satellitum arma semet iniecit, et ad Parentem penetravit. Quum et mulier esset, et natura cum primis verecunda, tamen et metum et pudorem omnem excusserat impotens animi dolor, cum audisset Patrem in Cura morti addictum esse. Hoc accidit priusquam Morus arces portam ingrederetur. Ibi in charissimi Parentis collum irruens artissimò complexu aliquamdiu tenuit eum. Carterum ne verbum quidem intermisi potuit

his arraignment; for neither in speech nor countenance he showed anie sign of alteration nor passion.

Thus Sir Thomas was brought to the Tower againe; where he remained a se'night after his judgment; from whence, the day before he suffered, he sent by a maide his shirt of haire, his discipline⁹, and a letter written with a cole, expressing his divine spirit, and not forgetting the parts of a loving father, to his daughter Margaret; the copie whereof followeth; and because it was the last that ever he wrote, I will sett it downe verbatim.

A Letter to his Daughter Margaret.

“Our Lord bless you good daughter, and your good husband, and your little boy, and all yours, and all my children, and all my God-children, and all our friends! Recommend me, when you may, to my good daughter Cicilie, whom I beseech our Lord to comfort; and I send her my blessing, and to all her children; and pray her to pray for me. I send her a handkerchief. And God comforte my good sonne her husband!” (to witt, master Giles Heron).

“My good daughter Dansey hath the picture in parchment, that you delivered me from my ladie Conyers; her name is on the back side; shew her it; and I heartilie pray her, that you may send it againe in my name to my ladie, for a token from me

proloqui. ‘Curæ,’ inquit tragicus, ‘leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.’ Movit stipatores, tametsi duos, hoc spectaculum. Horum itaque permissu Morus his verbis consolatus est filiam. ‘Margareta, patienter feras, nec te discrucies amplius. Sic est voluntas Dei. Jampridem nosti secreta cordis mei.’ Simulque dedit osculum, *ex consuetudine gentis* si quem dimittant. At illa cum digressa esset ad decem vel duodecim passus, denuo recurrit, et amplexa Parentem rursus inhæsit collo illius, sed elinguis præ doloris magnitudine. Cui Pater nihil locutus est, tantum erumpebant lacrymæ, vultu tamen a constantia nihil dimoto. Nec aliud supremis verbis mandavit quam ut Deum pro anima Patris deprecaretur.—Ad hoc pietatis certamen plurimis e populari turba lacrymæ excidere. Erant et inter satellites, ferum et immitte genus hominum, qui lacrymas tenere non potuerunt. Nec mirum, quum pietatis affectus adeo valida res sit, ut immitissimas etiam feras moveat Morum fortiter excepisse sententiam mortis, aut etiam carnificis securim, minus admirandum existimo quam pietatem erga suos potuisse vincere. Nihil enim addubito quin hic doloris gladius crudelius vulneravit Mori præcordia quam illa carnificis securis quæ collum amputarit.” Erasmus under the assumed name of *Corvinus Nucerinus*.

⁹ *Discipline.*] i. e. His whip for scourging himself. See p. 67 and 176.

to pray for me. I like speciall well Dorothe Collie." (This Dorothe Collie was afterwards wife to John Harris, Sir Thomas his secretarie. She oftentimes had access to Sir Thomas, and brought him manie presents and tokens from her mistress, mistress Margaret Roper). "I pray you be good to her. I would witt whether this be she you wrote to me of. If not, yet I pray you be good to the other, as you may, in her affliction. And to my daughter Joan Allen too;" (This was none of his daughters, nor anie thing a-kinn to him; but because she waited on his daughter Margaret Roper, and was brought up of a little one in his house, in kindness he called her daughter). "Give her I pray you some kind answer, for she sued hither to me this day, to pray you to be good to her. I comber you good Margaret much; but I would be sorrie it should be anie longer then tomorrow; for it is Saint Thomas's Eve, and the U'tas¹ of Saint Peter," (to witt the sixth day of Julie; for the seventh day is the translation of Sir Thomas of Canterburie. Therefore most fitlie God of his high providence had ordeined, that he that suffered for the supremacie of the pope, should suffer on that day wherein was combined two feasts of speciall defendants of that veritie): "and therefore tomorrow long I to go to God. It were a meet day, and verie convenient for me. I never liked your manners better towards me, than when you kissed me last." (He meaneth that time, when he came from judgment). "For I love when daughterlie love, and deare charitie hath no leisure to look to worldlie curtesie. Fare well my deare child, and pray for me, and I shall for you, and all your friends, that we may merrilie meet in heaven. I thanke you for your cost. I send now to my good daughter Clement her *Algorisme stone*²." (This mistress Clement, was not his naturall daughter, but was named before she was married, Margaret Gige. Her husband was called John Clement, a famous doctour of phisicke). "And I send her, and my God-sonne, and all hers, Gods blessing and mine. I pray you at convenient time recommend me to my

¹ U'tas¹ i. e. Octaves, from the French *huit*. See note, vol. i. p. 224.

² Her *Algorisme stone*; "An arithmetical stone. Ab Arabibus nomen *Algorismi* accepimus, pro praxi arithmetica per figuras numerales. Wallis." Roper's *Life* by Lewis, p. 155. It was sometimes written *augrim*.

"First by seconds, terces, and eke quarters

(On *augrim* stones and on white cartes."

Lydgate's Hist. of Thores.

good sonne John More. I liked well his naturall fashion." (This he meant, because he reverentlie kneeled downe, and asked him blessing, when he came from judgment.) "Our Lord bless him, and his good wife my loving daughter; to whom I pray him to be, as he hath great cause to be, good: and that if the land of mine come to his hande, he breake not my will concerning his sister Dansey. Our Lord bless Thomas, and Austine, and all that they have. Farewell." (This Thomas was John's eldest sonne, and is yet alive.)

Anno 1535. 5^{to} Julii, pridie nativitatis ejus.

16. Upon the next morrowe being Tuesday and the feast of St. Peter's octaves³, and the eve of St. Thomas of Canterburie, in the yeare of our Lord God 1535, in the twenty seventh year of the reign of king Henery the eighth, according as Sir Thomas in his letters the day before had wished; earlie in the morning came to him Sir Thomas Pope, his verie good frende, on a message from the king and his counsell, that he should prepare himself; for before nine o'clocke the same morning he should loose his head.

"Master Pope" (quoth he) "for your good tidings, I most hartilie thanke you. I have bene alwaies much bounden to the king's highnes, for the benefits and honours that he hath still from time to time most bountifullie heaped upon me. Yet more bound am I unto his grace for putting me into this place, where I have had convenient time and place to have remembrance of my end. And so help me God! Most of all master Pope, I am bound to his highnes, that it pleaseth him so shortlie to ridd me out of the miseries of this wretched life: and therefore will I not faile earnestlie to pray for his grace both here, and also in an other worlde." "The king's pleasure is further" (quoth master Pope) "that at your execution, you shall not use manie wordes." "Master Pope," (quoth he) "you do well to give me warning of his grace his pleasure; for otherwise I had purposed at that time somewhat to have spoken; but of no matter where-with his grace nor anie other should have had cause to be offended. Nevertheless whatsoever I intended, I am readie obediently to conform myself to his graces commandment. And I

³ *St. Peter's octaves.*] 6th July; the eve of the translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

beseech you good master Pope, to be meanes to his highnes, that my daughter Margaret may be at my buriall." "The king is contented alreadie" (quoth master Pope), "that your wife, children, and other friends shall have libertie to be present thereat." "O how much beholding then" (quoth Sir Thomas) "am I to his grace, that to my poor buriall vouchsafeth to have such gracious consideration." Wherewithall master Pope taking his leave with him, could not refraine from weeping; which Sir Thomas More perceiving comforted him in this wise. "Quiet yourself good master Pope, and be not discomforted; for I trust that we shall once see each other in heaven full merrilie; where wee shall be sure to live and love togeather in joy and blisse eternallie."

After whose departure Sir Thomas, as one that had been invited to some solemn banquet, was merveillous glad of this day; which he knew, (either by the spirit of prophesie, or spoke it in the confidence he had in his familiaritie with God), he appointed to render his soule into the hands of his Creatour, fullie and certainlie to receave of him the guerdon of his well doing. The day before he had sent away his spirituall weapons. Knowing the tyme of his warfare presentlie to have an end, he left off his mourning and disciplining of his bodie, which mightilie he did from the time of his condemnation, till now, in this manner. He wrapt himself in a linen sheet, like a bodie to be laid in a grave: so walked he most part of the night, and severelie punished his bodie with a whipp^e; but now in token of joy and exultation of his minde, he changed himself into his best apparell. Which master lieutenant espying, advised him to put it off, saying that he that should have it was but a javell^e. "What master lieutenant" (quoth he) "should I account him a javell, that shall doe me this day so singular a benefitt, that all the friends I have in the world neither have, nor can doe me the like good? Nay I assure you Sir, if it were cloth of gold, I would thinke it well bestowed upon him." But at length through the importunate perswasion of the lieutenant, he put off his camlet gown, which master Bonvis^e, his deare friende, sent him after his imprisonment; and put on a gown of frieze; and to make the

^e *With a whipp*. See above, p. 67, and note, p. 173.

^e *A javell*. A worthless fellow. *Javelle*. Fr. Nare's Glossary, &c.

^e *Bonvisor*. See note, p. 96.

executioner amends, of that money which was left him, agreeably to the example of blessed Saint Ciprian, he caused an angell of gold to be delivered him.

17. Sir Thomas fasting, and clad in an old ill favoured friese gown, which to him was his marriage garment, and so meanlie appparelled the better to remember the povertie of his maister Christ, was by the lieutenant brought from the Tower towards the place of execution⁷; where by the way a certain importunate woman, with a loud voice called unto him at the Tower gate, beseeching him to declare, that he had certaine evidences of her's, that were delivered him, when he was in office; saying, that sithence he was apprended she could by no means come to them againe; and that he would be a meane, that she might recover them, the loss whereof she said did much grieve her. "Good woman" (quoth he), "content thyself, and have patience awhile; for the king is so good and gracious to me, that even within this half hour he will disburthen me of all worldlie business, and help thee himself." A little further a good woman offered him wine to drinke. "Marrie good wife" (quoth he), "I will not drinke now. My maister had easell⁸ and gall, and not wine given him to drinke."

A little further a third woman, and she was verie clamorous: "Do you remember master More, that when you were chauncelour, you were my hard friend, and did me great injurie in giving wrong judgment against me?" "Woman" (quoth he), "I am now going to my death. I remember well the whole matter; if now I ware to give sentence againe, I assure thee, I would not alter it. Thou hast no injurie, so content thee, and trouble me not."

Afterwards as he passed, there came to him a citizen of Winchester; who had been once with Sir Thomas before, and it was upon this occasion. This poor man was grievouslie vexed with verie vehement and grievous tentations of desperation, and could never be ridd of it either by counsaile, or prayer of his owne or of his friends. At last a good friend of his brought him to Sir

⁷ *The place of execution.*] "About nine he was brought out of the Tower. His beard was long, his face pale and thin; and carrying a red crosse in his hand, he often lift up his eyes to heaven. A woman meeting him with a cup of wine, he refused it, saying, 'Christ at his passion drank no wine, but gall and vinegar.'" Lord Herbert in *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 395.

⁸ *Had easell.*] Eisell, vinegar. Nares's *Glossary*, &c.

Thomas, then chauncellour ; who taking compassion of the poor man's miserie, gave him the best counsaile and advice he could ; but it would not serve. Then fell he to his prayers for him, beseeching earnestlie Almighty God to rid the poor man of his trouble of minde. He obtained it : for after that, the Hampshire man was never troubled with it anie more, so long as he would come to Sir Thomas More. But after he was imprisoned, and could have no access unto him, his tentations began againe, more vehement and troublesome than ever before ; so he spent his daies with a heaue hart and without all hope of remedie. But when he heard that Sir Thomas was condemned, he posted from Winchester, hoping at least to see him as he should goe to execution ; and so determined to speake with him, come what would of it. And for that cause he placed himself in the way ; and at his coming by, he thrust through the throng, and with a loud voice said, " Master More, do you knowe me ? I pray you for our Lord's sake help me. I am as ill troubled as ever I was." Sir Thomas answered, " I remember thee full well. Go thy waies in peace, and praie for me, and I will not faile to praie for thee." And from that time after, so long as he lived, he was never troubled with that manner of tentation.

Thus he came to the scaffold, where taking the help of one of the officers to ascend, he desired all the people thereabouts to pray for him ; and being forbidden to make anie further speech, he desired all there that were present, to beare witness that he should suffer in and for the faith of the catholic church. " For I call heaven and earth to witness, I am the kings true and faithful subject ; the servant of Almighty God ; and determined to die in the profession of his holie religion." So he kneeled him downe on his knees, and with a loud voice said the fiftieth psalm, *Miserere mei Deus*, to the end, with some other prayers. After which he turned to the executioner and with chearfull countenance spake to him sayinge, " What man, pull up thy spirits, and be not afraid to do thine office ;" who, as the manner is, asked him forgiveness. Sir Thomas kissed him, and told him, " no mortall man could give that he should receive at his hands : but I am sorie my necke is so short, therefore strike not awrie, for saving of thy honestie." So he tooke a napkin that he brought with him, wherewith he blindfolded his owne eyes, streaking his beard, which was then growne long in the time of his durance, and laid it over the block, and thereon laid his head

even and quiet. So with one blow of an axe his sweet soule passed out of this worlde unto Almighty God, the verie same day that he most desired, and before foretold, to witt, the octaves of Saint Peter, the eve of St. Thomas, the sixth of Julie in the yeare of our Lord 1535, in the twentie seventh of the reign of king Henery the eighth, and the yeare of his age fifty five, or fifty six, as some say.

18. Sir Thomas More was wont to say in manner of an adage, "A man may lose his head and take no harme:" so it was verified in him; for he lost his head, but tooke no harme. For his temporall life, he now possesseth everlasting bliss and felicitie in the blissful quiers of saints and angells; and in earth hath his fame eternized to all posterity; and his name, not onelie of his friends and well willers, but of his enemies and greatest adversaries, it is had in much reverence and regard.

Immediatelie after the execution of Sir Thomas More, word was brought thereof to the king; who being then at dice when it was told him, at the hearing thereof seemed to be wonderfullie amazed. "And is it true" (quoth the king)? "Is Sir Thomas More, my chauncellour dead?" The messenger answered, "Yea, if it may please your majestie." He turned him to queen Anne, who then stood by, and wistlie looking upon her said, "Thou, thou art the cause of this man's death." So presentlie went to his chamber, and there wept full bitterlie. For so unjust and violent a death of so innocent a man, could not but grieve the verie authors of it. It was wonderfull to thincke how the king could find in his hart to put this holie, innocent and famous man to death; but defiled with scisme, loaded with sinne, and overruled with inordinate affection to dame Anne, what did he not?

"Nay," saith a Welsh man when he heard this question moved, "that is not so great, for my neighbours of Carmarthen, when master Davies was arraigned, did at the same time arraigne, indite, and condemn Pius Quintus the pope, of high treason, long after his death." Indeed sinne now is at that ripeness, that now with praise and commendations those things be attempted, that in former ages without sinne might not be thought of.

Charles the emperour, the fifth of that name, a most reverent and victorious prince, gave a singular testimonie of the praise of this man. For when intelligence came to him of Sir Thomas More his death, he sent presentlie for Sir Thomas Elliott, our English ambassadour then with him, to whom said the emperour,

“ We understand that the king your maister hath put to death his faithfull servant, his grave and wise counsellor, Thomas More.” Whereunto our ambassadour answered that he heard nothing thereof. “ Well” (quoth the emperour), “ it is too true. And this wee will saie, that if wee had been maister of such a servaunt, of whose doings our self have these manie yeares no small experience, we should rather have lost the best citie of our dominion, than have forgone so worthie a counsellour.”

What moan and lamentation of all good men in other countries was made for this man's death well witnesseth that worthie man cardinall Poole, *lib. 3^{ra} de unitate ecclesiæ*^{*}: and Johannes Cochleus *libro contra Ricardum Sampsonum*. The like doth Paulus Jovius in *Elogiis*, tit. 89. Gulielmus Paradinus; Johannes Fontanus; Laurentius Surius; Onuphrius Patavinus, with manie others. But lest these may be suspected as partiall, for being of the same faith with him; the hereticks themselves that then lived, and since, spake honourable of him. See Johannes Carion, John Sleyden, Johannes Rivius; onlie one or two excepted, as Fox, Hall, Holinsheade, and such rabines, most obscure and base fellows, most unworthie to have names of historiographers; yea so impious and shameless they are in their assertions, that they beare no great credit amongst their owne fellows; so it greatlie skilleth not what they say; yet what they saye by the judgment of all indifferent, tendeth rather to his praise than reproach. One calleth him cruel and hard, for the mislike he shewed to the hereticks. Another calleth him a foolish wise man, or a wise fool. Another a jeaster. But maugre all the malice of heresie, and the iniquity of our most miserable tymes, this eulogium shall for ever be given him. Sir Thomas More for vertue, learning, and integrity of life of a lay man, was such a lord chauncellour, as England never had the like; so trew and blessed a confessor, in joyfullie suffering disgrace, imprisonment, losse of goods and lands for justice sake, as well as he may be compared to the ancient confessors in that kinde. But his speciall and peerless prerogative is, in that he died a martyr for the defence and preservation of the unitie of the catholic church. And his martyrdome is so famous and noble, that it is not inferior to the martyrdome of those that suffered because they would not denie the holie faith of Christ: nay rather it seemeth to be more esteemed. For as the learned and great clerke Dionisius of Alexandria writeth,

^{*} *De unitate ecclesiæ.*] See the passage quoted at p. 161.

“that martyrdome (saith he) that a man suffereth to preserve the unitie of the church that it may not be broken and rent, is worthie no less commendations, but rather more, than the martyrdome that a man suffereth, because he will not sacrifice to idols : for in this cause a man doth die to save his owne soule ; in the other for the whole church.” Therefore he is a happie and blessed martyr ; and a martyr in a cause, that nearer toucheth religion, and the whole faith, than doth the death of the blessed martyrs, Thomas of Dover, and Thomas of Canterburie : (under pardon of those saints be it spoken, for I intend not the diminution of their glorious deaths). The first was slain of the French men landing at Dover in his monasterie. All his fellowes being fled, he being taken, and urged to reveal to them where the treasure and jewells of the church were, which he denying, by them was massacred. Afterwards God by him shewed manie miracles.

The second was, and is ever taken for a verie worthie martyr of the whole church of God, and even of king Henry the second also ; for whose displeasure, though by chance, not by his commandment, he was slaine. Albeit we have of late (God give us his grace to repent, and see our folie and impietie !) unshrined him¹, and buried his holie relicks ; and have made him, after so manie hundred yeares, a traytor to the king², who honoured him for a blessed saint, as did all the kings his successors : yet as we said, there is no great ods in their martyrdomes. For though the king, for the displeasure he bare to the pope, for that he maintained and defended Saint Thomas, did for a little while abrogate the popes authoritie ; and went about afore to cut off and abridge some appeals, wont to be made to the sea of Rome ; yet neither did the king take upon him the supremacie, nor in hart misliked to let the pope have it ; but shortlie restored the pope to his former authoritie, and revoked all his other misdoings. So in Sir Thomas More there is deeper cause of martyrdome than in either of these twaine. For Sir Thomas died directlie and onelie for the defence and unitie of the catholic church.

¹ *Unshrined him.*] See Burnet's *History*, pt. i. book iii. ed. Nares, vol. i. p. 393.

² *Traytor to the king.*] By an act of Henry VIII. Becket's name was ordered to be struck out of the calendar, and the office for his festivity to be dashed out of all breviaries, and that this injunction was very generally obeyed in England the mutilations and erasures in the existing MSS. sufficiently attest.

Howbeit there was great conformitie, both in birth and place, being both born in London : in their names, for they were both Thomas : their offices, for both were high chauncellours of England ; and in this when Saint Thomas of Canterburie his troubles beganne, he came to the king carrying his cross himself, not suffering anie other to carrie it ; and in that Sir Thomas More, when his great troubles grew first on him, carried the crosse in procession in his parish church at Chelsey ; and both Thomases ever after, though not the materiall, yet the true crosse of tribulation. In this was some conformitie, that Sir Thomas More died according to his desire upon the eve³ of Saint Thomas of Canterburie : but some diversitie there was, as well in that we have shewed, as in that Saint Thomas of Canterburie, defending the dignitie and priviledge of the church, suffered without any judgment or form of justice in his owne cathedrall church, there his consecrated head being cloven in pieces. Sir Thomas More was condemned with pretended justice, which aggravated the iniquitie of the fact, in Westminster Hall. The other was a bishopp and suffered in his church. Sir Thomas More, a temporall judge, had sentence given against him, where he and his father before him had ministered justice most uprightlie ; and in that place, wherein few yeares before, he had received such a praise, even by the kings owne commandment, as lightlie had not been given to anie other. Sir Thomas his head, for defending the right head of the church, was cut off by him that tooke the prerogative of Saint Peter and his successors, and set it upon his owne head. Sir Thomas his head was set upon the bridge of the citie where he was borne and brought up, upon a high pole : a ruthfull spectacle for all good citizens ; and much more lamentable there to see his head, than it was to the Romans, to see the head of Marcus Tullius Cicero set up in the said citie, where he had by his eloquent orations preserved manie innocents from danger and perill. And yet Sir Thomas his head had not so high a place on the pole, as hath his blessed soule amongst the celestiall quiers of angells in heaven. Wherefore we may be bold to pray, that God will through the merits and intercessions of this glorious martyr.

³ The eve.] i. e. July 6, the eve of the translation of St. Thomas. St. Thomas's day is the 9th of December, but the translation, owing perhaps to its being at a more favourable season, was much observed by pilgrims. Somner says, that on that day, in 1420, being the sixth jubilee, a hundred thousand strangers visited Becket's tomb.

cast his pitifull eye of grace upon us, and reduce us to the unitie of his holie church, for the defence whereof Sir Thomas More in his holie sight suffered a precious death! Therefore O most blessed God, for the merits of this holie martyr Saint Thomas, of thy infinite goodness, graunt this poor land thy holie grace, to acknowledge their present miserie, and to retourne again unto the bosom of thy holie spouse, the holy catholick church, through our Lord Jesus Christ! Amen.

19. *The description of Sir Thomas More according to the relation of those who best knew him⁴, and his Picture which was drawn when he was Chauncellour.*

Sir Thomas More was no tall man; all the parts of his bodie⁵ were in good proportion, and congruous as a man could wish. His skinne was something white; the colour of his face drewe rather to whiteness then to paleness, farr from redness, saving that some little red sparkes everie where appeared. His hair was blackish yellow, or rather yellow blackish; his beard thynne; his eyes grey and speckled; which kinde of eies do commonlie betoken a good and sharpe witt, and as phisitians say, are least combered with diseases and faults; his were not great, nor yet glittering, yet much pleasing. His countenance⁶ was conformable to his nature and disposition, pleasant and amiable, somewhat resembling and tending to the fashion of one that would seem to smile. His voice was neither boysterous nor bigg; nor yet too small and shrill; he spake his wordes verie distinctlie and treatable, without anie manner of hastines or stuttering; and albeit he delited in all kinde of melodie, yet he seemed not of his owne nature to be apt to sing himselfe. He enjoyed the health of his bodie verie well: and although he was never a strong man, yet was he able to goe through with anie laboure and paines meet and convenient for him to dispatch his busines. A little before he gave over his office of high chauncellourship, he beganne to be troubled with a

⁴ *Who best knew him.*] These particulars are taken from the MS. Life by Harpsfield.

⁵ *Parts of his bodie.*] “Dexter humerus paulo videtur eminentior lævo, præsertim cum incedit, id quod illi non accidit naturâ, sed assuetudine.”—Erasmi Epistol.

⁶ *His countenance.*] See his portrait by Holbein, in the collection published by Chamberlayne from the original drawings belonging to her Majesty.

little sickness; and after he was shut up in the Tower it much increased. When he was a young man, he used and delighted in drinking of water; his common drinke was verie small ale; and as for wine he did but sipp of it, and that onlie for companies sake, or for pledging his friends. He delighted more to feed upon beef, and salt meats, coarse bread, and that verie well levened, than upon fine meats and bread. He loved well milke, and fruit, and especiallie eggs. He had a great pleasure to behold the forme and fashion of beasts and fowles. There was not lightlie anie kind of birds, that he had not in his house. He kept an ape, a fox, a weill, a ferritt, and other beasts more rare. If there had been anie strange thing brought out of other countries, and worthie to be looked on, he was desirous to buie it; and all this was to the contentation and pleasure of such as came to him; and himself now and then would make his recreation in beholding them.

Here followeth the translation of his epitaph, which he wrote in Latin, and would have it placed in his tomb of stone, which himself, while he was lord chauncellour, caused to be made in his parish church of Chelsey, where he dwelled.

"THOMAS MORE a Londoner, born of no noble family, but of an honest stocke; somewhat brought up in learning: after that in his young daies, he had been a pleader in the lawes certaine yeares, being one of the under sheriffs of London; was of noble king Henrie the eighth (which alone of all kings worthilie deserved, both with sworde and penne to be called defender of the faith, a glorie before not heard of) called into the Court, and chosen one of the Counsell, and made Knight: then made Under Treasurer of England, after Chauncellour of the Duchy of Lancaster, and last of all, with great favour of his Prince, Lord Chauncellour of England. But in the meane season, he was chosen Speaker of the Parliament; and besides was divers times, in divers places the kings ambassadour; and last of all at Cameray, joyned fellowe and companion with Cuthbert Tunstall, (chief of that embassage, bishop of London, and within a while after bishop of Durham, who so excelleth in learning, witt, and virtue, that the whole world scant hath at this day, anie more learned, wiser, or better) where he both joyfullie sawe and was present ambassadour, when

the leagues between the chiefe princes of Christendome were renewed, and peace, so long looked for, restored to Christendome : which peace O Lord, stable, and make perpetuall ! When he had thus gone through this course of offices or honours, and neither the gracious prince could disallow his doings, nor he was odious to the nobilitie, nor unpleasant to the people, but yet to theeves, murtherers, and hereticks, grievous : at last John More his father, knight, and chosen of the prince to be one of the justices of the Kings Bench, a civill man, pleasant, harmless, gentle, pitifull, just, and uncorrupted, in yeares old, but in bodie (more then for his yeares) lustie ; after that he perceaved his life so long lengthened, that he sawe his sonne Lord Chauncellour of England, thinking himself now to have lived long enough, gladlie departed to God. His sonne then, his father being dead, to whom as long as he lived being compared, he was wont both to be called yonge, and himself so thought too, missing now his father departed, and seeing fower children of his owne, and of their ofsprings eleven, beganne in his owne conceite to wax olde : and this thought of his was encreased by a certaine sicklie disposition of his breast, even by and by following as a signe or token of age creeping upon him. He therefore, irked and wearie of worldlie busines, giving up his promotions, attained at last by the incomparable benefitt of his most gentle prince (if it please God to favour his enterprise) that thing, which in a manner from a child he alwaies wished and desired ; that he might have some yeares of his life free, in which he little and little withdrawing himself from the busines of this life, might continuallie remember the immortallitie of the life to come.

“ And he hath caused this tomb to be made for himself (his first wife’s bones brought hither too), that might everie day put him in minde of death, that never ceaseth to creepe on him. And that this tomb, made for him in his life time, be not in vaine ; nor that he feare death coming upon him, but he may willinglie, for the desire of Christ, die and finde death, not utterlie death to him, but the gate of a welthier life, help him (I beseech you, good reader) now with your prayers while he liveth, and when he is dead also.”

Finis.

Laus Deo, beatæque Virgini Mariæ.

WILLIAM TINDALL.

Will the wise of the world, trow ye, put their most deare friends and tenderly-beloved children into their enemies hands to kill, slay, burn?—That is a madnesse unto them above all madnesse.—And yet doth God use this order; and this is an high and singuler wisdome in his sight, which the world taketh to bee most extreame madnesse.

JOHN ROGERS.

WILLIAM TINDALL.

WILLIAM TINDALL¹ the faithfull minister and constant martyr of Christ, was borne about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a childe in the universitie of Oxford, where he by long continuance grew up, and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal arts, as specially in the knowledge of the scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularlie addicted: insomuch that hee lying then in Magdalene Hall, read privily to certaine students and fellowes of Magdalen Colledge, some parcell of divinitie; instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the scriptures. Whose maners also and conversation being correspondent to the same, were such, that they that knew him, reputed and esteemed him to be a man of the most vertuous disposition, and of life unspotted.

Thus he in the universitie of Oxford increasing more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the schooles, spying his time, remooved from thence to the universitie of Cambridge, where after he had likewise made his abode a certaine space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of Gods word, leaving that universitie also, hee resorted to one maister Welch a knight of Glocester shire, and was there schoolemaister to his children, and in good favour with his maister. This gentleman, as hee kept a good ordinarie commonly at his table, there resorted to him many times sundry abbots, deanes, archdeacons, with divers other doctors and great beneficed men; who there together with M. Tindall sitting at the same table, did use many times to enter communication and talke of learned men, as of Luther and

¹ *Tindall.*] *alias* Hitchens.

of Erasmus: also of divers other controversies and questions upon the scripture.

Then maister Tindall as he was learned and well practised in Gods matters, so hee spared not to shew unto them simply and plainly his judgement: and when they at any time did vary from Tindall in opinions and judgement, he would shew them in the booke, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirme his sayings. And thus continued they for a certaine season, reasoning and contending together divers and sundry times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their harts against him.

Not long after this, it happened that certaine of these great doctors had invited M. Welch and his wife to a banquet; where they had talke at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance or gaineraying. Then M. Welch and his wife coming home and calling for M. Tindall, began to reason with him about those matters, whereof the priests had talked before at their banquet. M. Tindall answering by scriptures, maintained the truth, and reprov'd their false opinions. Then saide the Lady Welch, a stout and a wise woman (as Tindall reported), "Well" (saide she) "there was such a doctour which may dispend a hundred pounds, and an other two hundred pounds, and an other three hundred pounds, and what; were it reason, thinke you, that we should believe you before them?" Maister Tindall gave her no answer at that time; and also after that (because he saw it would not avail) he talked but little in those matters. At that time he was about the translation of a booke called *Enchiridion militis Christiani*², which being translated he delivered to his maister and lady. Who after they had read and well perused the same, the doctorly prelates were no more so often called to the house, neither had they the cheere and countenance when they came, as before they had. Which thing they marking and well perceiving, and supposing no less but it came by the means of maister Tindall, refrained themselves, and at last utterlie withdrew themselves, and came no more there.

As this grew on, the priests of the countrey clustering together.

² *Militis Christiani.* A celebrated and valuable piece of Erasmus. See *Life of Colet*, above, vol. i. p. 446.

began to grudge and storme against Tindall, railing against him in alehouses and other places. Of whome Tindall himselfe in his prologue before the first book of Moses, thus testifieth in his owne wordes, and reporteth, “that he suffered much in that country by a sorte of unlearned priestes, being full rude and ignorant (sayth hee) God knoweth; which have seene no more Latine than that onelie which they read in their portesses and missalles³: (which yet manie of them can scarcely reade⁴)

³ *Portesses and missalles.*] The Portesse, Portuas, Porthose, &c., so called from the Fr. *porter*, consisted of a volume of prayers, offices, &c., which the clergy might take along with them as a ready *Manual* for all ordinary occurrences. It was the same book which is now denominated a breviary. See note at p. 316 of vol. i.

A missal is a volume containing all things belonging to the service of the mass.

“*Nicolas*. But fare well. Mass will be done, or I come. *Oliver*. It makes no matter for one day. I will read thee a piece of the Scripture, insteede of thy Masse. *Nicol*. I care not for the Scripture: and Sir John bad me beware of it, for it would make me an heretique. *Oliv*. Sir John then readeth not the Scripture? *Nicol*. No: he saith he wil meddle no further than his *Portas*. *Oliv*. The Scripture is God’s word, opened to us from heaven by the holie prophetes, apostles, and Christe himselfe. . . . And as for his *Portas*, ther is in it a meany of lies, craftily coined, to deceive such unstable soules as delight in blindnes, deceived themselves, and deceiving other.”—Michael Wood’s *Dialogue, or familiar talk*. Signat. D 8. A.D. 1554.

By the statute 3 and 4 Edw. VI. cap. 10, all Antiphoners, *missals*, grailes, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, *portuasses*, primers, in Latin or English, couchers, journals, ordinals, and all other books were abolished.

⁴ *Can scarcely reade.*] Thus Tindal, in his *Answer to Sir Thomas More’s Dialogue* (A.D. 1530, *Works*, p. 278), does not scruple to affirm, “Yea, and true, I dare say, that there be twenty thousand priests and curates this day in England, and not so few, that cannot give you the right English unto this text in the *Pater Noster*, *Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in cælo, et in terra*, and answeare thereto.” And long after, even so late as in 1554, in the *Injunctions* of Bonner, bishop of London, art. 6, *concerning archdeacons*, &c., the archdeacons are strictly required “diligentlie to instructe and teache the priestes and curates, especiallie, amonges other thynges to lyve vertuouslie, honestlie, and well; and to *understande and knowe perfectlie the words of the canon of the mass, and the forme and order of sacramentes*, especiallie of baptism; and chieflie in those *wordes and thinges* which are of the substance of the sacrament, in any wise.” Thus we have a virtual, authoritative, and unquestionable confession, that the worship of God, their divine service, performed in an unknown tongue, was indeed a “dead letter,” wholly unedifying to many of the clergy, not less than to the laity. These were the fruits which they reaped from the obstinacy of controversy, and the hardening, barbarizing influence of an abused authority and pride and power. Such was the retri-

except it bee *Albertus de secretis mulierum*, in which yet though they bee never so sorily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives, as they saie : and also an other called Lynwood¹, a booke of constitutions to gather tythes, mortuaries, offerings, customes, and other pillage which they call not theirs, but Gods part, the dutie of holie church, to discharge their consciences withal. For they are bound that they shall not diminish but encrease all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertain to holie church." Thus these blind and rude priests flocking together to the alehouse (for that was their preaching place) raged and railed against him, affirming that his sayings were heresie : adding moreover unto his sayings of their own heads, more than ever he spake, and so accused him secretlie to the chancelor, and other of the bishops officers.

It followed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishops chauncellour appointed, and warning was given to the priests to appear ; amongst whome M. Tindall was also warned to be there. And whether hee had anie misdoubt by their threatnings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertaine ; but certaine this is (as he himselfe declared) that he doubted their privie accusation ; so that he by the waie in going thitherward, cried in his mind hartlie to God, to give him strength fast to stand in the truth of his word.

Then when the time came of his appearance before the chan-

bution, which in their pertinacious adherence to the infallible decrees of popes, and councils, and provincial synods, they were content to suffer in themselves and their people, and sought to inflict and bind for ever upon the Reformers, whom they called heretics, and upon England, to all future generations'—In this state of things, we shall the less wonder, that "a great many of the popish clergie took the change of our church service from Latin into English so grievously, for none other cause, such greate clerkes they were, but that when they were put to it, they could read no English."—Nowell's *Reproof of Dornes's Disproof*, fol 17. They had been hardly tasked, and harshly schooled once under the reul of Bonner's *Injunctions*, and it was too much to put them down again in the school of Christ, and to cause these "greate clerkes," in their mature years, to become once more as it were "little children," even though it were to learn to read their mother tongue.

¹ *Lynwood.*] William Landwaul's *Provinciale seu Constitutiones Anglie libris 1*. It contains the Constitutions of fourteen archbishops, from Langton to Chicheley inclusive. See Fuller's *Church History*, pp. 175, 6.

cellor, he threatend him grievously, reviling and rating him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things, wherof no accuser yet could bee brought forth (as commonly their maner is, not to bring forth the accuser) notwithstanding that the priests of the country the same time were there present.—And thus M. Tindall, after those examinations escaping out of their hands, departed home and returned to his master againe.

There dwelt not far off a certain doctor that had bin an old chancellor before to a bishopp, who had been of olde familiar acquaintance with M. Tindall, and also favoured him wel. Unto whom M. Tindall went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the scripture: for to him he durst be bolde to disclose his heart. Unto whom the doctor said; “Do you not know that the pope is very antichrist, whom the scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life:” and said moreover, “I have bin an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defie him and all his workes.”

It was not long after, but M. Tindall happened to be in the company of a certain divine, recounted for a learned man, and in communing and disputing with him, he drave him to that issue, that the said great doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, and said; “We were better to be without Gods lawes then the popes⁶.” Master Tindall hearing this, full of godly zeale, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied againe and said; “I defie the pope and all his lawes:” and further added, that if God spared him life, ere many yeares he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the scripture than he did.

⁶ *Without Gods lawes then the popes.*] This was by no means an unprecedentedly daring and enthusiastic flight. If we may believe Erasmus, it was among other subjects debated commonly in the schools in solemn disputations, “*Whether the Pope could abrogate that which was decreed by the Apostles; or determine that which was contrary to the evangelical doctrine; or make a new article in the Creed; Whether he had a greater power than St. Peter, or only equal? Whether he can command angels? Whether he can only take away Purgatory? Whether he be a mere man, or as God participates both natures with Christ? Whether he be not more merciful than Christ was, since we do not read that he ever recalled any from the pains of Purgatory?*”—Erasmus’s *Annotat. on 1 Timothy*, c. i. ver. 6.

After this, the grudge of the priests increasing still more and more against Tindall, they never ceased barking and rating at him; and laide manie sore things to his charge, saying that he was an hereticke in sophistry, an hereticke in logicke, an hereticke in divinitie; and said moreover to him, that he bare himselfe bolde of the gentlemen there in that countrey: but notwithstanding, shortly he should be otherwise talked withall. To whom M. Tindall answering againe thus saide, "that he was contented they should bring him into any country in all England, giving him ten pounds a yeere to live with, and binding him to no more but to teach children and to preach."

To be short, M. Tindall being so molested and vexed in the country by the priests, was constrained to leave that country and to seeke an other place: and so comming to M. Welch, hee desired him of his good will, that he might depart from him, saying on this wise to him: "Sir I perceive I shall not be suffered to tarrie long here in this country, neither shall you be able though you would, to keepe me out of the hands of the spirituality, and also what displeasure might growe thereby to you by keeping me. God knoweth: for the which I should be right sorrie." So that in fine, M. Tindall with the good will of his master, departed; and eftswoones came up to London, and there preached awhile, according as he had done in the country before, and specially about the town of Bristow, and also in the said towne, in the common place called S. Austines Greene.

At length he bethinking himself of Cuthbert Toustal then bishop of London, and especially for the great commendation of Erasmus¹, who in his annotations so extolleth him for his learning, thus cast with himselfe, that if hee might attain unto his service hee were a happie man. And so comming to sir Henry Gilford the kings controller, and bringing with him an oration of Isocrates, which he had then translated out of Greeke into English, he desired him to speake to the said bishop of London for him. Which he also did, and willed him moreover to write an epistle to the bishop, and to go himselfe with him. Which he

¹ (*Of Erasmus.*) "As I thus thought, the byshop of London came to my remembraunce, whom Erasmus (whose tongue maketh of little gnats great elephants, and lifteth up above the stars whosoever giveth him a little exhibition prayeth exceedingly in his Annotations on the New Testament." Tindal's Works, p. 2.

did likewise, and delivered his epistle to a servant of his, named William Hebilthwaite⁸, a man of his old acquaintance. But God, who secretlie disposeth the course of things, sawe that was not the best for Tindal's purpose, nor for the profit of his church; and therefore gave him to find little favour in the bishops sight. The answeare of whom was this, that his house was full; he had mo then he could well finde, aud advised him to seeke in London abroad, where he said he could lacke no service. And so remained he in London⁹ the space almost of a yeare, beholding and marking with himselfe the course of the world, and especially the demeanour of the preachers, how they boasted themselves and set up their authoritie and kingdom; beholding also the pompe of the prelates, with other things moe which greatlie misliked him: in so much that he understood, not onely there to be no rowme in the bishops house for him to translate the new testament: but also that there was no place to do it in all England. And therefore finding no place for his purpose within the realme, and having some aid and provision by God's providence

⁸ *Hebilthwaite.*] Whose physiognomy appears to have attracted the particular attention of the famous Dr. Nicholas Wotton. See Mr. Fraser Tytler's *Collection of Letters*, vol. i.

⁹ *And so remained he in London.*] We have an account of Tindall's habits at this time, in a letter to Cardinal Wolsey and the rest of the Council, written from the Tower by Humfrey Mummoth or Monmouth, then in confinement there.

"Four yeres and a half past, and more, I herde the foresaid Sir William (*Tindall*) preach two or three sermones at St. Donstones in the West in London: and after that, I chanced to meet with him; and with communication I examined what lyvings he had. He said 'he had none at all; but he trusted to be with my Lord of London in his service.' And therefore I had the better fantasy to him. And afterward he went to my Lord, and spake to him, as he told me. And my Lord of London answered him, 'that he had chaplaines inough; and he said to him, that he would have no more at that tyme.'" And so the priest came to me againe, and besought me to help him. And so I took him into my house half a yere: and *there he lived like a good priest, as me-thought*. He studied most part of the day, and of the night, at his book. And he would eat but sodden meat by his good wil; nor drink but small single beer. I never saw him weare linen about him, in the space he was with me. I did promys him ten pounds sterling, to praie for my father and mother their sowles, and al Christen sowles. I did paie it him, when he made his exchange to Hamborow," &c. Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 246. Appendix. Also, compare Fox, p. 909. edit. 1610.

ministered unto him by Humphrey Mummoth¹, and certaine other good men. hee tooke his leave of the realme, and departed into Germany. Where the good man being inflamed with a tender care and zeale of his country, refused no travell nor diligence how by all meanes possible, to reduce his brethren and countrimen of England to the same taste and understanding of Gods holy word and veritie, which the Lord had indued him withall.

Whereupon he considering in his mind, and partly also conferring with John Frith, thought with himselfe no way more to

¹ *By Humphrey Mummoth.*] “Of this Humfrey Mummuth we reade of a notable example of Christian patience, in the sermons of Master Latimer, which the saide Latimer heard at Cambridge of master Stafford, reader of the Divinity lecture in that University; who expounding the place of Saint Paul to the Romans, that we shall *overcome our enemies with well doing, and so keepe hot coales upon his head*, he brought in an example; saying, “that he knew in London a great rich merchant” (meaning this Humphrey Mummuth), “which had a verie poore neighbour: yet for all his povertie he loved him verie well, and lent him monie at his need, and let him come to his table whensoever he would. It was even at that time when Doctor Collet was in trouble, and would have bene burnt if God had not turned the Kings heart to the contrarie. Now the rich man began to be a scripture man; he began to smell the gospell. The poore man was a Papist still.

“It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of the gospell sitting at his table, where he reproved Poperie, and such kind of things, the poore man tooke a great displeasure against the rich man, insomuch that he would come no more to his house, he would borrow no more money of him, as he was wont to do before times; yea and conceived such hatred and malice against him, that he went and accused him before the bishops. Now the rich man, not knowing of any such displeasure, offered many times to talke with him, and to set him at quiet. It would not be. The poore man had such a stomacke, that he would not vouchsafe to speake with him. If he met the riche man in the street, he would go out of his way. One time it happened that he met him in so narrow a street, that he could not avoid but come nere him: yet for all that, this poore man (I say) had such a stomacke against the rich man, that he was minded to go forward and not to speake to him. The rich man perceiving that, caught him by the hande, and asked him, saying, ‘Neighbour, what is come into your heart to take such displeasure with me? What have I done against you? Tell me, and I will be ready at all times to make you amends.’

“Finally, he spake so gently, so charitably, lovingly, and friendly, that it wrought so in the poore man’s heart, that bye and bye he fell downe upon his knees, and asked him forgiveness. The riche man forgave him, and so tooke him againe to his favour; and they loved as well as ever they did afore.” Fox’s Acts, p. 94

conduce thereunto, than if the scripture were turned into the vulgar speech, that the poore people might also reade and see the simple plaine word of God. For first he wiselie casting in his mind perceived by experience, how that it was not possible to stablish the laie people in anie truth, except the scripture were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue², that they might see the processe, order, and meaning of the text: for else whatsoever truth should be taught them, these enemies of the truth would quench it againe, either with apparent reasons of sophistry, and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of scripture; either else juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense, as impossible it were to gather of the text, if the right proces, order and meaning thereof were seen.

Againe, right well he perceived and considered, this onely, or most chiefly to be the cause of all mischief in the church, that the scriptures of God were hidden from the peoples eyes: for so long the abhominable doings and idolatries maintained by the pharisaicall clergy could not be espied; and therefore all their labour was with might and maine to keep it downe, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were they would darken the right sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle them which rebuked or despised their abominations, with arguments of philosophie, and with worldlie similitudes, and apparant reasons of naturall wisdom; and with wresting the scripture unto their owne purpose, contrarie unto the processe, order and meaning of the text, would so delude them in descanting upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in manie senses laide before the unlearned laie people, that though

² *In their mother tongue.*] “It is not much above an hundred yeare ago, since scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue, or in English, within this realm” (the grand prevention and prohibition of this blessing was occasioned by the constitutions of archbishop Arundel in the year 1408): “and many hundred years before that, it was translated and read in the *Saxon* tongue, which at that time was our mother tongue: whereof there remain yet diverse copies, found lately in old abbies, of such antique manner of writing and speaking, that few men now be able to read and understand them.—And when *this* language waxed old, and out of common usage, because folke should not lacke the fruit of reading the scripture, it was again translated” (viz., by Wickliffe) “into the newer language; whereof also yet many copies remain and be daily found.” *Prologue* to Archbishop Cranmer’s Bible, A.D. 1540.

thou felt in thy heart, and wert sure that all were false that they said, yet couldst thou not solve their subtile riddles.

For these and such other considerations, this good man was moved (and no doubt stirred up of God) to translate the scripture into his mother tongue, for the publicke utilitie and profit of the simple vulgar people of the country : first setting in hand with the new Testament, which hee first translated^a about the

^a *Which hee first translated*] More correctly in the year 1526. For we find by a mandate issued by archbishop Warham to the suffragan bishops of his province, bearing date Nov. 3, in that year, that there were copies of two editions at the least, some with, others without marginal annotations, then in circulation : for all which he directs inquisition to be made, and that the copies be immediately burned. In the same mandate, *The perable of the Wicked Mammon, The Obedience of a Christian Man, and An Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans*, all written by William Tindall, together with several more English Tracts, and others in Latin by Luther, Zuinglius, Brentius, &c. are prohibited. Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 706, 7.

It was probably about the latter end of the year 1526, or in the next year, that a large parcel of these New Testaments were burnt at St. Paul's Cross by the order of bishop Tonstal ; of which Fox gives the following account.

"The New Testament began first to be translated by William Tyndall, and so came forth in print, about the yeere of our Lord 1529 (1526) : wherewith Cuthbert Tonstall bishop of London, with Sir Thomas More, being sore agreed, devised how to destroy that false erroneous translation, as he called it. It happened that one Augustin Packington a mercer, was then at Antwerp, where the bishop was. This man favoured Tyndall, but shewed the contrarie unto the bishop. The bishop being desirous to bring his purpose to passe, communed how that he would gladly buy the New Testaments. Packington hearing him say so, said ; My lord, I can doe more in this matter than most merchants that be here, if it bee your pleasure. For I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tyndall, and have them here to sell ; so that if it be your Lordship's pleasure, I must disburse money to pay for them, or else I can not have them : and so I will assure you to have everie booke of them that is printed and unsold.' The bishop thinking he had the matter secured, said, 'Take your diligence, gentle master Packington ; get them for me, and I will pay whatsoever they cost : for I intend to burne and destroy them all at Pauls Cross.' This Augustine Packington went unto William Tindall, and declared the whole matter ; and so upon compact made betweene them, the bishop of London had the bookes, Packington the thanks, and Tyndall had the money. After this, Tindall corrected the same New Testaments againe, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thicke and threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, and said to him, 'How cometh this that there are so many New Testaments abroad ? You promised me that you would buy them all.' Then answered Packington, 'Surely I bought all that was to be had. But I perceive that they have

yeare of our Lord 1527. After that, he took in hand to translate the olde Testament, finishing the five bookes of Moses⁴, with sundry most learned and godly prologues prefixed before every one, most worthy to be read and read againe of all good Christians : as the like also he did upon the new Testament.

He wrote also divers other workes under sundry titles, amongst the which is that most worthy monument of his, intituled, *The obedience of a christian man* : wherein with singular dexterity he

printed more since. I see it will never be better, so long as they have letters and stamps : wherefore you were best to buy the stamps too ; and so you shall be sure.' At which answer the bishop smiled : and so the matter ended.

"In short space after it fortun'd, that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, which was then chancellour of England, suspected of certaine heresies. During the time that he was in the custodie of master More, after divers communications, amongst other things master More asked of him saying, 'Constantine, I would have thee be plaine with mee in one thing that I will aske, and I promise thee I will shew thee favour in all other things, whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea Tindall, Joye, and a great many of you ; I know they cannot live without helpe ; There are some that helpe and succour them with money, and thou being one of them hadst thy parte thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I praye thee tell me, who be they that helpe them thus ?' 'My lorde,' quoth Constantine, 'I will tell you truly : it is the bishop of London, that hath holpen us ; for he hath bestowed amongst us a great deal of monie upon New Testaments to burn them, and that hath bene and yet is our onlie succour and comfort.' 'Now by the truth,' quoth More, 'I think even the same ; for so much I tolde the bishop, before he went about it.'"

Fox's *Acts*, p. 929.

Anne Boleyn's own copy of Tindal's translation of "The Newe Testament, imprinted at Antwerp by Marten Emperour, Anno M.D.xxxiiij." is still extant among the books bequeathed, in 1799, to the British Museum, by the Rev. C. M. Cracherode. It is upon vellum, illuminated. Upon the gilding of the leaves, in a red letter, are the words ANNA REGINA ANGLIÆ. See Ellis's *Letters*, 1st ser. vol. ii. p. 45, where is a letter from her to Cromwell, in favour of Richard Herman of Antwerp, who had been expelled from the English house there, on account of his "helpe to the setting forth of the Newe Testamente in Englisshe."

⁴ *The five bookes of Moses.*] This translation of the Pentateuch was printed A.D. 1530. It was done from the Hebrew. In the following year he published, with a large Prologue prefixed, a translation of the prophet Jonah ; which completes the catalogue of Tindall's performances in translating the Scriptures. In 1535 Coverdale, building upon what had before been done by Tindall, first published the whole Bible in English, dedicating it to king Henry VIII. See Lewis's *Hist. of the English Translations of the Bible*, p. 72, &c. edit. 1739.

instructeth all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience : with divers other treatises, as, *The wicked Mammon ; The practices of prelates*, with expositions upon certaine parts of the scripture, and other bookes also answering to Sir Thomas More and other aduersaries of the truth, no lesse delectable, then also most fruitfull to be read : which partlie before being unknowne unto many, partly also being almost abolished and worne out by time, the printer hereof (good Reader) for conserving and restoring such singular treasures, hath collected and set forth^a in print in one generall volume, all and whole together ; as also the workes of John Frith, Barnes and other, as are to be seene most speciall and profitable for thy reading.

These bookes of W. Tindall being compiled, published and sent over into England, it cannot be spoken what a doore of light^b

^a *Collected and set forth.*] The book was published in folio, with a Preface by John Fox, under the following title : "*The whole workes of W. Tyndall, John Frith, and Doctor Barnes, three worthy Martyrs and principall teachers of this Church of England, collected and compiled in one tome together, bryng before scattered, &c. London, printed by John Doye, an. 1573.*"

^b *What a doore of light.*] Many of the tracts of Tindall, it is certain, may still be read with great pleasure and profit. Unless perhaps we except Sir Thomas More, he was the ablest English writer of his time. Of one of his best and most popular works, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, Strype has preserved an anecdote so interesting, that I should do wrong, if I did not assign a place to it in these pages.

"Upon the lady Anne" *Boleyn*, "waited a fair young gentlewoman, named Mrs. Gainsford : and in her service was also retained Mr. George Zouch, father to Sir John Zouch. This gentleman, of a comely sweet person, a Zouch indeed, was a suitor in way of marriage to the said young lady : and among other love tricks, once he plucked from her a book in English, called Tyndall's *Obedience*, which the lady Anne had lent her to read. About which time the cardinal had given commandment to the prelates, and especially to Dr. Sampson, dean of the King's Chapel, that they should have a vigilant eye over all people for such books that they came not abroad ; that so much as might be, they might not come to the king's reading. But this which he most feared fell out upon this occasion. For Mr. Zouch : I use the word of the MS. ; was so ravished with the Spirit of God speaking now as well in the heart of the reader, as first it did in the heart of the maker of the book, that he was never well, but when he was reading of that book. Mrs. Gainsford wept because she could not get the book from her lover ; and he was as ready to weep to deliver it. But see the providence of God ! Mr. Zouch standing in the chapel before Dr. Sampson, ever reading upon this book, and the dean never having his eye off the book in the gentleman's hands, called him to him, and then snatched the book out of his hand, asked his name, and

they opened to the eies of the whole English nation, which before were many yeeres shut up in darknesse.

whose man he was. And the book he delivered to the cardinal. In the mean time the lady Anne asked her woman for the book. She on her knees told all the circumstances. The lady Anne shewed herself not sorry nor angry with either of the two. But, said she, 'Well, it shall be the dearest book that ever the dean, or cardinal took away.' The noble woman goes to the king, and upon her knees she desireth the kings help for the book. Upon the kings token the book was restored. And now bringing the book to him, she besought his grace most tenderly, to read it. The king did so, and delighted in the book. '*For,*' saith he, "*this book is for me and all kings to read.*" And in a little time the king, by the help of this virtuous lady, by the means aforesaid, had his eyes opened to the truth, to search the truth, to advance Gods religion and glory, to abhor the popes doctrine, his lies, his pomp and pride, to deliver his subjects out of the *Egyptian* darkness, the *Babylonian* bonds, that the pope had brought him and his subjects under. And so contemning the threats of all the world, the power of princes, rebellions of his subjects at home, and the raging of so many and mighty potentates abroad, he set forward a reformation in religion, beginning with the triple-crowned head at first, and so came down to the members, bishops, abbots, priors, and such like."—*Strype's Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 112. The reader of this book will see that it was calculated to have a very great influence on the progress of public opinion; and no wonder therefore that the popish clergy did what they could to prevent its circulation.

An Italian translation of this tract, by Sebastiano Roccatagliata of Genoa, which is dedicated to Sir Thomas Copley in 1559, is preserved among the MSS. of the old Royal Library in the British Museum. (14 A. vi.)

Fox has given us an account of the manner in which another very celebrated reforming book fell into the king's hands, and of other attendant circumstances, which I shall also beg leave to introduce. I apprehend that these anecdotes point out more truly the intertexture of the events, and the progress of the Reformation than many long discourses. The book was the *Supplication of Beggars*, which was answered, in the year 1529, by Sir Thomas More, then Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, in a tract intituled *The Supplication of Souls in Purgatory*. *Works*, p. 288—339.

"Mr. Simon Fish was a gentleman of Grayes Inne. It happened the first yeare that this gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1525, that there was a certaine play or interlude made by one Mr. Roo of the same Inne, gentleman, in which play was matter against the cardinall Wolsey. And where none durst take upon them to play that parte, which touched the said cardinall, this foresaid master Fish tooke upon him to do it; whereupon great displeasure ensued against him, upon the cardinals part: Insomuch as he being pursued by the said cardinal, the said night that this tragedie was played, was compelled of force to voide his owne house, and so fled over the sea unto Tyndall. Upon occasion whereof the next yeare following, this booke (the *Supplication of Beggars*) was made (being about the yeare 1527), and so not long after, in the yeare (as I sup-

At his first departing out of the realm, he tooke his journey into the further parts of Germany, into Saxony, where he had

pose) 1528, was sent over to the Ladie Anne Bulleine, who then lay at a place not far from the court. Which booke her brother seeing in her hande, tooke it and read it, and gave it her again, willing her earnestly to give it to the king, which thing she so did.

"The king after he had received the booke, demanded of her who made it. Whereunto she answered and said, a certain subject of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the realme for fear of the cardinall. After the king had kept the booke in his bosom three or four daies, as is crediblie reported, such knowledge was given by the kings servantes, to the wife of the said Simon Fish, that she might boldly send for her husband without all perill or danger. Whereupon she thereby being encouraged, came first and made sute to the king for the safe return of her husband. Who understanding whose wife she was, shewed a mervellous gentle and cheareful countenance towards her, asking where her husband was. She answered, 'If it like your grace not farre off.' Then said he, 'Fetch him, and he shall come and go safe without perill, and no man shall do him harme:' saying moreover, that he had much wrong that he was from her so long; who had beene absent now the space of two yeares and a halfe. In the which meane tyme, the cardinal was deposed, as was afore shewed, and master More set in his place of the chancellorship.

"Thus Fish's wife, being emboldened by the kings words, went immediately to her husband, being lately come over, and lying privily within a mile of the court, and brought him to the king, which appeareth to be about the yeare of our Lord 1530. When the king saw him, and understood he was the author of the booke, he came and embraced him with loving countenance; who after long talke, for the space of three or foure houres, as they were riding together on hunting, at length dimitted him, and bade him take home his wife, for she had taken great pains for him. Who answered the king againe, and said, 'he durst not so do, for feare of Sir Thomas More then chancellor, and Stokesley then bishop of London.' The king taking his signet off his finger, willed him to have him recommended to the lord chancellor, charging him not to be so hardie as to worke him any harme. Master Fish receiving the kings signet, went and declared his message to the lord chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his owne discharge; but he asked him if he had any thing for the discharge of his wife; for she a little before had by chance displeased the friers, for not suffering them to say their gospels in *Latin* in her house, unlesse they would say it in *English*. Whereupon the lord chancellor, although he had discharged the man, yet leaving not his grudge towards his wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appeare before him, who, had it not been for her young daughter, who then lay sicke of the plague, had been like to come to much trouble. of the which plague, her husband, the said master Fish decreasing within halfe a yeare, she afterward married one master James Rannham, Sir Alexander Rannham's sonne, a worshipfull knight of Gloucestershire; the which foresaid Master James Rannham, not long after was burned, as incontinently after in the proceesse of this storie shall appeare.

conference with Luther, and other learned men in those quarters. Where after he had continued a certain season, he came down from thence into the Neatherlands, and had his most abiding in the towne of Antwerpe, untill the time of his apprehension : whereof more shall be said God willing hereafter.

Amongst his other bookes which he compiled, one worke he made also for the declaration of the sacrament (as it was then called) of the altar : the which he kept by him, considering how the people were not as yet fully perswaded in other matters tending to superstitious ceremonies and grosse idolatry. Wherefore he thought as yet the time was not come to put forth that worke ; but rather that it should hinder the people from other instructions, supposing that it would seeme to them odious to heare any such thing spoken, or set forth at that time, sounding against their great goddessse Diana, that is, against their masse, being had every where in great estimation, as was the goddessse Diana amongst the Ephesians, whom they thought to come from heaven.

Wherefore M. Tindall being a man both prudent in his doings, and no lesse zealous in the setting forth of Gods holie truth, after such sort as it might take most effect with the people, did forbear the putting forth of that worke, not doubting but by Gods mercifull grace, a time should come, to have that abomination openly declared, as it is at this present day : the Lord almightie be alwaies praised therefore, Amen !

These godlie bookes of Tindall, and especially the new Testament of his translation, after that they began to come into mens hands, and to spread abroad, as they wrought great and singular profit to the godlie ⁷, so the ungodlie envying and disdainig that

“And thus much concerning Simon Fish, the authour of the booke of beggars ; who also translated a booke called the *Sum of the scripture* out of the Dutch.” Fox’s *Acts*, p. 924.

⁷ *Profit to the godlie.*] The following anecdote exhibits strikingly the eagerness and delight with which the Scriptures were received, and at the same time, the bitter domestic trials and conflicts to which occasionally the publication of them gave birth.

“One William Maldon happening in the company of John Fox, in the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, and Fox being very inquisitive after those that suffered for religion in the former reign, asked him, if he knew any that were persecuted for the gospel He told him he knew one that was whipped by his own father in king Henry’s reign. And when Fox was very inquisitive who he was and what was his name, he confessed it was himself ; and upon his desire he wrote out all the circumstances. Namely,

the people should be any thing wiser than they, and againe fearing least by the shining beames of truth, their false hypocrisie and workes of darkenesse should be discerned ; began to stir with no small adoo, like as at the birth of Christ. Herode and all Jerusalem was troubled with him. But especially Sathan the prince of darkenesse, maligning the happie course and successe of the gospell, set to his might also, how to impeach and hinder the blessed travailes of that man : as by this, and also by sundry other waies may appeare. For at what time Tindal had translated the fift book of Moses called *Deuteronomium*, minding to print the same at Hamborough, he sailed thitherward ; where by the way upon

that 'when the king had allowed the Bible to be set forth, and to be read in all churches, immediately several poor men in the town of Chelmsford in Essex, where his father lived, and he was born, bought the New Testament, and on Sundays sat reading it in the lower end of the church. Many would flock about them to hear their reading ; and he among the rest, being then but fifteen years old, came every Sunday to hear the glad and sweet tidings of the gospel. But his father observing it once angrily fetched him away, and would have him to say the Latin mattins with him ; which grieved him much. And as he returned at other times to hear the Scripture read, his father still would fetch him away.—This put him upon the thoughts of learning to read English, that so he might read the New Testament himself. Which when he had by diligence effected, he and his father's apprentice bought the New Testament, joining their stocks together ; and to conceal it, laid it under the bed-straw, and read it at convenient times. One night, his father being asleep, he and his mother chanced to discourse concerning the crucifix, and the kneeling down to it, and knocking on the breast then used, and holding up the hands to it, when it came by on procession. This he told his mother was plain idolatry, and against the commandment of God, where he saith, "Thou shalt not make any graven image, nor bow down to it, nor worship it." His mother enraged at him for this, said, "Wilt thou not worship the cross, which was about thee when thou wast christened, and must be laid on thee when thou art dead ?" In this heat the mother and son departed, and went to their beds. The sum of this conference she presently repeats to her husband, which he impatient to hear, and boiling in fury against his son, for denying worship to be due to the cross, arose up forthwith, and goes into his son's chamber, and taking him by the hair of his head with both his hands, pulled him out of the bed, and whipped him unmercifully. And when the young man bore this beating, as he related, with a kind of joy, considering it was for Christ's sake, and shed not a tear ; his father, seeing that, was more enraged, and ran down and fetched an halter, and put it about his neck, saying he would hang him. At length, with much entreaty of the mother and brother, he left him almost dead.' I extract this out of the original relation of the person himself, which he gave to John Fox." *Stryke's Life of Cranmer*, p. 64. 5

the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwracke, by the which he lost all his bookes, writings and copies, and so was compelled to beginne all againe anew, to his hindrance and doubling of his labours. Thus having lost by that ship, both money, his copies and time, he came in another ship to Hamborough, where at his appointment maister Coverdale taried for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five bookes of Moses, from Easter till December, in the house of a worshipful widow, mistris Margaret Van Emmerson, anno 1529. a great sweating sicknesse being the same time in the towne. So having dispatched his businesse at Hamborough, he returned afterward to Antwerpe againe.

Thus as Sathan is, and ever hath been an enemy to all godlie endeavors, and chiefly to the promoting and furtherance of Gods word, as by this and many other experiments may be seene; so his ministers and members following the like qualitie of their master, be not altogether idle for their parts; as also by the popes chaplaines and Gods enemies, and by their cruell handling of the said M. Tindall the same time, both here in England and in Flanders, may well appeare.

When Gods will was, that the newe Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tindall the translator thereof added to the latter end a certaine epistle, wherein he desired them that were learned to amend it, if ought were found amisse. Wherefore if anie such default had beene, deserving correction, it had been the part of curtesie and gentlenesse, for men of knowledge and judgment to have shewed their learning therein, and to have redressed that was to be amended. But the spirituall fathers then of the clergy being not willing to have that booke to prosper, cried out upon it, bearing men in hand that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly to be suppressed. Some said, "it was not possible to translate the scripture into English; some that it was not lawefull for the laie people to have it in their mother tongue; some that it would make them all heretikes." And to the intent to induce the temporall rulers also unto their purpose, they made matter, and saide "that it would make the people to rebell and rise against the king." All this Tindall himselfe in his owne prologue before the first booke of Moses declareth: and addeth further, shewing what great paines was taken in examining that translation, and comparing it with their owne imaginations and tearms, that with lesse

labor (hee supposeth) they might have translated themselves a great part of the bible: shewing moreover, that they scanned and examined every tittle and point in the saide translation, in such sort and so narrowlie, that there was not one i therein, but if it lacked a pricke over his head, they did note it, and numbred it unto the ignorant people for an heresie. So great were then the froward devises of the English clergy (who should have beene the guides of light unto the people) to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the scripture, which neither they would translate themselves*, nor yet abide it to be translated of others: to the intent (as Tindall saith) that the word being kept still in darkness, they might sit in the consciences of the people through vaine superstition and false doctrine, to satisfie their lusts, their ambition, and unsatiable covetousnesse, and to exalt their owne honor above king and emperor, yea and above God himselfe.

The bishops and prelates of the realme, thus (as ye have heard) incensed and inflamed in their minds, (although having no cause) against the olde and newe Testament of the Lord newly translated by Tindall, and conspiring together with all their heads and counsellors, how to repeale the same, never rested before they had brought the king at last to their consent. By reason whereof a proclamation in all haste was devised and set forth under publicke

* *Would translate themselves.*] "But let us graunt" says Dr. Robert Barnes, in a tract, *That it is lawful for all men to read the Holy Scripture*: "that that translation was so false: why did you not there take upon you openly for to amend it—and to set forth truly the holy testament of Christ? You must needs graunt that there is an holy testament of his on earth (except you will denye Christ—, where is it? Why have we it not? If *that* weare not it, why do not you set the very true testament out? You were ready to condemne another mans saythful labour and diligence; but you had no charitie to amende it. If you had condemned *that* all onely because of error, yet at the least wayes you should both of charitie, and also of dutie have set forth the true text, and then would men have thought, that you condemned the other by the reason of error. But men may now evidently see, that you dyd not condemn it for errors sakes, but all onely because the veritie was therein, that which you could not abyde that men should knowe." *Works*, p. 243. edit. 1572. fol. In another place, he remarks, very pertinently. "Thus dare I say boldly, that the new testament in English is ten times truer, then the old translation in Latin is; in the which bee many places that do want whole sentences; and many places that no man can defend without heresie, as this text, *Non omnes immutabimur*: 1 Cor. 15. &c. &c." *Ibid* 295.

authoritie, but no just reason shewed, that the Testament of Tindals translation, with other works mo both of his and of other writers, were inhibited⁹ and abandoned, which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1527.—And yet not contented herwith, they proceeded further, how to entangle him in their nets, and to bereave him of his life. Which how they brought to passe, now it remaineth to be declared.

In the registers of London it appeareth manifest, how that the bishops and Sir Thomas More having anie poore man under *coram*, to be examined before them, namely, such as had beene at Antwerp, most studiously would search and examine all things belonging to Tindall, where and with whom he hosted, whereabouts stood the house, what was his stature, in what apparell he went, what resort he had, &c. All which things when they had diligently learned, then began they to worke their feates; as you shall heare by the relation of his owne host.

William Tindall being in the towne of Antwerp, had bin lodged about one whole yeere in the house of Thomas Pointz an Englishman, who kept there an house of English marchants. About which time came thither one out of England, whose name was Henry Philips, his father being customer of Poole, a comely fellow, like as he had beene a gentleman, having a servant with him: but wherefore hee came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

Maister Tindall divers times was desired forth to dinner and supper among marchants; by the meanes whereof this Henry Philips became acquainted with him, so that within short space M. Tindall had a great confidence in him; and brought him to his lodging to the house of Thomas Pointz, and had him also once or twice with him to dinner and supper, and further entred such friendship with him that through his procurement, hee lay in the same house of the said Pointz: to whome he shewed moreover his bookes and other secrets of his studie; so little did Tindall then mistrust this traitor.

But Pointz having no great confidence in the fellowe, asked maister Tindall how he came acquainted with this Philips. Maister Tindall answered, that hee was an honest man, handsomely learned,

⁹ *Were inhibited.*] See Mandate of Abp. Warham, dated Lambeth, Nov. 3, 1526. *Wilkins*, vol. iii. p. 706, 7.

and very conformable. Then Pointz perceiving that he bare such favour to him, said no more, thinking that hee was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his. The said Philips being in the towne three or foure daies, upon a time desired Pointz to walke with him forth of the towne to shewe him the commodities thereof; and in walking together without the towne, had communication of divers things, and some of the kings affaires: by the which talke Pointz as yet suspected nothing; but after, by the sequels of the matter, hee perceived more what hee intended. In the meane time this he well perceived, that hee bare no great favour, either to the setting forth of any good thing, either to the proceedings of the king of England. But after, when the time was past, Pointz perceived this to be his minde, to seele if hee could perceive by him, whether hee might breake with him in the matter for lucre of money, to helpe him to his purpose: for he perceived before that he was monied, and would that Pointz should thinke no lesse: but by whome, it was unknowne. For he had desired Pointz before to helpe him to divers things; and such things as hee named, hee required might be of the best, "for," saide he, "I have money enough." But of this talke came nothing, but that men should thinke he had some things to do, for nothing else followed of his talke. So it was to be suspected, that Philips was in doubt to moove this matter for his purpose to any of the rulers or officers of the town of Antwerpe, for doubt it should come to the knowledge of some Englishmen, and by the meanes thereof M. Tindall should have had warning.

So Philips went from Antwerpe to the court of Bruxela, which is from thence twentie foure English miles, the king having there no ambassador: for at that time the king of England and the emperor were at a controversie, for the question betwixt the king and the Lady Katherine, which was aunt to the emperor: and the discord grew so much, that it was doubted least there should have bin warre betweene the emperor and the king, so that Philips as a traitor both against God and the king, was there the better retained, as also other traitors now besides him: who after he had betrayed master Tindall into their hands, shewed himselfe against the kings own person, and there set forth things against the king. To make short, the said Philips did so much there, that he procured to bring from thence with him to Antwerp

the procuror generall, which is the emperors attourney, with other certaine officers: as after followeth. The which was not done with small charges and expences, from whomsoever it came.

Within a while after, Pointz sitting at his doore, Philips' man came unto him, and asked whether maister Tindall were there, and saide his maister would come to him: and so departed. But whether his maister Philippes were in the towne or not, it was not knowne: but at that time Pointz heard no more, neither of the maister nor of the man. Within three or foure daies after, Pointz went forth to the town of Barrow, being 18 English miles from Antwerpe, where hee had businesse to doe for the space of a moneth or sixe weekes; and in the time of his absence, Henrie Philippes came againe to Antwerpe to the house of Pointz; and comming in, spake with his wife, asking her for master Tindall, and whether hee woulde dine there with him, saying; "What good meat shall wee have?" She answered, "such as the market will give." Then went hee forth againe (as it is thought) to provide; and set the officers which he brought with him from Bruxelles, in the streete, and about the doore. Then about noone he came againe, and went to Maister Tindall, and desired him to lend him 40 shillings, "for (said hee) I lost my purse this morning, comming over at the passage betweene this and Machelin." So maister Tindall took him 40 shillings, the which was easie to be had of him, if he had it: for in the wylie subtilties of this world he was simple and unexpert.

Then said Philips, "M. Tindall you shall be my guest here this day." "No," said M. Tindall, "I goe forth this day to dinner, and you shall goe with me and be my guest, where you shall be welcome." So when it was dinner time, master Tindall went forth with Philippes, and at the going out of Pointz house, was a long narrow entrie so that two could not goe in a front. M. Tindall would have put Philips before him, but Philips would in no wise, but put M. Tindall afore, for that he pretended to shew great humanitie. So master Tindall being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philippes a tall comely person followed behinde him, who had set officers on either side of the doore upon two seates; which being there, might see who came in the entrie: and comming through the same entrie, Philips pointed with his finger over M. Tindals head downe to him, that the officers which sate at the doore, might see that it was he whome they should take; as the officers that tooke M. Tindall, afterward told Pointz,

and saide to Pointz when they had laide him in prison, that they pittied to see his simplicitie when they tooke him. Then they tooke him and brought him to the emperors attourney or procurer generall, where he dined. Then came the procurer generall to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of M. Tindall, as well his books as other things : and from thence Tindall was had to the castle of Filford ¹⁰, 18 English miles from Antwerpe, and there he remained untill he was put to death.

Then incontinent by the helpe of English marchants, were letters sent in the favour of Tindall, to the courte of Bruxels. Also not long after, letters were directed ¹ out of England to the councell at Bruxels, and sent to the marchants adventurers to Antwerpe, commaunding them to see that with speede they should be delivered.

But good Tindall could not escape their hands, but remained in prison still, who being brought unto his answer, was offered to have an advocate and a proctor : for in any criminall cause there, it shall be permitted to have counsaile, to make answer in the lawe. But hee refused to have anie such, saying, that he would answer for himselfe ; and so hee did.

At last, after much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by vertue of the emperors decree made in the assemblie at Ausbrough ; and uppon the same, brought forth to the place of execution, was there tied to the stake, and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterward, with fire consumed in the morning at the towne of Filford ², an. 1536, crying thus at the stake with a fervent zeale, and a loud voice, "*Lord, open the king of Englands eyes.*"

Such was the power of his doctrine, and sinceritie of his life.

¹⁰ *Filford.*] Vilvorde.

¹ *Letters were directed.*] "Letters sent from England by the Lord Cromwell and others, in the behalfe of master Tindall." Fox.

² *Of Filford.*] "Sed ad Tyndallum redeo ; qui demum post multos exantillatos labores, Antverpiæ opera et proditiōne Angli cujusdam ut quidam suspicantur Philippi, at non sine episcoporum procuratiōe, a Lovaniensibus theologia captus, atque in carcerem abreptus est. Interim Dom. Cromwellus literis sæpe ac diligenter ad Lovanienses perscriptis, omni conatu eum eripere satagebat. Demum post annuam custodiam per Lovanienses eductus ad ignis supplicium, postquam ac palinodiam nulla ratione nec ille adduci, nec ipse ab errorum pertinacia abduci potuerunt, Bruxellis lata mortis sententia judiciaria Vilfordiam Brabantur oppidum pertrahitur exurendus, ubi cum magna constantia vitam invictus Christi martyr posuit in Domino." Fox's Latin edit., p. 136.

that during the time of his imprisonment (which endured a yeare and a half) it is said, he converted his keeper, his daughter, and other of his household. Also the rest that were with him conversant in the castle, reported of him, that if he were not a good christian man, they could not tell whom to trust.

The procurator generall, the emperours attourne, being there, left this testimony of him, that he was "*Homo doctus, pius, et bonus* : that is, a learned, a good, and a godly man."

The worthy vertues and doings of this blessed martyr, who for his painefull travailes, and singular zeale to his countrey, may be called in these our daies, an apostle of England, it were long to recite.—Amongst manie other, this because it seemeth to mee worthie of remembrance, I thought not in silence to overpasse, which hath unto me credibly beene testified by certaine grave marchants, and some of them also such as were present the same time at the fact, and men yet alive. The story whereof is this.

There was at Antwerp on a time, amongst a companie of marchants, as they were at supper, a certaine juggler, which through his diabolicall enchantments or art magicall, would fetch all kinds of viands, and wine from any place they would, and set it upon the table incontinent before them, with many other such like things. The fame of this juggler being much talked of, it chanced that as M. Tindal heard of it, he desired certaine of the marchants, that he might also be present at supper to see him play his parts.

To be briefe, the supper was appointed, and the marchants with Tindall were there present. Then the juggler being required to play his feates, and to shewe his cunning, after his wonted boldnesse began to utter all that he could doe, but all was in vaine. At the last, with his labour, sweating and toying, when he saw that nothing would go forward, but that all his enchantments were voide, hee was compelled openly to confesse, that there was some man present at supper, which disturbed and letted all his doings.—So that a man even in the martyrs of these our daies, cannot lacke the miracles of true faith, if miracles were now to be desired.

As concerning the workes and bookes of Tindall, which extend to a great number, thou wast tolde before (loving reader) how the printer hereof mindeth, by the Lords leave, to collect them all in one volume together, and put them out in print. Wherefore

it shall not greatlie at this time be needfull to make any severall rehearsall of them.

And as touching his translation of the new Testament, because his enemies did so much carpe at it, pretending it to bee so full of heresies, to answer therefore to their sclanderous tongues and lying lips, thou shalt heare and understand, what faithfull dealing, and sincere conscience he used in the same, by the testimonie and allegation of his owne words, written in his epistle to John Frith, as followeth; "I call God³ to record against the daie we shall appeare before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of Gods word against my conscience, nor would this daie, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches might be given me, &c."

And here to ende⁴ and conclude this history with a few notes touchinge his private behaviour in dyet study and charitable zeale, and tender relieving of the poore. First, he was a man verie frugale and spare of bodie, a great student, and earnest labourer, namely in the settinge forth of the scriptures of God. He reserved or hallowed to himselfe two dayes of the weeke, which he named his dayes of pastime, and those dayes were Monday,

³ *I call God.* A solemn avowal of this nature, on the opposition of its truth, was both prudent and just. For what did the popish party pretend? "*the constitution of the bishops,*" says Sir Thomas More, "*is not that the Scripture shall not be in English; but, that no man may translate it by his own authority; or read it, till they had approved it.*" And what is Tindall's reply? "If no translation shall be had, untill *they* give license, or till they approve it, it shall never be had. And so it is all one in effect, to say there shall be none at all in English, and to say, 'till we admit it,' seeing that they feign all the cavillations they can, to prove *it were not expedient.* And thereto they have done their best to have had it *enacted by parliament,* that it should not be in English." Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, &c. 1530. Works, p. 318, fol. And as a specimen of the temper of one of them, Fitz-James, bishop of London, More having affirmed that "he was wise, virtuous, and cunning," Tindal replies, "For all those three, yet he would have made the old deane Colet of Pauls an hereticke, for translating the *Pater noster* in English, had not the byshop of Canterbury" (Warham "holpe the Deane.")

⁴ *And here to ende.* This paragraph the editor has added from the conclusion of the life of William Tindall, prefixed by John Fox to the edition of his works printed, along with the works of John Frith and Dr Robert Barnes, by John Day, in the year 1573.

the first daye of the weeke, and Saturday the laste day in the weeke. In the Monday he visited all such poore men and women as were fled out of England, by reason of persecution, unto Antwerp; and those, well understanding their good exercises and qualities, he did very liberally comfort and relieve: and in like manner provided for the sicke and diseased persones. On the Saturday he walked rounde about the towne in Antwerpe, seeking out every corner and hole where he suspected any poore person to dwell (as God knoweth there are many), and where he found any to be well occupied, and yet over burthened with children, or else were aged, or weake, those also he plentifully relieved. And thus he spent his two dayes of pastime, as he called them. And truly his almes was very large and great: and so it might well bee: for his exhibition that hee had yearely of the Englishe marchaunts was very much, and that for the most part he bestowed upon the poore, as aforesayde. The rest of the dayes in the weeke he gave himself wholly to his booke, wherein he most diligently travelled. When the Sunday came, then went he to some one merchautes chamber, or other, whither came many other merchautes, and unto them would he reade some one parcel of scripture, either out of the Old Testament or out of the New, the which proceeded so fruitefully, sweetely, and gentely from him (much like to the writing of Saint John the evangelist) that it was a heavenly comfort and joy to the audience to heare him reade the scriptures. And in like wise after dinner, he spent an houre in the afore sayd maner. He was a man without any spot or blemishe of rancour or malice; full of mercy and compassion; so that no man living was able to reprove him of any kinde of sinne or crime; albeit his righteousness and justification depended not thereupon before God, but onely upon the bloode of Christ, and his fayth in the same; in the which faythe constantly he dyed, as is sayde, at Filforde, and now resteth with the glorious company of Christes martyrs blessedly in the Lord; who be blessed in all his saints! Amen.—And thus much of W. Tyndall, Christes blessed servaunt and martyr.

A notable and scoorthie Letter of Master William Tyndall, sent to John Frith, under the name of Jacob.

“The grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meekenesse, humblenesse, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your heart, Amen.

“Deerely beloved brother Jacob mine harts desire in our Saviour Jesus is, that you arme your selfe with patience, and be cold, sober, wise, and circumspect, and that you keepe you alowe by the ground, avoiding his questions that passe the common capacite. But expound the law truly, and open the vail of Moses to condemne all flesh, and proove all men sinners, and all deedes under the law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to bee sinne and damnable: and then as a faithfull minister, set abroad the mercie of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drinke of the water of him. And then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites; and the Spirit of God shall worke with you, and all consciences shall beare record unto you, and feele that it is so. And all doctrine that casteth a miste on these two, to shadow and hide them, I meane the law of God and mercie of Christ, that resist you with all your power. Sacraments without signification, refuse. If they put significations to them, receive them, if you see it may help; though it be not necessarie.

“Of the presence of Christs bodie in the Sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appere no division among us. Barnes will bee hote^a against you. The Saxons be sore on the

^a *Barnes will bee hote.* Dr Robert Barnes, a zealous Lutheran in the doctrine of the Eucharist. He had spent a considerable time in Germany, and was intimately acquainted with Luther, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, &c. Frith, who seems to have been a person of very extraordinary endowments, but was put to death when a very young man, wrote with surprising perspicuity and vigour according to that doctrine, which was afterwards, under the influence of Crammer and Ridley, restored as the established doctrine of the Church of England. Tindall, during his abode in foreign parts, had seen the calamitous effects which had been produced by the controversies on this subject between the two contending parties, which occasioned the first division between the Lutherans, and Calvinistic or reformed churches; and he was anxious to prevent the introduction of the like evils into England. The Lutheran notion of consubstantiation never made much progress in this kingdom.

affirmative, whether constant or obstinate, I remit it to God. Philip Melancthon is said to be with the French king. There be in Antwerpe that say, they saw him come into Paris with an hundred and fifty horses, and that they spake with him. If the Frenchmen receive the word of God, hee will plant the affirmative in them. George Joy would have put forth a treatise of that matter, but I have stopt him as yet: what he wil do if he get mony, I wot not. I believe he would make many reasons little serving to the purpose. My mind is, that nothing be put foorth till we heare how you shall have sped. I would have the right use preached, and the presence to bee an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace at leasure of both parties. If you be required, shew the phrases of the scripture, and let them talke what they will. For as to beleve that God is everie where, hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where but within the heart, in spirit and veritie: even so to beleve that the bodie of Christ is every where (though it cannot bee proved) hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where save in the faith of his gospell.—You perceive my mind: howbeit if God shew you otherwise, it is free for you to doe as he mooveth you.

“ I ghessed long agoe, that God would send a dazing into the head of the spiritualtie, to catch themselves in their owne subtiltie, and I trust it is come to passe. And now me thinketh I smell a counsell to bee taken, little for their profites⁶ in time to come. But you must understand, that it is not of a pure heart and for love of the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the whores flesh, and to sucke the marrow of her bones. Wherefore cleave fast to the rocke of the helpe of God, and commit the end of all things to him: and if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdome of the worldly, as farre as you perceive the glorie of God may come thereof, refuse it not: and ever among, thrust in, that the scripture may be in the mother tongue, and learning set up in the universities. But and if ought bee required contrarie to the glorie of God and his Christ, then stand fast, and commit your selfe to God, and be not overcome of mens persuasions, which happely shall say, We see no other way to bring in the truth.

⁶ *Little for their profites.*] The allusion seems to be to the difficulties and penalties under which the clergy were brought, on the charge of transgressing the statute of *Premunire*, of which further particulars will be found below in the account of Cromwell. See Index, under *Premunire*.

"Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart, there liveth not in whome I have so good hope and trust, and in whom mine heart rejoyceth and my soule comforteth her selfe, as in you: not the thousand part so much for your learning, and what other gifts else you have, as that you will creepe alowe⁷ by the ground, and walke in those things that the conscience may feele, and not in the imaginations of the braine: in feare, and not in boldnesse: in open necessarie things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither helpe or hinder whether they be so or no; in unitie, and not in seditious opinions: insomuch that if you bee sure you know, yet in things that may abide leasure, you will deferre, or say (till other agree with you), "Mee thinke the text requireth this sense or understanding." Yea and that if you bee sure that your part be good, and an other hold the contrarie, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it passe, and referre the thing to other men; and stick you stiffely and stubburnely in earnest and necessarie things.—And I trust you be perswaded even so of me. For I call God to record against the day we shall appeare before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of Gods word against my conscience, nor would this day if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given mee. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God to my selfe in this world, no more than that without which I can not keepe his lawes.

⁷ *Creepe alowe.* Compare this word with its opposite *a-loft*. So in *Pierce Ploughman's Vision*, fol. 63, edit. 1550.

"And willet of birds and beastes hir breeding to know,
Why some be *a-love*, and some *a-loft*."—

Compare also *Ploughman's Complaint*, Fox's *Acts*, p. 371.

"It is thy saying, 'Those that *hyeth* himself shoulde be *loved*, and those that *loweth* themselves shoulde be *ouderghed*.'"

Respecting Frith's admirable prudence and moderation in the doctrine of the Eucharist, and on the opinions of Dr. Barnes, the reader may consult Fox's *Acts*, p. 943. Tindall himself has given, besides the present excellent letter, many proofs of the same temper in the course of his valuable writings, not only on the points in dispute in connexion with that article, which of all the controversies at the era of the Reformation were most fully and warmly debated; but also upon the abstruse and thorny questions respecting grace and predestination.

“ Finally, if there were in mee any gift that could helpe at hand, and aide you if need required ; I promise you I would not bee farre off, and commit the ende to God ; my soule is not faint, though my bodie be wearie. But God hath made me evill favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechlesse and rude, dull and slowe witted : your part shall bee to supply that lacketh in me ; remembring, that as lowlinesse of hart shall make you high with God, even so meekenesse of words shall make you sinke into the harts of men. Nature giveth age authoritie, but meekenesse is the glorie of youth, and giveth them honour. Aboundance of love maketh me excede in babbling.

“ Sir, as concerning purgatorie, and many other things, if you be demaunded, you may say, ‘ If you erre, the spiritualtie hath so led you, and that they have taught you to beleeve as you doe. For they preached you all such things out of Gods word, and alleaged a thousand texts, by reason of which texts you beleaved as they taught you. But now you finde them liars, and that the texts meane no such things, and therefore you can beleieve them no longer ; but are as ye were before they taught you, and beleieve no such thing : howbeit you are readie to beleieve, if they have any other way to proove it ⁸, for without prooffe you cannot beleieve them, when you have found them with so many lies, &c.’ If you perceive wherein we may helpe, either in being still, or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will doe mine uttermost.

“ My lord of London hath a servant called John Tisen, with

⁸ *Any other way to proove it.*] It is not to be doubted but that the advocates of this doctrine, though they might be beaten out of scripture, had still other proofs to produce for the maintenance of their cause. A fit of the gout, be it known, is a good demonstration of purgatory. Or rather the Knights of Purgatory were armed *cap a pie*, and if the *head* did fail, yet (as happens with other knights occasionally in similar circumstances of distress) they had a weight of argument in the *toe* which was irresistible.

“ Purgatory is *proved* by example of a byshop that was vexed with a hete in his feete that none might refreshe them. It happed in sommer on a day as fyshers fyshed in the sea, they caught a great yse, the whiche they bare to the byshop, and put it under his feete a certayne houre ; and then the byshop harde a voyce that complayned, the which he adjured ; and it aunswered and sayd, ‘ I am the soule of a preest that suffereth here my purgatory ; and if thou were in the state of grace, and sayde an hundred masses for me, I shuld be delivered and saved ! ’—*the which was done.*”—*Shepherd's Calendar*, signat. M. 6. edit. 1556.

a red beard, and a blacke reddish head, and was once my scholar; he was scene in Antwerpe, but came not among the English men; whither hee is gone an embassadour secret I wot not.

“The mightie God of Jacob be with you to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph; and the wisdome, and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. Hee is our God if we despaire in our selves, and trust in him: and his is the glorie, Amen. (A.D. 1533.)

“WILLIAM TYNDALL.

“I hope our redemption is nigh.”

CROMWELL, EARL OF ESSEX.

At length truth shot its ray into this chaos of disordered reason. But it came not directly from its source : but from the ferment of such passions as error and corruption are apt to raise amongst those who govern in, and benefit by, that state of confusion. For when a reform happens to arise from within, it cannot be supposed to have its birth in a *love* of truth ; hardly in the *knowledge* of it. Generally some oblique passion gratifies itself in decrying the grosser corruptions, supported by, and supporting, those it hates. The machine thus set a going, truth has fair play : she is now at liberty to procure friends, and to attach them to her service. This was the course of things in the revolution we are about to speak of : and is the natural rise and progress of religious reformatations in general. For if, in the state of such established error, Providence was to wait, till a love of truth had set men upon shaking off their bondage, its dispensations could never provide that timely aid which we now find they always do to distressed humanity. For when the corruption hath spread so wide, as to make truth, if by chance she could be found, an indifferent object ; what is there left, to enable men to break their fetters, but the clashing interests of the corruption itself ? And it is knowing as little of the *religious*, as of the *moral* course of God's Providence, to upbraid those, who have profited of this blessing, with the baseness of the instruments that procured it.

BISHOP WARRINGTON.

CROMWELL, EARLE OF ESSEX.

THOMAS CROMWELL although borne of a simple parentage, and house obscure, through the singular excellencie of wisdome and dexteritie of wit wrought in him by God, coupled with like industrie of minde and desertes of life, rose to high preferment and authoritie ; in so much that by steps and staires of office and honour, he ascended at length to that, that not onely he was made earle of Essex, but also most secret and deare counsellour to king Henry, and vicegerent unto his person ; which office hath not commonly beene supplied, at least not so fruitfully discharged, within this realme.

First as touching his birth¹, he was borne at Putney or ther-

¹ *As touching his birth.*] Cardinal Pole has treated Cromwell with great severity in his *Apologia ad Carolum Quintum Cæsarem*. The invective is long : but is too much to our purpose to be altogether passed by. The occasion upon which it is introduced is in declaring the influence and negotiations of Cromwell respecting the divorce of Henry VIII from queen Catharine.

—Si nomen quærat, Cromvillum eum appellant ; si genus, de nullo quidem ante eum, qui id nomen gereret, audiui. Dicunt tamen, viculum esse prope Londinum, ubi natus erat, et ubi pater ejus pannis verrendis victum quæritabat ; sed de hoc parum refert. Nunc si conditio quærat, sic quidem de eo intellexi, aliquem in Italia fuisse gregarium militem ; fuisse etiam mercatorem, nec tamen longius progressum in mercatura fuisse, quam ut scriba esset mercatoria, et libros rationum servaret ; optime vero novi illum mercatorem, qui Venetus erat natione, cui operas suas locabat. Tandem hujus conditionis pertæsus, domum reversus, causidicis se immiscuit, his qui jura regni profitentur : in quo eo magis se proficere sperabat, quod versuti et callidi ingenii sibi conscius esset ad defendendum tam iniquum,

about, being a smiths sonne, whose mother married after to a shyreman. In the simple estate and rude beginnings of this man (as of divers other before him) wee may see and learne that the excellencie of noble vertues and heroicall prowesses, which advance to fame, and honor, stand not only upon birth and bloud, as priviledges only intailed and appropriate to noble houses; but are disposed indifferently and proceede of the gift of God, who raiseth uppe the poore abjecte manie times out of the dunghill, and matcheth him in throne with pæres and princes. (Psal. 113.)

As touching the order and manner of his comming up, it would be superfluous to discourse what may bee said at large: only by way of storie it may suffice to give a touch of certaine particulars, and so to proceede.

Although the humble condition and povertie of this man was at the beginning (as it is to many other) a great let and hinderaunce for vertue to shewe her selfe, yet such was the activitie and forward ripeness of nature in him, so pregnant in wit and so readie he was, in judgement discreet, in tongue eloquent, in service faithfull, in stomacke couragious, in his penne active, that being conversant in the sight of men, he could not long be unespied.

quam æquum, quod ex externorum commercio valde acuerat, cum nostrorum hominum ingeniorum simplicitatem semper contemneret. Nec tamen in hoc genere valde crevit, antequam ad monasteriorum ruinam perventum est. Quod incepit vivente adhuc cardinali Eboracensi, dum monasteria quorundam, pene a suis deserta, et illorum bona ac prædia, in subadium pauperum, qui in Gymnasiis literis operam dabant, essent conversa. Hic vero notus esse cepit, ulque ostendit, ad hanc artem solum se natum fuisse, ad ruinam et vastationem, id quod crebra aliarum artium mutatio declaravit, in quibus nihil crevit, in hac vero statim celebris esse cepit, et pluribus notus; ita tamen in illis initus artis suæ notus, ut cum cardinalis, cujus asseda fuit, et ex cujus autoritate et imperio illam suam artem exercebat, ab administratione reipublicæ remotus esset, et dignitate privatus, ipse omnium voce, qui aliquid de eo intellexerant, ad supplicium posceretur. Hoc enim affirmare possum, qui Londini tum adfui, et voces audiui, adeo etiam ut per civitatem universam rumor circumferretur, eum in carcerem fuisse detrusum, et propediem productum in ad supplicium. Neque vero hoc effugisset, nisi Dei in regem iustissima ira, huius vitam Satanæ dedisset, &c. *Epist. de Reynaldi Pole Cardinalis*, vol. 1 p. 126. Brixie, 1744. In the same Apology, Pole gives a curious account of an interview which he had with Cromwell, in the house of Cardinal Wolsey, about the year 1529, in which, he tells us, Cromwell sounded him on his dispositions with regard to Henry's divorce, and strenuously recommended to Pole for his instruction in politics and the knowledge of courts, the famous book of Machiaveli, *De Principe*. Ibid. p. 133. 134.

nor yet unprovided of favour and helpe of friends to set him forward in place and office. Neither was any place or office put unto him, whereunto hee was not apt and fit. Nothing was so harde which with witte and industry hee could not compasse. Neither was his capacitie so good, but his memorie was as great in retaining whatsoever he had attained. Which well appeareth in canning² the text of the whole new testament of Erasmus' translation without book, in his journey going and comming from Rome : whereof ye shall heare anone.

Thus in his growing yeares, as hee shot up in age and ripenes, a great delight came in his minde to stray into forraine countries, to see the world abroad, and to learne experience, whereby hee learned such tongues and languages, as might better serve for his use hereafter.

And thus passing over his youth, being at Antwerpe, he was there retained of the English marchants³ to be their clarke or secretarie, or in some such like condition placed pertaining to their affaires.

It happened the same time, that the towne of Boston thought good to send up to Rome, for renuing⁴ of their two pardons, one called *the great pardon*, the other *the lesser pardon*. Which thing although it should stand them in great expenses of mony (for the popes marchandise is alwaies deare ware) yet notwithstanding such sweetnes they had felt thereof, and such gaine to come to their towne by that Romish marchandise (as all superstition is commonly gainefull) that they like good catholicke marchants, and the popes good customers, thought to spare for no coste, to have their leases again of their pardons renewed, whatsoever they paid for the fine. And yet was al this good religion then : such was the lamentable blindnes of that time.

This then being so determined and decreede amongst my

² *Canning.*] Learning.

³ *English marchants.*] Who at that time resided together in a factory.

⁴ *For renuing.*] This renewing of the virtue and force of pardons, was one among the ordinary expedients for gain to the pope and others. Thus it was alleged among the articles against cardinal Wolsey, (art. 22.) "Also the said lord cardinal to augment his great riches, hath caused divers pardons granted by the pope, to be suspended, which could not be revived till the said lord cardinal were rewarded, and also have a yearly pension of the said pardon." *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 376.

countrimen of Boston, to have their pardons needs repaired and renewed from Rome, one Geoffrey Chambers with another companion was sent for the messengers, with writings and mony, no small quantitie, well furnished, and with all other things appointed necessarie for so chargeable and costly exploit ; who cunning in his journey to Antwerpe, and misdoubting himselfe to be too weake for the compassing of such a waightie piece of worke, conferred and perswaded with Thomas Cromwel to associate him in that legacie, and to assist him in the contriving thereof. Cromwell, although perceiving the enterprise to be of no small difficultie, to traverse the popes court, for the unreasonable expences amongst those greedy cormorants, yet having some skill of the Italian tongue, and as yet not grounded in the judgement of religion in those his youthfull daies, was at length obtained, and content to give the adventure, and so tooke his journey towards Rome. Cromwell loth to spend much time, and more loth to spend his mony ; and againe perceiving that the popes greedy humor must needs be served with some present or other (for without rewards there is no doing at Rome) began to cast with himselfe, what thing best to devise, wherein he might best serve the popes devotion.

At length, having knowledge how that the popes holy tooth greatly delighted in new fangled strange delicates, and daintie dishes, it came in his minde to prepare certaine fine dishes of jellie, after the best fashion, made after our country maner here in England, which to them of Rome was not known nor seen before.

This done, Cromwell observing his time accordingly, as the pope was newly come from hunting into his pavilion, hee with his companions approached with his English presentes, brought in with a three mans song (as we call it) in the English tongue, and all after the English fashion. The pope sodainely marvailing at the strangeness of the song, and understanding that they were English men, and that they came not emptie handed, willed them to be called in. Cromwell there shewing his obedience, and offering his jolly junkets, such as kings and princes onely (said he) in the realme of England use to feede upon, desired the same to be accepted in benevolent part, which he and his companions as poore suitors unto his holinesse, had there brought and presented, as novelties meete for his recreation.

Pope Julius⁵ seeing the strangeness of the dishes, commanded by and by his cardinall to take the assay⁶. Who in tasting thereof, liked it so well, and so likewise the pope after him, that knowing of them what their suites were, and requiring them to make knowne the making of that meate, hee incontinent without any more adoe, stamped both their pardons, as well the greater as the lesser.

And thus were the jolly pardons of the towne of Boston obtained as you have heard, for the maintenance of their decaied port. The copie of which pardons (which I have in my hands) brieflie comprehended, commeth to this effect⁷. “That all the brethren and sisters of the gylde of our Lady in Saint Botulphes church at Boston, should have free licence to chuse for their

⁵ *Pope Julius.*] Julius II., Giuliano della Rovere.

⁶ *Assay.*] Trial by tasting. See Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* in vol. i. p. 652.

⁷ *To this effect.*] In Becon's *Reliques of Rome*, Works, vol. iii. fol. 358, &c. may be found a collection of several other pardons, similar to these granted to the town of Boston. But omitting them, I shall only produce, because it is not long, the account given by Strype, in his *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, p. 60, of one granted, so late as the year 1555, to William Smythick, Esq.; the privileges of which, being imparted by him to Sir Thomas, were as Strype conjectures, his security in those days of peril, and bitter persecution.

“It was, that he and any five of his friends, whom he should nominate, with their children of both sexes, should be exempted, from all sentences of excommunication, suspension, and interdict, and other censures ecclesiastical, upon whatever occasion or cause inflicted; transgressions of any vows, or commands of the church; guilt of perjuries, and homicide, whether casual or mental; laying violent hands upon any ecclesiastical persons, excepting prelates; omissions in whole or in part of fasts, canonical hours, divine offices, and penances enjoined: also from all and singular their sins whereof they are contrite and confessed, although they were such as for which the apostolick see were to be consulted. Likewise many other indulgences were by virtue hereof granted; as, to have a portatile altar, to receive the sacrament privately; that in lent, and other fasting times of the year, they might eat eggs, butter, cheese, and other milk-meats, and flesh, without scruple of conscience.—Smythick chose Sir Thomas Smith for one of his five friends, specified in the bull, to be partaker of these Catholick privileges.—‘This, no question, was a good skreen for Sir Thomas in these evil days.’” In Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, under the name William Facques (p. 134), may be found, at full length, the patent of admission of one Richard Woolman into all the benefits of these Boston pardons. The writing bears date, Boston, 10 Decemb. A.D. 1508.

confessor or ghostly father, whom they would^a, either secular priest, or religious person, to aswile them plenarilie from al their sins, except only in cases reserved to the pope.

"Also should have licence to carie about with them an aultar

^a *Whom they would.*] This privilege, though it was productive of very great spiritual, as well as temporal, abuses, was one that was very frequently granted by the see of Rome. It was the main source from which the friars derived their influence, amassed their wealth, and loosened the bonds of union between the secular clergy and their parishioners. Among *them* a man would seldom fail to find *such* a confessor as is described by Chaucer.

"—He had power of confessoun
As he said himself, more than a curate,
For of his order he was licentiate.
Full sweetly herde he confession,
And pleasant was his absolucion.
He was an easie man to give penance,
There as he wist to have a good pitaunce."

Prologue to Canterbury Tales.

The nature of those corruptions which this privilege introduced, may be further estimated from the extracts which follow. They are taken from the *Quatuor Sermones*, added to the Festival in the later editions, and in parts of them shew some tendencies towards reformation.

Confession "must also be hole; not some to one, and some to another. This is a grete spece" (*species*) "of hypocrysye; and this useth moche people, and all for they wolde be holde holy, and better then they ben." fol. 145. b. "The thyrd sacramente is shryfte of penance, to the which every man and woman is bounde anon as they can" (*know*) "reasonable wytte, atte twelve yere, every yere clene to be shryven, once atte the least, atte theyr own curate. . . . Yet notwithatondyng that ye ben bounde every yere to shew youre shryft to your owne curate, and yf there ben ony of you that have more affeccyon to another than to me, lete me wete" (*know*) "to whome and where, and he shal have ryghte good leave, and Cristes blessing and mine: so that he do it not in no deceit of his owne soule, as to hyde his synne from me, to that entent he myght the longer abyde therein; as some done, and have done many yeres. For I knowe more of theyr counsell, than they wene that I do, or wolde I dyd. . . . Thus some of you ones a yere, or "ere" ye come to youre curate, ye caste out the venym of your synne at pardons, and other privy places, and anon after Easter ye take it up agen; as theft, adultery, and many suche other, and ben worse after than ye were afore. Ye that this done begyle your selfe, and nede grete penance. Had Judas when he betrayed Chryste tolde his synne to his true herdman" (*pastor*) "as he did to Cayphas and Pilate, whan he sayd, *I have synned in betrayenge ryghtwysse blode*, he had been saved. For they toke none heile thereto, but sayd, *It hat is that to us?* crye the, as who sayth, they have no cure of thee. Right so thus, I trow, and some of you wente to your owne herdman, *whan ye go to other*, thence shoulde brylery, stolen goodes, and suche other be restored: and adultery.

stone⁹ whereby they might have a priest to saie them masse, or other divine service, where they would, without prejudice of any other church or chappell, though it were also before day, yea and at three of the clock after midnight in the summer time.

“Furthermore, that all such brethren and sisters of the said gylde, which should resort to the chappell of our Ladie in Saint Botulphes church at the feast of Easter, Whitsontide, Corpus Christi, the nativitie or Assumption of our Ladie, or in the octaves of them, the feast of S. Michael, and first Sunday in Lent, should have pardon no lesse then if they themselves personally had visited the Stations of Rome¹.

“Provided that every such person man or woman, entring into the same gylde, at his first entrance should give to the finding of 7 priests, 12 quiresters, and 13 beadsmen, and to the lights of the same brotherhood, and a grammar schole, six shillings eight pence, and for every yeare after twelve pence.

“And these premisses being before granted by pope Innocentius and pope Julius 2. this pope Clement² also confirmed, granting moreover, that whatsoever brother or sister of the same gylde through povertie, sicknesse, or any other let could not resort personally to the said chappell, notwithstanding, hee should bee dispensed withall, as well for that, as for all other vowes, irregularities, and censures canonicall whatsoever, onlie the vowe of going the Stations of Rome, and going to Saint James of Compostella excepted.

and other cursed synnes be thus destroyed.—I say not this for no desyre that I have to here your shryft, for it is but a payne to me, save for charge that I have of your soules. For I had lever mynyster all the sacramentes that longeth to myn office forty tymes, than that ones. But I doo it for to dystroye the false subtylte that ye use in shrifte agaynst the helthe of your soules: And so God helpe me.” fol. 169.

⁹ *An aultar stone.*] A portable altar, called in Latin, *altare viaticum*, or *alt. portatile*. “This was some real stone, insigned with the cross, and duly consecrated; and to be of such a length and breadth, as might conveniently hold the holy cup, and consecrated host: with an apt frame of wood, whereon to set it They were very rarely granted but by the pope himself, or his penitentiary.” Staveley’s *Hist. of Churches in England*, p. 214. Weever in his *Funeral Monuments* exemplifies a bull of pope Martin the Vth, indulging the privilege of an altar of this description to the English Merchants of the Staple at Calais, p. 133. edit. 1767. in *Deptford*. See also the note, p. 225, on the pardon granted to William Smythick.

¹ *The Stations of Rome.*] See Becon’s *Works*, vol. iii. fol. 203—5. A.D. 1563.

² *Pope Clement.*] Clement VII. in 1526.

“ He also granted unto them power to receive full remission, *a pœna et culpa*, once in their life, or in the houre of death.

“ Item, that having their aultar stone, they might have masse said in any place, though it were unhallowed. Also in the time of interdict, to have masse or any sacrament ministered : and also being departed, that they might be buried in christian buriall, notwithstanding the interdict.

“ Extending moreover his grant to all such brethren and sisters, in resorting to the foresaid chappell of our Ladie upon the Nativitie, or Assumption of our Lady, giving supportation to the said chappell, at every such festivall day, to have full remission of all their sins. Or if they for any impediment could not be present at the chappell aforesaid, yet if they came unto their owne parish church, and there said one *Pater noster*, and *Ave Maria*, they should enjoy the same remission above specified : or whosoever came every Friday to the same chappell, shuld have as much remission, as if he went to the chappell of our Ladie called *Scala Cœli*¹.

“ Furthermore, that whatsoever christian people, of what estate or condition soever, either spirituall or temporall, would aid and support the chamberlaines or substitutes of the foresaid gylde, should have five hundredth yeares of pardon.

“ Item, to all brothers and sisters of the same gylde was granted free libertie to eate in time of Lent, or other fasting daies, egges, milke, butter, cheese, and also flesh, by the counsaile of ther ghostly father and physition, without any scruple of conscience.

¹ *Called Scala Cœli.*] At Rome, “ in the church of our Lady called *Scala Cœli*, is also great pardon. This is one of the first temples that was built in the world unto the honour of the blessed virgine Marye. It is called *Scala Cœli*, because in it blessed St. Bernard deserved to see a ladder, which reached up even unto the very heavens. In this Church whosoever say Masse, or cause Masse there to be said for the soules that are in Purgatory, the aforesaid soules are delivered out of hand, thorow the vertue of the Masse and the merites of the blessed Virgine. Moreover whatsoever thinge is devoutly asked in that place, it is strayghtwayes wythoute all doubte obtayned. And there is great abundance of pardon *a pœna et a culpa totius quanties*.” Becon's *Works*, vol. iii. fol. 202. It is the Church of *Santa Maria in ara Cœli*, which crowns the summit of the Capitoline Hill, and is supposed to occupy the site of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, or according to others, Jupiter Feretrius. It has on the outside a flight of one hundred and twenty-four steps of Carrarian marble, which are said to have formed the ascent to the temple of Romulus Quirinus.

“ Item, that all partakers ⁴ of the same gylde, and beeing supporters thereof, which once a quarter, or every Friday or Saturday, either in the said chappell in Saint Botulphs church, or any other chappell, of their devotion shall say a *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo*, or shall say or cause to be said masses, for soules departed in paines of purgatorie, shall not onelie have the full remission due to them which visite the chappell of *Scala Cœli*, or of S. John Lateran ⁵; but also the soules in purgatorie shall enjoy full remission, and bee released of all their paines.

“ Item, that all the soules departed of the brothers and sisters of the said gylde; also the soules of their fathers and mothers shall be partakers of all the praiers, suffragies, almoses, fastings, masses, and mattens, pilgrimages, and all other good deeds of the holy church militant for ever.”

These indulgences, pardons, grants, and relaxations were given and granted by pope Nicholas the fift, pope Pius 2. pope Sixtus, and pope Julius the second; of which pope Julius it seemeth, that Cromwell obtained this pardon aforesaid, about the yeare of our Lord 1510. Which pardon againe afterward through the request of king Henry, an. 1526. was confirmed by pope Clement ⁶ the seventh.—And thus much concerning the pardon of Boston, renewed by the meanes of Thomas Cromwell, of pope Julius the second.

All this while it appeareth, that Cromwell had yet no sound taste nor judgement of religion, but was wilde and youthfull, without sense or regard of God and his worde, as hee himselve was woont oftentimes to declare unto Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, shewing what a ruffian he was in his yong daies; and how he was in the wars of the duke of Bourbon at the siege of Rome ⁷, also what a great doer he was with Geffrey Chambers in publishing and setting forth the pardon of Boston every where in churches as hee went; and so continued, till at length by learning the text of the New Testament without booke of Erasmus'

⁴ *All partakers.*] See Lewis's *Life of Wickliffe*, p. 24, 5. edit. 1820; who gives a copy of one of these Letters of Fraternity, as they are called.

⁵ *S. John Lateran.*] Of the privileges of the Church of St. John Lateran at Rome, an ample account, containing many very curious particulars, may be found in Becon's *Works*, vol. iii. fol. 199, 200.

⁶ *Pope Clement.*] Of the bull of this pope, Becon gives a copious abstract, *Works*, vol. iii. fol. 359.

⁷ *At the siege of Rome.*] After mentioning Robertson's account, Dr. Maitland says; “ If the historian had been writing with a view to the religious and ecclesiastical aspect and bearing of the matter, he might perhaps

translation^a in his going and coming from Rome (as is afore-said), he began to be touched and called to better understanding.

In this meane time Thomas Woolsey, cardinall of Yorke, began to beare a great port in England, and almost to rule all under the king, or rather with the king; so that the freshest wits, and of best towardnesse, most commonly sought unto him. Among whome was also Thomas Cromwell to his service advanced; where he continued a certaine space of yeares, growing up in office and authoritie, till at length he was preferred to be sollicitour to the cardinall.

There was also about the same time, or not much different, in the houshold of the said cardinall, Thomas More, afterward knight, and chauncellor of England; and Steven Gardiner, after bishop of Winchester, and of the king's counsell. All these three were brought up in one houshold, and all of one standing almost together. Whose ages as they were not greatly discrepant, nor their wits much unequal; so neither was their fortune and advancements greatly divers, albeit their dispositions and studies were most contrarie. And thogh peradventure in More and in Gardiner there was more arte of the letters, and skill of learning; yet notwithstanding there was in this man a more heavenly light of the minde, and more prompt and perfect judgement, eloquence equall, and as may be supposed, in this man more pregnant; and finally in him was wrought a more heroicall and princely disposition. I have added, that among the victors there were some at least who had in them an element distinct from 'the ferocity of the Germans, the avarice of the Spaniards, or the licentiousness of the Italians,' which manifested itself, not merely in the desecration of sacred places, but in ridicule of the ministers and services of religion; in mock processions, and a mock election of Luther for pope.

"I refer, however, to this historical event principally in order to observe that there is said to have been among the followers of the duke of Bourbon (whether he was among the mock cardinals who rode in procession on asses, I do not know - an Englishman, of low birth, vicious habits, and infidel principles, who afterwards became of terrific importance to the Church of England. His friends tell us that, in after life he described himself as having formerly been a 'ruffian,' and it is likely that at the time when this happened whether he was there or not, he had no preference, and no respect, for either popery or protestantism, and acted under no principle but that which taught him to do the best he could for himself. If he was at the sacking of Rome, it seems more likely that he was there in the service of Wolsey than as a 'trouper of the duke of Bourbon.' Certainly he was soon afterwards a servant of the cardinal, and continued to serve him until his disgrace in October, 1529." *Essays on the Reformation*, p. 228.

^a *Erasmus' translation.*] (Compare above, *Life of Bulsey*, p. 26.

tion, borne to greater affaires in the common wealth, and to the singular helpe of many.

It happened that in this meane season, as Cromwell was placed in this office to be sollicitour to the cardinall, the said cardinall had then in hand the building of certaine colleges, namely his college in Oxford, called then Frideswide, now Christs Church. By reason whereof, certain small monasteries and priories, in divers places of the realme, were by the said cardinall suppressed, and the lands seased to the cardinals hands. The doing whereof was committed to the charge of Thomas Cromwel. In the expedition whereof he shewed himselfe verie forward and industrious ; in such sort as in the handling thereof, he procured to himselfe much grudge with divers of the superstitious sort, and with some also of noble calling about the king. And thus was Cromwell first set a worke⁹ by the cardinall, to suppress religious houses. Which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1525.

⁹ *Cromwell first set a worke.*] A list of the monasteries dissolved for the erection of Cardinal College, Oxford, amounting in number to twenty, with the names of their founders, and values, is given in Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 88. Appendix. The pope's bulls, and the king's letters patent authorizing the dissolution are in great part published, along with other pertinent documents, by Dr. Fiddes in his *Appendix of Records to the Life of Wolsey*. See also Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 705, &c.

This act of the cardinal, which gave the first employment of that nature to Cromwell, and led the way to the utter overthrow of the monasteries and other religious houses, in which Cromwell was so important an agent, did not, as Fox indeed intimates, pass without severe animadversions, even while it was carrying into execution. King Henry himself, it appears, had too much good sense, not to be full of apprehensions respecting its illegality ; as he writes in a letter to the cardinal : "As touching the help of religious houses to the building of your college, I would it were more, *so it were lawfully* ; for my intent is none, but that it should appear so to all the world ; and the occasion of all their mumbling might be secluded and put away. For surely there is great murmuring of it, throughout all the realm, both good and bad . . . This grieveth me, I assure you, to hear it spoken of him, which I so entirely love." Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 378. edit. 2nd.

A very few years after, when the grand overthrow was approaching, the precedent given by the cardinal is adverted to in a passage, full of bitter reflections on the past, and trembling forebodings of the future, by bishop Barlowe in his *Dialogue concerning the Lutheran factions*. The characters have been speaking of what had already been done of the like kind in Germany. "Nicholas. Oure Lorde forbyd that it shuld chaunce so here ! Wylliam. Yet lacke there not in England, that wyshe ful hartely after suche a ruffelyng chaunge ; the more parte suche as hope to wyn, and have nothyng to lese ; and yet some so mad that have of theyr owne, and whyche happely might re-

As this passed on, it was not long, but the cardinall which had gotten up so high, began to come down as fast, first from the chancellorship, in which some was placed Sir Thomas More; then he fell into a premunire: so that his household being dissolved, Thomas Cromwell amongst other, laboured also to be retained into the kings service.

There was at the same time one Sir Christopher Hales knight, master of the rolles, who notwithstanding he was then a mighty papist, yet bare he such favour and good liking to Cromwell that hee commended him to the king, as a man most fit for his purpose, having then to do against the pope. But heere before is to be understoode, that Cromwell had greatly bene complained of, and diffamed by certaine of authority about the king, for his rude manner and homely dealing in defacing the monkes houses, and in handling of their altars, &c. Wherefore the king hearing of the name of Cromwell began to detest the mention of him; neither lacked there some standers by, who with reviling words ceased not to increase and inflame the kings hatred against him. What their names were it shall not neede here to recite. Among other there present at the same hearing, was the lord Russel, earle of Bedford¹⁰, whose life Cromwel before had preserved at

pent it fyrst of all. *I let passe my lord cardinals acte in pullyng downe and suppressing of religious places, our Lord assaile his soule!* I will wrestle with no soules. *He knoweth by this tyme, whether he dyd well or erill.* But thys dare I be bolde to saye, that the countreis where they stode, fynde suche lacke of them, that they woulde he had let them stand. And thinke you then that there would be no lack founden, if the remanaunt were so served too? " August 11.3 edit 1553.

¹⁰ *Earle of Bedford*: Sir John Russell, when about to return to England in 1525, from Italy, where he had been in negotiation with the duke of Bourbon, passed through Bologna. A plot was formed to seize upon his person and to send him prisoner to Paris, a measure thought likely to gratify Louise of Savoy, then regent of France, and to help towards the liberation of her son Francis, who had been taken at the battle of Pavia. Some have said that the municipality of Bologna were bribed by Francis to betray Russell, and Sir John's subsequent challenge of the king at Paris gives some colour to that supposition. The plot is stated to have been discovered by Cromwell, then a soldier of fortune, he concerted the means of gaining access to Sir John, and of effecting his escape from an apartment in an hotel of the city, which the soldiers of the gonfaloniere had beset. Cromwell passed himself off to the authorities as a Neapolitan acquaintance of the knight, and promised them, if they would leave the business to him, to induce their intended victim to yield himself to their discretion. By his contrivances Sir John escaped safely to Mantua, and grateful to Cromwell for his unlooked for preservation,

Bonony, through politike conveyance, at what time, the said earle comming secretly in the kings affaires, was there espied; and therefore being in great danger to be taken, through the meanes and policie of Cromwell escaped.

This lord Russell therefore not forgetting the old benefites past, and with like gratuity willing againe to requite that hee had received, in a vehement boldnes stode forth, to take upon him the defence of Thomas Cromwell, uttering before the king many commendable words in the behalfe of him, and declaring withall how by his singular devise and policy, he had done for him at Bononie, beeing there in the kings affaires, in extreame perill. And forasmuch as now his majesty had to doe with the pope, his great enemy, there was (he thought) in all England none so apt for the kings purpose, which could say or doe more in that matter, than could Thomas Cromwell; and partly he gave the king to understand wherein. The king hearing this, and specially marking the latter ende of his talke, was contented and willing to talke with him, to heare and know what he could say.

This was not so privily done, but Cromwell had knowledge incontinent, that the king would talke with him, and whereupon: and therefore providing before hand for matter, had in a readinesse the copie of the bishops oath, which they use commonly to make to the pope at their consecration: and so being called for, was brought to the king in his garden at Westminster, which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1530.

Cromwell after most loyall obeysance, doing his dutie to the king, according as hee was demanded, made his declaration in all pointes, this especially making manifest unto his highnesse, how his princely authority was abused within his owne realme, by the pope and his clergie; who being sworne unto him, were afterward dispensed from the same, and sworne anew unto the pope; so that he was but as halfe king¹, and they but halfe his subjects

entreated his company to the English court, promising to recommend him to the king. Cromwell however remained in Italy till after the sacking of Rome and the death of Bourbon. When he came to England, Russell commended Cromwell to Wolsey, whom he served first as a steward, then as a solicitor, and lastly in that defence before the Commons which laid the basis of his future exaltation. See vol. i. p. 6. Wiffen's *Memoirs of the House of Russell*, i. 266. See also a tragedy, falsely attributed to Shakspeare, entitled "*The Life and Death of Thomas, Lord Cromwell*."

¹ *But as halfe king.*] Compare *Parliamentary History*, vol. i. p. 519.

So Wickliffe in his *Complaint exhibited to the King and Parliament*; "The chief lordshippe in this lond of all temporalities, both of secular men and re-

in his owne land ; which, said hee, was derogatorie to his crowne, and utterly prejudiciall to the common lawes of his realme : declaring thereupon how his majestie might accumulate to himselfe great riches, so much as all the clergie in his realme was worth, if it so pleased him to take the occasion now offered. The king giving good care to this, and liking right well his advice, required if he could avouch that which he spake. All this hee could (he said) avouch to be certaine, so well, as that hee had the copie of their owne oath³ to the pope, there present ligious, pertaines to the king of his general governing : for else he were not king of al England, but of a littel part thereof." P. 10. James's edition.

Again, king James, in his first speech in parliament after his accession, in 1603, thus speaks of the papists : "As long as they are disconformable in religion from us, they can be but half my subjects : be able to do but half service : and I want the best half of them, which is their souls." *Parliamentary History*, vol. i. p. 984.

³ *The copie of their owne oath.*] The authority usurped by the bishops of Rome did not, in this point, any more than in so many other like instances, reach the height to which it had now attained, but by a long train of gradual and successful encroachments. Lewis, in his *Life of Bishop Pecock*, has given us some account of several of these oaths, differing from each other, in each successive century, hardly in any other respect, but in an increasing gradation of submissions to the Romish dominion. See p. 122—9. In Duck's *Life of Chichele*, p. 12 (Bates's edition), in Wilkins's *Concil.*, vol. iii. p. 647, and in Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 9, Appendix, may be found the oaths taken severally by the archbishops Chichele, Warham, and Cranmer.—There were not wanting others about these times, who pressed upon Henry's mind the inconsistency of this oath with their allegiance to the king. See *Supplication of Dr. Robert Barnes to King Henry VIII.*, *Works*, p. 195—200, &c. Soon after the interview with Cromwell, above related, the king made a communication upon this subject to the house of commons, of which Fox gives the following particulars.

"Not long after that, the king perceiving belike the minds of the clergy not much favouring his cause, sent for the speaker and twelve of the commons house, having with him eight lords, and said to them, 'Well-beloved subjects, we had thought the clergy of our realme had been our subjects wholly, but now we have well perceived, that they are but halfe our subjects for all the prelates at their consecration make an oth to the pope, cleane contrary to the oath that they make unto us, so that they seeme to be his subjects and not ours' and so the king delivering to them the copie of the oth, required them to invent some other, that he might not be thus deluded of his spiritual subjects. The speaker thus departed, and caused the oth to be read in the commons house, the very tenor whereof hercof ensueth

" ' *The oth of the Clergy to the Pope*

" ' I *John Bishop, or Abbot of A.*, from this houre forward shall be faithful and obedient to Saint Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, to my Lord the pope, and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of council

to shew, and that no lesse also he could manifestly proove, if his highnesse woulde give him leave: and therewith shewed the bishoppes oathe unto the king.

The king following the veine of his counsell, tooke his ring off his finger, and first admitting him into his service, sent him therewith to the Convocation house among the bishops. Cromwell comming with the king's signet boldly into the clergie house, and there placing himselfe among the bishopps, (William Warham being then archbishop) began to make his oration, declaring unto them the authoritie of a king, and the office of subjectes, and especially the obedience of bishops and churchmen under publicke lawes, necessarily provided for the profit and quiet of the commonwealth. Which lawes notwithstanding they had all transgressed, and highly offended in derogation of the kings royall estate, falling in the lawe of *Premunire*, in that not onely they had consented to the power legative [legatine] of the cardinall, but also in that they had all sworne to the pope, contrarie to the fealtie of their soveraigne lord the king, and therefore had forfeited to the king all their goods, chattels, lands, possessions, and whatsoever livings they had.—The bishops hearing this, were not a little amazed, and first began to excuse, and deny the fact. But after that Cromwell had shewed them the very copy of their oathe made to the pope at their consecration, or consent, that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken, or suffer any violence, or any wrong by any meanes. Their counsell to me credited by them, their messengers or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person. The popedom of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regalities of Saint Peter, I shal helpe and retaine, and defend against al men. The legate of the see apostolicke, both going and coming, I shal honourably entreate. The rightes, honours, priviledges, authorities of the church of Rome and of the pope, and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted. I shal not be in counsell, treaty, or any acte in which any thing shall be imagined against him or the church of Rome; their rights, states, honours, or powers: and if I knew any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as soone as I can, I shal advertize him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, depositions, reservations, provisions, or commandments apostolicke, to my power I shall keepe, and cause to be kept of other. Heretickes, schismatickes, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The threshold of the apostles I shall visite personally, or by my deputy. I shall not aliene or sell my possessions, without the pope's counsell. So God help me and the holy Evangelistes!' " Fox's *Acts*, p. 961. Compare *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 126—9.

and the matter was so plaine, that they could not deny it, they began to shrink, and to fall to intreatie, desiring respite to pause upon the matter. Notwithstanding, the ende thereof fell so out, that to be quit out of that *premunire*², by act of parliament, it cost them to the king for both the provinces, Canturbury and Yorke, no lesse then one hundred eightene thousand, eight hundred and forty pounds, which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1530.

After this, an. 1532, Sir Thomas Cromwell growing in great favour with the king, was made knight and maister of the kings jewell house, and shortly after was admitted also in the kings councell, which was about the comming in of queen Anne Bullen. Furthermore, within two yeares after the same, an. 1534, he was made maister of the Rolles, Doctor Tailor being discharged.

Thus Cromwell springing up in favour and honour, after this, in the yeare 1537, a little before the birth of king Edward, was made knight of the garter, and not long after was advaunced to the earldome of Essex³, and made great chamberlaine of England. Over and besides all which honours, he was constitute also vicegerent to the king⁴, representing his person. Which office although it standeth well by the lawe, yet seldome hath there

² *[Of that premunire.]* See Fox's *Acts*, p. 959. Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 725—43. Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 102—9. Edit. 4th. Collier's *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 61—3. But the most elaborate and satisfactory account of the whole of this famous transaction, with its connexions and dependencies, the overthrow of the pope's and the enactment of the king's supremacy, is given by Dr. Wake in his *State of the Church and Clergy of England*, p. 474—80, &c.

³ *Advaunced to the earldome of Essex* : April 17, 1539.

⁴ *Vicegerent to the king* : His commission to this appointment may be found in Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. book ii. no. 24, and in Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 784, &c. "His offices of vicar-general and of vicegerent," as Burnet tells us, "are often confounded," but adds, "they were two different places, and held by different commissions. By the former he had no authority over the bishops, nor had he any precedence, but the other, as it gave him precedence next to the royal family, so it clothed him with a complete delegation of the king's whole power in ecclesiastical affairs. For two years he was only vicar general." Burnet, vol. i. p. 174. "The king substituted him for due administration of justice, in all causes and cases concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction; as well as for godly information and redress of all errors, heresies, and abuses of the church (as the act of parliament has it, 31 Henry VIII. c. 10). Yet because there was no example, either of king of Israel they said, though lawfully in their own persons, enjoying this in it power of spiritual and temporal — or of pope deriving their whole ecclesiastical power immediately on any else (especially a secular person) they thought it strange." Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.*, p. 466.

been seene any besides this Cromwell alone, either to have sustained it, or else to have so furnished the same with counsaile and wisdom, as Cromwell did.—And thus much hitherto concerning the steppes and degrees of the lord Cromwelles rising up to dignitie and high estate.

Now somewhat would be said likewise of the noble actes, the memorable examples, and worthy vertues not drowned by ease of honour in him, but increased rather, and quickened by advancement of authoritie and place, to worke more abundantly in the commonwealth. Among the which his worthy acts and other manifold vertues, in this one chiefly above all other riseth his commendation, for his singular zeale and laborious travell bestowed in restoring the true church of Christ, and subverting the synagogue of antichrist, the abbeies, I meane, and religious houses of friers and monkes. For so it pleased almighty God by the meanes of the said lord Cromwell, to induce the king to suppress first the chauntries, then the friers houses and small monasteries, till at length all the abbeies in England both great and lesse, were utterly overthrowne and pluckt up by the rootes. The which act and enterprise of him, as it may give a president of singular zeale to all realmes christened, which no prince yet to this day scarce dare follow ; so to this realme of England it wrought such benefite and commoditie, as the fruit thereof yet remaineth, and will remaine still in the realme of England, though we seeme little to feele it. Rudely and simply I speake what I suppose, without prejudice of other which can inferre any better reason. In the meane time my reason is this : that if God had not raised up this Cromwell as he did, to be the instrument of rooting out the abbeies and celles of strange religion,—what other men see, I know not ; for my part I never yet saw in this realme any such Cromwell since Cromwels time, whose heart and courage might not sooner have beene subverted with the money and bribes of abbots, then he to have subverted any abbey in all England.

But here I must of necessitie answer the complaint of certain of our countrey men. For so I heare of many the subversion of these monasteries to be reprehended, as evill and wicked. “ The building (say they) might have been converted unto schooles and houses of learning. The goods and possessions might have beene bestowed to much better and more godly use of the poore, and maintaining of hospitaltie.” Neither doe I deny, but that these things are well and godly spoken of them, and could willingly embrace their opinion with my whole hart, if I did not consider

herein a more secret and deeper meaning of God's holy providence, than at the first blush peradventure to all men doth appeare.

And first to admit the wicked and execrable life of these religious orders, full of all feditie⁶, and found out by the king's

⁶ *Of all feditie.*] Bishop Burnet having made a remark of a *special* nature, not inapplicable to this *general* irrective of Fox, it may be right to produce it, with the remark upon it by Henry Wharton; and then to add from the same volume a few other passages connected with the former history, and present dissolution of the monasteries.

"The monks," (says the bishop, p. 189, vol. ii.) "became lewd and dissolute, and so impudent in it, that some of their farms were let, for bringing in a yearly tribute to their lusts."

"God forbid," proceeds the critic, "that any professors of Christianity, much less the greatest pretenders to it, should be guilty of such monstrous wickedness, or that any others should believe it of them, without evident proof. This accusation is taken from Fuller's *Church History* (p. 318), who relates no more than one example of this kind, and that of a convent, not of monks, but of *canons regular* (of Waltham), not upon his own knowledge, but the single testimony of a most notorious lying villain, Stephen Marshall; and after all, is so ingenuous that he professes himself to disbelieve it.—(On the contrary, our author suppresses his authority, and brings no other testimony; raises the number from one to many, and delivers a dubious matter as a thing most certain. Surely if the monks had been guilty of any such thing, it could not have escaped the knowledge of their visitors, who searched and divulged all their faults with the utmost industry; nor would it have been unknown to Bale, brought up among them," i. e. among the Carmelites, "nor omitted by him in his '*English Voyages*,' wherein he has set himself to defame the monastic order, and the unmarried clergy, with insatiable malice: nor would instances of it be wanting in those many leiger books of the monasteries still remaining, wherein they registered all their leases, and that for their own private use." *Specimen of Errors*, p. 41, 2.

Again, in another cardinal point, their disposition, in comparison with that of the secular clergy, to translate and therewith to promote the knowledge and study of the Holy Scriptures: the bishop having affirmed p. 194 "the use of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, continued for several ages, till the state of monkery arose, and then, it was not consistent with their designs, nor with the arts used to promote them, to let the Scriptures be much known."

Wharton proceeds, "The order of monks is now extinct in England, so that whatsoever may be said against them, there is no danger of a reply from them. Yet still so much respect is owing to the readers, as not to impose any thing upon them, which hath not at least the appearance of truth. That this accusation will not have to those, who know with what industry the monks of many nations, but more especially here in England, translated the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue. We have the names left of seven English monks, who, before the conquest, translated the Scriptures, or some part of it, into the Saxon tongue. After the conquest we do not find so many trans-

visitours, and in their registers also recorded, so horrible to be heard, so incredible to be beleaved, so stinking before the face of

lations made; but of those which were made, as many were owing to the monks, as to the *secular* clergy." Ibid. p. 43. Of their general application to study and learning, in different ages, see the same work, p. 12—14.

But, another point of moment is the alleged enormous extent, and the imputed mismanagement of their temporal possessions.

"About the end of the 8th century" (*Hist. Reformat.* p. 187). "the monks had possessed themselves of the greatest part of the riches of the nation," (So also part ii. preface, p. 9,) "and the best part of the soil of England being in such ill hands, it was the interest of the whole kingdom to have it put to better uses."

"Such high figures and hyperbolical expressions are better reserved for harangues, and do not well agree with history. The end of the eighth century was the year of our Lord God, at which time very few monasteries had been yet founded; nor had the monks then in all appearance gained possession of the hundredth part of the riches of the nation. Afterwards indeed, they increased exceedingly in number, riches, and possessions, especially in the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries: but after all, upon a just account, they will not be found, even in title, to have possessed above a fifth part of the nation, and considering that long before the reformation, they were wont to lease out their lands to laymen for easy fines, and small rents, as bishops, and deans and chapters now do; it may be truly said that they did not in reality possess the tenth part of the riches of the nation.—Now for that *other* charge, that the best part of the soil of the nation, being in such ill hands, it was the interest of the nation to have it put to better uses, it is altogether erroneous. From the beginning to the end, none ever improved their lands and possessions to better advantages, by building, cultivation, and all other methods, than the monks did, while they kept them in their own hands, and when they leased them out to others, it was the interest of the nation to have such easy tenures continued to great numbers of persons who enjoyed them. To this may be added, they contributed to the public charges of the nation equally with the other clergy; and the clergy" (voting their own subsidies in convocation) "did always contribute in proportion above the laity, so that we cannot find to what better uses these possessions have been since put; *save only* that *inconsiderable* part of them which *remains* to bishoprics, cathedrals, and schools, founded by king Henry VIII." Ibid. p. 40, 1.

Lastly, the reader is desired to observe that the principle of the *surrender* of their property, by the parties in possession, was recognised as an indispensable condition, previous to the commencement of the work of seizure and spoliation. Some bowed the head to the storm, in the spirit of meanness and submission, and gave in their consent. But, in a very few cases, the means resorted to were such as have been described, that Lodge, in his *Portraits of Illustrious Personages*, vol. i. church were laic follows:

"The principals of some religious houses were *persuaded* to join themselves together, *giving* the company of *threats*; those of others, by *pensions*: and when both *of* time, when the

God and man, that no marvaile it is if God's vengeance from heaven provoked, would not suffer any stone or monument of these abhominable houses to be unplucked up. But (as I said, letting these things passe under chaste silence, which for very shame will abhorre any story to disclose :) let us now come to the first institution of these orders and houses of monkerie, and consider how and to what end they were first instituted and erected here among the Saxons, at the first foundation of them, about the time 666.

In the former part of this history, declaration was made by whom, and at what time these monkish houses here in England among the Saxons (flowing no doubt out of the order of S. Benet, and brought in by Augustine) began first to be founded, as by Augustine the monke, Furseus, Medulphus, Aldanus, Leswinus bishop of Dorrester, Dunstane and divers others.

'The end and finall cause' why they were builded, appeareth in stories to be, *pro remissione et redemptione peccatorum; pro remedio et liberatione animar; pro amore celestis patrie; in elemosinam animar; in remissionem criminum; pro salute regnarum; pro salute et requie animarum patrum et matrum, fratrum et sororum nostrarum, parentum, et omnium benefactorum, in honorem gloriosæ Virginie, &c.* As maie appeare in ancient histories, in olde charters and donations unto religious houses, and in the chronicle of Ingulphus; as also all other stories be full of the same.

So king Ethelstane for killing his brother Edwine, builded two monasteries, Middleton, and Michelney, for his soule. Which doctrine and institution, for so much as it tendeth and soundeth directly against the foundation of Christian religion, against the testament of God, the gospell of Jesus Christ, the freedome of our redemption, and free justification by faith, it is therefore to

most profligate monks were sought for, and bribed to accuse their governors, and their brethren, of *horrible crimes*. Agents were employed to violate nuns, and then to accuse them, and, by inference, their respective societies, of incontinence. All who were engaged in this wretched mission, took in money that wretched sufferers as a price of a forbearance which it was not to their them. Yet st^d Cromwell himself accepted great sums from several monasteries, any thing upon them from that ruin which he alone knew to be inevitably this accusation would lay upon them, however, entirely to Henry's satisfaction. monks of many nations—most splendid rewards."

Scriptures into the vulgar With Fox's arguments upon this question, concerning monks, who, before the *evil Dorman's Proof*, fol. 11, 12 b. etc. 1565 it, into the Saxon tongue. .^d

be condemned as execrable and horrible, as evill or worse than the life of the persons, and not only worthy to be suppressed to the foundation, but to be marvailed rather that God would suffer it to stand so long. Albeit Gods mighty vengeance and scourge hath not ceased from time to time, to work against such impious foundations, from the time of their first setting up. For besides the invasions of the Danes, (which may seeme to be stirred up of God, especially for the subversion of abbeyes) let olde histories be searched, what monasterie almost in all this realme, was either left by the Danes, or reedified againe after the Danes, but by some notorious casualtie of fire sent by Gods hand, it hath beene burnt up?

Furthermore, the more these abbeyes multiplied, and the longer they continued in time, the more corruption still they drew unto them. And albeit wee read the name of monkes to have continued from the old ancient time, yet notwithstanding the monkes of those daies were not like to the monkes of our time, nor their houses then, like to our abbeyes now. So we read of the monkes of Bangor before the comming of Augustine: but those monkes got their living with toile and labour of their hands, and had no other lands nor lordships to live upon. Againe, neither were they as ministers then, but as laymen: according as Hierom describeth the monks of his time, saying; “*A monkes office is not to preach, but to mourne. The state of a monke is one thing, and the state of a priest is another. Priestes feede the flocke of Christ: I am fed,*” &c.

Also in the storie of Ingulphus abbot of Croyland, thus I find, anno 1075. “Being installed in the abbey of Croyland, I found there to the number of lxii. monkes. Of which monkes, four of them were lay brethren, besides the monkes of other monasteries, which were also professed to our chapter, &c.”

The like matter also appeareth in the fourth canon of the councell of Chalcedon, where it is provided, *Ne monachi se ecclesiasticis negotiis immisceant, &c. Et Leo, epist. 62, vetat monachos et laicos, etsi scientiæ nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi et concionandi.*

Thus it appeareth about or before the time of Hierome, that monkes in the first persecutions of the primitive church were laie men, and companies of Christians associating themselves together, either for feare of persecution, or for eschewing the company of heathen Gentiles. Afterward in continuance of time, when the

gentiles began to be called to Christianitie. the monkes yet keeping their name, and growing in superstition, would not joyne with other christians, but kept still their brotherhoods, dividing themselves from other christians, and professing a kinde of life straunge and divers from the common trade. Upon this diversitie of life and profession, followed also like diversitie of garments and attire differing from their other brethren. After this moreover came in the rule of S. Benedict, injoining to them a prescribed forme of going, of wearing, of watching, sleeping, rising, praying, of silence, sole life and diet, and al things almost differing from the vulgar sort of common christians.

Whereby men seeing their austeritie, began to have them in great admiration. And thus growing up in opinion of holinesse^a:

^a *In opinion of holinesse.*] William Thomas, to whom we have already been several times indebted, in his contemporary *Apology for King Henry VIII.* gives the following account of these matters:—

"His majestie, for the better discovering of those hypocrites, sent forth commissioners into all the provinces of his realme:" and then, after a detail of the results, quite as appalling as that of Fox, he thus proceeds:

"Upon the returne of these commissioners, when the kynge was fully enformed of the case, incontinently he called his parliament. Butt, or ever the counsellors of the same could assemble together, here came that abbot, and there came that priour; now came that abbesse, and then came that freer from all partes of the realme unto the kynge, offeringe their monasteries into his handes, beseeching him to pardon them their synnes *de pena* onely, and not *de culpa*: insomuch his majestie accepted many of them, and pardoned them all, except a few onely of the most notable ribaulds. . . . And thereupon followed the sayd parliament in the which all these maters were not onely published, butt also confessed by the false religious persons, brought openly in judgment, and it was concluded, both by the barons, and also by the commons of the sayde parliament, that these monasteries should be extirped, and the goodes and revenue thereof disposed as the kynge and his counsell should thinke it expedient.

"He made his learned doctours to search out the grounde of these many sortes of religion, who conferryng the same substantially with the gospel, founde it to be cleane contrary to the christian religion, by many mo reasons then I can well remembre. I shall here rehearse one or two of them, to the intent you may the better tast what wickedness, and what superstitious religion doth comprehend.

"First the *religious* do professe themselves to lyve muche more holyly than the secular people do, and by as muche as they can well perswade the world, that they are no synners, butt rather just and upright persons, by this reason they have wyped themselves cleane out of Christ's vocation, who sayth *Matth 23.* *he came not to call the just persons, but the synners*

"And then the good workes that they pretended to do, are all outward

of lay men and labourers, they came at length to be clergymen, and greatest doers of all other in Christes religion : insomuch

works, as apparelyng themselves in religious habite, syngyng and roryng out in the queres, sayng of theyr servyce in Latine ; with matines and masses and holy abstinence from fleshe this day and that morow, when they have filled theyr belyes with good fish, fruite, and wyne : and such other are their holy outward operacions. Whereas Christ exhorteth us to beware that we worke not our justice before men, but secretly in gevyng of almes, that the one hand know not of the other ; in quiet and hertie prayers, in fastyng, in patience, and charitie, and so forth.

“ Furthermore the vowes that these religious make, and that they teache others to make, are cleane repugnaunt unto Christes doctryne, who teacheth his faithful evermore humbly to submit themselves to the wyll of the Father ; as by the example of his prayer in the garden, the night before his death, it is manifest. For when the flesh had prayed the Father to delyver hym from the present passion, incontinently the spirit rebuked hymself, sayng, ‘ *No Father ; not as I wyll, butt as thou wilt.*’ And yet these religious promysying unto God that which they are already bounde to observe, that is to say, *chastitie, obedience, and povertie*, whiche in effecte the infirmitie of the flesh aloweth no creature to performe, they wyll not that God deale wyth them as he wyll, but as they themselves wyll : who wyth theyr superstitious workes, wyll enforce God to geve them, not onely health and welth in this world, butt also paradise in the other world : and by theyr example have taught the ignoraunt multitude, not to content themselves with the infirmities, adversities, povertie, persecutions, and passions that God sendeth them in this world ; but with vowes of images, of candles, of pilgrimage, of chaunge of apparel, and suche other baggage ; to enforce God by his sayntes, and not by Christ, to geve them helth, prosperitie, riches, and joye, accordyng to theyr inconstaunt pleasure. And hereof hath folowed the byldyng of monasteries, sinagoges, chappels, chauntreys ; with burnyng of lights, incense, syngyng of masses, and ringing of bells, the blynde people belevyng with those worldly tryffles to gratifie the divine majestie.—But what saith the prophet ? What saith Steven ; and what saith Paul ? God, say they, dwelleth not in temples made with handes, nor can receyve nothing of any earthly matter. For what thinge have we here, that he hath not created ? And what avayleth unto God our foolish sacrifices, as Davyd sayth ? If thou, Lord, would have sacrifices, I wold offer them unto thee ; butt the incense pleaseth thee not, the true sacrifice unto God therefore is, the humble, contrite, and contented spirite ; and not these temples, images, incense, flesh, fishe, or fruite. . . .

“ Finally, these doctors found that Paul in his epistles, had reproved the Corinthians for dividyng themselves after the names of those Christian preachers who had bene ministers to theyr conversion, because some one sayde ; *I am of Paul, and another sayde, I am of Apollo, I of Cepha, and I of Christ.*—What (sayd Paul), *was I crucified for you ? Is Christ divided amongst you ?* No ! (sayde he) ; I have taught you to be one self thinge in Christ, without division either of name or of doing.—So that in conclusion, these orders of Fraunces, of Dominike, of Benett, of Bryged, and of so many

that at last there was none reputed almost for a religious man or perfect christian unlesse he were a monke: neither almost was any advanced to any dignitie of the church, but either he was a monke, or afterwarde he put on monkes weed. According as in the stories of this realme is to be scene, how in the time of Dunstan archbishop of Canturbury, of Ethelwold bishop of Worcester, and of Oswald bishop of Winchester, pope John 13, writing to king Edgar, willed him in his letters, to see in his cathedrall churches none to bee promoted to be bishops, but such as were of the monasticall religion: and willed him moreover to exclude the secular prebendaries at Winchester, and to place in monkes, and that none of the secular clarkes there should bee chosen bishop, but either taken out of the same convent of that church, or of some other abbey.

So was also king Henry the second commanded to do in the house of Waltham, where the secular canons were remooved out, and regular canons intruded. The same did Oswald bishop with the church of Worcester. Likewise in their sees did Dunstane archbishop of Canterbury, Osketellus archbishop of Yorke, Ethelwold bishop of Worcester (who in stories is reported to be

others, now condemned by these doctours, are thynges cleane contrary unto the true Christian religion, in which all the faithful in Christe, bounde together with the knot of charitie, are regenerate to one selfe order and rule, without difference either of name, habit, or colour.

"Wherefore the kyng beyng clerely perswaded of all handes that this unhappy, ydle, and devilish generation, was necessary to be rooted out of this world, proceeded then to the destruction of those synagoges with the self same diligence Titus and Vespasianus used towards the destruction of Hierusalem. And dyd he not therein as he shold do, trow you?

"Yea, sayd one of the gentylinen, if he had disposed these thyngs to the use of the poore and nedeful, and not taken it to his own private commoditie. Agaynst the poore, sayd I, I will not speake; butt this muche I wyll say, that if the substaunce had bene converted unto the poore, the poore should have become richer than the princes and nobles: for our religious in England were *quasi nihil habentes, et omnia possidentes*, not in spirit but in dede. I wote how your freeres here in Italie observe their sworne povertie. And yet this is well true, that his majestic in dyvers provinces of the realme, hath converted parte of those monasteries towards the bryngyng up of orphans, and sustentacion of the poore, though well that parte be but a small quantitie in respect of the whole. And thus, because I wyll not be tedious, havyng sayde enough, as me seemeth, upon thys poynt, I wyll now answer unto the insurrection of the North." P. 74--5.

Compare also Nowell's *Reproof of Dorman's Disproff*, fol. 11, 4, where the argument is prosecuted in a manner very similar to the above.

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Compare also Nowell's *Reproof of Dorman's Disproof*, fol. 13, 4, where the argument is prosecuted in a manner very similar to the above.

Multorum fundator monasteriorum), Leswinus also, bishop of Dorchester, with other bishops mo about the time and raigne of king Edgar. Odo archbishop of Canturburie before Dunstane, an. 934, after his election refused to take that dignitie upon him, before he had received the habite of a monke in the abbey of Florence in France, because as the story telleth (if it be true) *Nullus ad id tempus nisi monachali schemate indutus, archiepiscopus fuisset*. That is, Because al the archbishops of Canturbury before him, had been monkes. In like maner Baldwinus also, an. 1114, after hee was elected archbishop of Canturbury, tooke upon him the habite and profession of Mereton abbey. And so did Reginaldus his next successor after him.

As concerning therefore the origine of monkes, yee have heard how first they began of lay men onely, leading a straiter life from the societie of other persons; who then following the rule of S. Benet, were called regulars and votaries; and yet all this while had nothing to doe with any ecclesiasticall ministerie, till the time of pope Bonifacius the fourth, an. 609, who then made a decree, that monkes might use the office of preaching, of christening, of hearing confessions, and assoyling men of their sinnes, differing from priests onely in this, that they were called *Regulares*, and priests were called *Seculares*. The monkes were votaries, the priests had free libertie to have wives, till the time of Lanfranke and Anselme. Albeit Athanasius in his epistle *Ad Dracontium*, witnesseth also, that he knew monkes in the old time and bishops, which were married and had children. Furthermore, as ignorance and superstition with time increased, so the number and swarme of monkes still more and more multiplied, in such sort, as not onlie they thrust out secular priestes from their houses, but also out of them were made, popes, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, to governe churches. Of which number began Austen the first archbishop of the see of Canturbury and the most part of all other archbishops after him, untill the time of the conquest, and after.

All this while the friers were not yet come. Neither the discipline of S. Dominike, nor the testament of S. Francis, nor the order of the Austen brothers, nor of the Carmelites was yet heard of. Which at last came in with their pageants, and plaid their part likewise, an. 1220, beeing much more full of hypocrisie, blindness, idolatry, and superstition, than were the monkes: so that, what with monkes on the one side, and with the friers of

the other side, while all things were ruled by the rules of Saint Benet, by the canons of the Pope, by the doctrine of S. Dominike, and by the testament of S. Francis, Christs Testament was trodden under foote⁹, the rule of Gods word neglected, true christian religion defaced, faith forgotten, the right way of salvation abolished, sound doctrine oppressed, Christs servants persecuted, and the peoples soules uncomforted, yea and the true Church of Christ almost cleane extirped; had not almighty God (who can not forget his promise) provided remedie in time, in raising up this Cromwell his servant, and other like champions, to cut up from the roote the houses of them, which otherwise would utterly have rooted up the house of the Lord, and had subverted a great part already.

Wherefore, whosoever findeth himself agreeed with Cromwells doings in suppressing these monasteries of monkes and friers, let him wisely consider with himselfe, first the doctrine, lawes and traditions of these men; which hee shall finde rebelling to the religion of Christ, pernicious to our salvation, derogatorie to Christs glory, full of much blasphemie and damnable idolatry. Secondly, let him likewise well advise the horrible and execrable

⁹ *Trodden under foote.*] So Wickliffe urges in his *Treatise against the Friars*, p. 54 : A.D. 1604. James's edit. "Friars also by Lucifer's pride higher themselves, and holden them holier than all other out of their sect, for as much as they binden them to new traditions, of sinful men, the which be full of error over" (i. e. over and above,) "the most sufficient rule of Jesu Christ, that left no profitable ne needful thing out of his rule. For though a priest or bishop do never so truchie the office that God bade priests do, yet they sauen he is more holie if he come to their new fained religion and obedience. They have founden a better religion than Christ made for his apostles and priests, so it seems that they maken themselves wiser than Christ, more wittie, and more full of charitie; with they teachen better way to heaven, than Christ did"—Again, "monks should learn what is active life and contemplative, and then they might know, that they have neither the one, nor the other, since they consider more the rain statutes of sinful men, and perchance of devils, than the commands of God, works of mercy, and points of charity." *Writings of the rev and learned John Wickliffe*, D.D. p. 161. London 1831.

And hence it is, that Wickliffe, after affirming in his *Treatise against Friars*, that they "been the cause, beginning, and maintaining of perturbation in Christendom, and of all evils of this worlde," concludes with saying, that "these errors shullen never be amended til friars be broughte to freedom of the gospel and chaste religion of Jesu Christ" p. 62. Words which may be regarded as almost a prophetic anticipation of what was to befall them and the world 150 years after, under king Henry VIII.

lives of these cloysterers, or at the least search out the rolles and registers of matters found out by inquisition in King Henry the 8. his daies, against them: which here is not to be spoken of, unlesse we will speak as Matthew Paris speaketh of the court of Rome; *Cujus fœtor usque ad nubes fumum teterrimum exhalabat.*

All which things well considered, what marvell is it then, if God of his just judgement did set up the aforesaid lord Cromwell to destroy these sinfull houses, whome their owne corruptions could suffer no longer to stand? And as touching the dissipation of their lands and possessions to the handes of such as they were bestowed upon, if it so pleased the king in bestowing those abbey lands upon his nobles and gentlemen, either to restore them againe unto them from whence they came, or else to gratifie his nobilitie, by that meanes of policie not to mislike his doings, what is that to Cromwell?—"But they might (say you) have beene much better employed to other more fruitful uses." Brieflie to aunswere thereunto; what may bee done presently in a commonwealth, is not enough to say: but what may also follow must be considered. If this throwing downe of abbeyes had happened in such free and reformed cities or countries, as are amongst the Germans, where the state governed and directed by lawes, rather than by rulers, remaineth alwaies alike and unmutable, who doubted but such houses were standing still, the possessions might well be transposed to such uses abovesaid, without any feare or perill: but in such realmes and kingdomes as this, where lawes and parliaments be not alwaies one, but are subject to the disposition of the prince, neither is it certaine alwaies what princes may come; the surest way therefore to send monkerie and poperie packing out of the realme, is to doe with their houses and possessions as king Henry here did, through the motion of the counsell of Cromwell. For else who seeth not in queene Maries time ¹⁰, if either the houses

¹⁰ *Who seeth not in queene Maries time.*] Whatever may be men's different judgments respecting either the justice, the expediency, or the necessity of the dissolution of the religious houses, and the purity of the motives by which its conductors were actuated, there can be but one sentiment concerning the truth of this observation of the historian. All therefore who love the reformation, even though they may differ from this writer in his general argument, are bound to acknowledge the healing and merciful hand of God, which does not cease to convert the evil counsels of man to the furtherance of his own gracious designs.

"Let me here report (says Sir Henry Spelman) what hath been related to

of monkes had stood, or their lands had been otherwise disposed than into the hands of such as they were, how many of them had beene restored and replenished againe with monkes and friers, in as ample wise as ever they were? And if dukes, barons, and the nobilities scarce were able to retaine the lands and possessions of abbeyes distributed to them by king Henry, from the devotion of queen Mary, seeking to build againe the walles of Jerico, what then should the meaner sort have done, let other men conjecture. Wherefore it is not unlike, that Gods heavenlie providence did well foresee and dispose these things before by this man, in working the destruction of these abbeyes: whereupon, as often as he sent out any to suppress any monasterie, hee used most commonly to send them with this charge, that they should throwe downe those houses even to the foundation.

Which words although it may seeme percase to some to bee cruelly spoken of him; yet contrariwise doe I suppose the doing thereof not to bee without Gods speciall providence and secret guiding: or else we might peradventure have had such swarmes of friers and monkes possessed in their nests again, before this day in England, in so great a number, that ten Cromwells afterward unneth should have beene suffered to have unhoused them.

Wherefore if the plantation which the Lord God never planted, be pluckt up by the rootes, let God alone with his working, and let the monasteries goe¹.

we from the mouth of Sir Clement Edmunds, lately a clerk of his majesty's council, that did take his knowledge from the council-books: namely, that, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, the parliament was not willing to restore popery, and the supremacy of the pope, unless they might be suffered to retain the lands which were lately taken from the monasteries. This resolution was signified to Rome, whereto the pope gave answer, that for the lands belonging to religious houses he would dispense for detaining of them, but for the situation of the houses, churches, and such consecrated ground, there could be no alienation thereof to profane uses." *History of Sacrilege*, p. 244. Warton, in his *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, after giving an account to the same effect as the above, with the addition of some further particulars, concludes the subject with the following reflexion.

"Thus an equivalent was granted on both sides. The nobility and gentry were settled in the quiet enjoyment of their estates; and the Pope, *albeit*, *most essentially weakened* by the alienation of that wealth on which his power so much depended, was reinstated in his supremacy over the church." p. 43.

See also *Parl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 626, 7.

¹ *Let the monasteries goe.*] They seem, at the time, not to have been, at

Now that you have seene, what this *Malleus Monachorum* hath done in defacing the synagogue of the pope; let us see how the said Cromwell againe did travaile in setting up Christes church and congregation.

After that the bishop of Romes power and authoritie was banished out of England, the bishops of his sect never ceased to seek all occasion how either to restore his head again, being broken and wounded, or at the least to keepe upright those things which yet remained: wherein although their labours were not altogether frustrate, yet had they brought much more to passe, if Cromwell

least for their own sake, very greatly lamented. Even bishop Gardiner, by his own account, in a sermon which he had preached, the first Sunday in Lent, A.D. 1539, appears to have expressed himself on the subject with a considerable degree of levity; and in a strain too, which he seems to have thought would not be disagreeable to his hearers.

“Amonges other thinges I noted the devill’s craft, what shift he useth to deceyve man, whose felicitie he envieth. And therefore he coveteth to have man idle, and voyde of good workes; and to be ledde in that idlenes with a wanne hope, to lyve merrily and at his pleasure here, and yet have heaven at the last. And for that purpose he procured out pardons from Rome, wherein heaven was sold for a litle money: and for to retayle that marchaundise, the devyll used freres for his ministers. Now *they be gone*, with all their trompery.”—Then, he proceeds, with his accustomed mixture of shrewdness and fallacy to show how the devil expects to obtain the same gain from another quarter. “*But*” (says he) “*the devyll is not yet gone*. And *nowe* he perceyveth it can no longer be borne to bye and sell heaven;—both the marchaundize is abhorred, and the ministers also;—we cannot away with freres, ne can abyde the name; the devyll therefore hath excogitate to offre heaven, *without workes for it*, so frely that men shall not nede for heaven to worke at all, whatsoever opportunitie they have to worke. Mary, if they wyll have an *higher* place in heaven, God wyll leave no worke unrewarded, but as for to be in heaven, *that nedes no workes at all*; but *onely beleef, onely, onely,—nothings els*.—And to set forth this devils craft, there were, I sayd, ministers; but no moe fryers, fye on the name and the garment! But now they be called by an Englyshe name, *Bretherne*, and go apparelled like other men: amonges which be some of those that were freres, and served the devyll in retayling of heaven in pardons: for they can skylle of the devylls service. But, yf the kynges majestie, as he hath banyshed *freres* by the *Frenche name*, wolde also banyshe these that call them selfe *brethren* in Englyshe, the devyll shulde be greatly discomforted in his enterprise, and idlenes thereby banyshed; whiche the devyll *wyll elles perswade by mysunderstandinge of scriptures as he did in the advauncement of pardons*. This my sermon was thought to some very plaine.” *Declaration of such true articles as George Joye hath gone about to confute as false*, fol. 5, 6. A.D. 1546. 4to.

(as a mighty wall and defence of the church) had not resisted continually their enterprises.

It happened, that after the abolishing of the pope, certaine tumults began to rise about religion. Whereupon it seemed good unto K. Henry, to appoint an assembly of learned men and bishops, which should soberly and modestly intreate and determine those things which pertained unto religion. Briefly, at the king's pleasure all the learned men, but specially the bishops assembled, to whom this matter seemed chiefly to belong. Cromwell thought also to be present himself with the bishops, who by chance meeting with Alexander Alesius² by the way, a Scottish man, brought him with him to the convocation house, where all the bishops were assembled together. Which was in the year 1537. The bishops and prelates attending upon the coming of Cromwell, as he was come in, rose up, and did obeisance to him as to their vicar generall, and he again saluted every one in their degree, and sate downe in the highest place at the table, according to his degree and office, and after him every bishop in his order, and doctors. First over against him sate the archbishop of Canturbury [Cranmer], then the archbishop of Yorke [Edward

² *Alexander Alesius.*] Fox's account of this assembly is taken from a tract written soon after by Alesius, with the following title. "Of the auctorite of the word of God agaynst the bishop of London, wherein are conteyned certen Disputacyons had in the Parliament Howse, betwene the Bishops, about the number of the Sacraments and other things, very necessary to be known, made by Alexander Alesius Scot, and sent to the Duke of Savoy." The book is now exceedingly rare.

Alexander Alesius was a native of Edinburgh, and one of the canons of St. Andrews, who, having at first opposed the protestants, became afterwards a convert to their doctrines, and took refuge in Germany. Soon after the advancement of Cranmer to the see of Canterbury, Alesius, who had lived much with the German divines, especially Melancthon, was invited into England from Antwerp, as he himself informs us, "by the right noble lord Cromwell, and the archbishop of Canterbury," and after being "lovingly received" not only by them, but also by the king himself, he was sent down to read a theological lecture at Cambridge; but meeting with opposition there, he returned to London, studied medicine under Doctor Nicholas, an eminent physician, and was now practising in that art, when met in the manner described by the lord Cromwell. After the fall of Cromwell he returned to Germany, and was made professor of divinity at Francfort on the Oder, which place he soon left in consequence of giving offence to the elector of Brandenburg. He retired to Leipzig, and was there also chosen professor of divinity, which post he retained until his death in 1565.

Lee] the bishops of London [John Stokesley], Lincolne [John Longland], Salisbury [Nicholas Shaxton], Bathe [John Clerk], Ely [Thomas Goodrich], Herford [Edward Fox], Chichester [Richard Sampson], Norwich [William Rugge or Repps], Rochester [John Hilsey], and Worcester [Hugh Latimer], &c. There Cromwell in the name of the king (whose most deare and secret counsellor at that present hee was, and lord privie seale, and vicar generall of the realme) spake these words in maner following.

“Right reverend fathers in Christ; the king’s majestie giveth you high thanks that ye have so diligently without any excuse, assembled hither according to his commandement. And ye bee not ignorant that yee be called hither to determine certain controversies, which at this time be mooved concerning the christian religion and faith, not only in this realm, but also in all nations throughout the world. For the king studieth day and night to set a quietnes in the church, and he cannot rest until all such controversies be fully debated and ended, through the determination of you and of his whole parliament. For although his speciall desire is to set a stay for the unlearned people, whose consciences are in doubt what they may beleieve; and he himself by his excellent learning, knoweth these controversies well enough, yet he wil suffer no common alteration, but by the consent of you and of his whole parliament. By the which thing yee may perceive both his high wisdom, and also his great love toward you. And he desireth you for Christes sake, that al malice, obstinacie, and carnall respect set apart, ye will friendly and lovingly dispute among your selves of the controversies mooved in the church, and that ye will conclude all things by the word of God without al brawling or scolding; neither wil his majestie suffer the scripture to be wrasted and defaced by any glosses, any papisticall lawes, or by any authoritie of doctours or counsels; and much lesse will he admit any articles or doctrine, not contained in the scripture, but approved onely by continuance of time and olde custome, and by unwritten verities, as ye were woont to doe. Ye know wel enough that ye be bound to shew this service to Christ and to his church; and yet notwithstanding his majestie wil give you high thanks, if yee will set and conclude a godly and a perfect unity; whereunto this is the onely way and meane, if ye will determine all

things by the scripture, as God commaundeth you in Deuteronomie, which thing his majestic exhorteth and desireth you to doe."

When Cromwell had ended this his oration, the bishops rose up altogether, giving thanks unto the kings majesty, not only for his great zeale toward the church of Christ, but also for his most godly exhortation, worthy so christian a prince.

Immediately they rose up to disputation, whereas Stokesly bishop of London, first of all, being the most earnest champion and maintainer of the Romish decrees, (whom Cromwell a little before had checked by name, for defending unwritten verities) endeavoured himselfe with all his labour and industry, out of the olde schoole gloses, to maintaine the seven sacraments of the church. The archbishop of York, Lincolne, Bath, Chichester, and Norwich also favoured his part and sect. On the contrarie part, was the archbishop of Canturbury, the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Herford, and Worcester, with many other.

After much communication had on either part, and that they had long contended about the testimonie of the doctours, which as it seemed unto them, dissented and disagreed among themselves, the archbishop of Canturbury at the last spake and said thus unto them.

"It becometh not men of learning and gravitie to make much babling and brawling about bare words, so that we agree in the very substance and effect of the matter. For to brawle about words, is the property of sophisters and such as meane deceit and subtilty, which delight in the debate and dissension of the world and in the miserable state of the church; and not of them which seek the glory of Christ, and should studie for the unity and quietnes of the church. There be waighty controversies now moved and put forth not of ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding, and of the right difference of the law and of the gospel: of the manner and way how sinnes be forgiven: of comforting doubtful, and wavering consciences, by what means they may be certified that they please God, seeing they feele the strength of the law, accusing them of sin: of the true use of the sacraments, whether the outward worke of them doth justifie man, or whether we receive our justification by faith. Item, which bee the good workes, and the true service and honour which pleaseth God: and whether the choise of meates, the

difference of garments, the vowes of monkes and priests, and other traditions which have no worde of God to confirme them; whether these (I say) be right good works, and such as make a perfect christian man or no? Item, whether vaine service, and false honouring of God, and mans traditions, doe binde mens consciences, or no? Finally, whether the ceremony of confirmation, of orders, and of annealing, and such other (which cannot be proved to be institute of Christ, nor have any word in them to certifie us of remission of sins) ought to be called sacraments, and to bee compared with baptisme and the supper of the Lord, or no?

“ These bee no light matters, but even the principall points of our Christian religion. Wherefore wee contend not about words and titles, but about high and earnest matters. Christ saith, *Blessed be the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sonnes of God.* And Paul writing unto Timothy, commanded bishops to avoid brawling and contention about wordes, which be profitable to nothing but unto the subversion and destruction of the hearers; and monisheth him specially, that he should resist with the scriptures when any disputeth with him of the faith; and he addeth a cause, whereas he saith, *Doing this, thou shalt preserve both thy selfe, and also them which hear thee.* Now if yee will follow these counsellors, Christ and Paul, all contention and brawling about words, must bee set apart, and ye must stablish a godly and a perfect unity and concord out of the scripture. Wherefore in this disputation, we must first agree of the number of the sacraments, and what a sacrament doth signifie in the holy scripture; and when wee call baptisme and the supper of the Lord, sacraments of the gospell, what wee meane thereby. I know right well, that S. Ambrose and other authors call the washing of the disciples feet and other things sacraments: which I am sure you your selves would not suffer to be numbered among the other sacraments.”

When he had ended³ his oration, Cromwell commanded Alesius

³ *When he had ended.*] “ This exhortacyon ” (says Aless, in the tract just referred to) “ did the archbisshop make *most soberly and discretely, as he is a man of a singular gravity, with such sweetnes* that it did my hart good to hear him. And bicause I did signifye by some token of my countenance that this admonicyon of the archbisshop did please and delight me excellently wel, the lord Cromwel bad me speake what I thought of this disputacyon. But he told the bisshops before, that I was the kings scolar, and therefore he desiered them

which stood by (whome he perceived to give attentive care to that which was spoken) to shew his minde and opinion. declaring to the bishops before, that he was the kings scholler⁴, and therefore desired them to bee contented to heare him indifferently.

Alesius after he had first done his dutie unto the L. Cromwell, and to the other prelates of the church, said in this wise.

“Right honorable and noble lord, and you most reverend fathers and prelates of the church, although I come unprepared unto this disputation, yet trusting in the aid of Christ, which promiseth to give both mouth and wisdom unto us when wee be required of our faith, I will utter my sentence and judgement of this disputation. And I thinke that my lord archbishop hath given you a profitable exhortation, that yee should first agree of the signification of a sacrament, whether ye will call a sacrament, a ceremony institute of Christ in the gospell, to signifie a speciall or a singular vertue of the gospell, and of godlines (as Paule nameth remission of sinnes to be) or whether ye meane, every ceremony generally, which may bee a token or a signification of an holy thing, to bee a sacrament? For after this latter signification, I will not sticke to grant you that there be seven sacraments, and more too, if ye will. But yet Paule seemeth to describe a sacrament after the just signification, whereas he saith, *That circumcision is a token and a seale of the righteousness*

to be content to heare me indifferently. Then I after the rude manner of the scholes, rather than after any courtly solemnitye, bowing my knee for a token of curtesy and reverence, as it became me, without any preface at all, began to speake after this manner. Right honorable &c.” as in Foxe. *Alane's Auctorite*, &c. signat. A. v.

⁴ *The kings scholler*. “Cheke being once at court with Butts the king's physician, he took occasion to recommend Cheke to the king for a singular scholar, and particularly for his study and proficiency in the Greek Language. And being thus known to the king, he soon after advanced him to the honour to be his scholar, together with one Smith of Queen's college, afterwards sufficiently known, being secretary of state, and employed in embassies abroad. To both whom the king exhibited for the encouragement of their studies, and for the bearing of their expenses of travel into foreign countries. A very good practice formerly used by our princes, to fit and train up young scholars for the service of the king and court, to be ambassadors, secretaries, privy councillors, bishops, tutors to the nobility and the like; having learned the languages of other countries, acquainted themselves with their customs, and visited the courts of princes.” *Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke*, p. 7. See also *Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, p. 10, 11. And *Fulder's History of Cambridge*, p. 100.

of faith. (Rom. 4.) This definition of one particular sacrament, must be understand to pertain unto all sacraments generally; for the Jewes had but one sacrament only, as all the sophisticall writers doe grant. And hee describeth baptisme after the same maner, in the fift to the Ephesians, whereas he saith, *That Christ doth sanctifie the church, (that is to say all that bee baptised,) through the bathe of water in the worde of life* (Ephes. 5.). For here also he addeth the word and promise of God unto the ceremony. And Christ also requireth faith, where he saith, *Whosoever beleeveth and is baptised, shall be saved.*

“And saint Augustine describeth a sacrament thus, *The word of God coming unto the element maketh the sacrament.* And in another place hee saith; *A sacrament is a thing wherein the power of God, under the forme of visible things, doth worke secretly salvation.* And the Maister of the Sentences doth describe a sacrament no otherwise. *A sacrament (saith hee) is an invisible grace, and hath a visible forme: and by this invisible grace, I meane, saith he, remission of sinnes.* Finally S. Thomas denyeth that any man hath authoritie to institute a sacrament. Now if ye agree unto this definition of a sacrament, it is an easie thing to judge of the number of those sacraments which have the manifest word of God, and be institute by Christ to signifie unto us the remission of our sinnes.

“S. Augustine saith, that there be but two such sacraments, in the cxviii. epistle to Januarius. His words be these: *First, I would have thee to understand the sum and effect of this disputation, which is this: that our Lord Jesus Christ (as hee himself saith in the gospell) hath laden us, but with a light and easie yoake or burthen. Wherefore he hath knit together the fellowship of his new people with sacramentes, very few in number, very easie to be kept, and very excellent in signification; which be baptisme, and the supper of the Lord, and such other; if there be any moe commanded in the holy scripture, those except which were burthens for the servitude of the people in the old law, for the hardnes of their harts.* And againe in the 3. booke of the learning of the Christian man, he saith; *The scripture hath taught us but few signes, as be the sacrament of baptisme, and the solemne celebration and remembrance of the body and bloud of the Lord.*”

Then the bishop of London, which could scarcely refrain himselfe all this while, and now could forbear no longer, brake out

in this maner, "First of all." saith he, "where you alledge, that all the sacraments which are in the church instituted by Christ himselfe, have either some manifest ground in the scriptures, or ought to shew forth some signification of remission of sinnes, it is false and not to be allowed."

Then said Alesius, "that he would prove it, not only by manifest authoritie of scriptures, but also by evident testimonies of ancient doctors and schoole-writers."

But the bishop of Hereford^a which was then lately returned out of Germany (where he had been ambassadour for the king to the Protestants) being moved with the bishop of Londons forwardnes, turning himselfe first to Alexander Alesius willed him not to contend with the bishop in such maner, by the testimonies of doctors and schoolemen, forsomuch as they doe not all agree in like matters, neither are they stedfast among themselves in all points, but doe vary and in many pointes are utterly repugnant. Wherefore if this disputation shal be decided by their mindes and verditex, there shal be nothing established, neither shall appeare any waie of agreement to follow. Furthermore wee be commanded by the king that these controversies should bee determined onely by the rule and judgment of the scripture. This he spake unto Alesius. Then he turning himselfe unto the bishops, likewise admonished them with a grave and sharpe oration, which wee thought not good to omit in this place.

"Thinke ye not (said he) that we can by any sophisticall subtleties steale out of the world again, the light which every man doth see. Christ hath so lightened the world at this time, that the light of the gospel hath put to flight all misty darkness, and it wil shortly have the higher hand of al clouds, though we resist in vain never so much. The lay people doe now know the holy scripture better than many of us. And the Germans have made the text of the bible so plaine and easie by the Hebrew and

^a *The bishop of Hereford*—Edward Fox, the king's almoner. He was consecrated bishop of Hereford Sept. 26, 1535. *Le Neve's Fasti*, p. 111. His influence, about this time, as was that of Cromwell also and Crammer, was very great with Henry. Gardiner and his party, powerful as they were, were now kept in check by them. Fox's harangue is thus introduced by Alesius: "But the bishop of Herforth whom the kings grace favoured highly, both for his singular wisdom and learning, which was then newe come out of Germany, where he had bene ambassator, being moved with the forwardnes of this bishop of London, sayd unto me, *Brother Alexander, contend not much with him.*" &c. Sig. B. 3.

Greek tongue, that now many things may bee better understand without any gloses at all, than by all the commentaries of the doctors. And moreover they have so opened these controversies by their writings, that women and children may wonder at the blindness and falshood that hath been hitherto. Wherefore ye must consider earnestly, what ye will determin of these controversies, that ye make not your selves to be mocked and laughed to scorne of all the world, and that ye bring them not to have this opinion of you, to thinke evermore hereafter, that ye have neither one sparke of learning, nor yet of godlines in you. And thus shal ye lose all your estimation and authority with them, which before tooke you⁶ for learned men, and profitable members unto the commonwealth of christendom. For that which you doe hope upon, that there was never heresie in the church so great, but that processe of time with the power and authoritie of the pope hath quenched it, it is nothing to the purpose. But yee must turne your opinion, and thinke this surely, that there is nothing so feeble and weake, so that it bee true, but it shall find place, and be able to stand against all falshood.

“Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth. And whatsoever is besieged of trueth, cannot long continue ; and upon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought transitorie, or that it wil ever fall. All things consist not in painted eloquence and strength or authoritie. For the truth is of so great power, strength and efficacie, that it can neither be defended⁷ with words, nor bee overcome with any strength, but after she hath hidden her self long, at length she putteth up her head, and appeareth, as it is written in Esdras. *A king is strong, wine is stronger ; yet women be more strong ; but truth excelleth all.*”

To this effect in a maner, and much more, did he speake and utter in that convocation, both copiously and discretely : through whose oration, Alesius being encouraged, proceeded further to urge the bishop with this argument.

“Sacraments bee seales ascertaining us of Gods good will :

⁶ *Before tooke you.*] “ You have been judged heretofore in all other realms not comparable, but farre excelleng all other realmes for worthines of learning ; for fatherly gravitie and exactnesse of judgmente. And shall now a little præfract wilfulness of a few of your commissaries, overturne all your glories.” Preface to Ponet’s *Defence of Priests’ marriages*, p. 4. 4to.

⁷ *Be defended.*] Fr. *defendre*.

“ Without the worde there is no certaintie of Gods good will :

“ Ergo. Without the word there be no sacraments.

“ The first part of this reason is S. Paule's owne saying, the fourth to the Romanes, where he saith ; *That circumcision is a token and a seale of the righteousness of faith.* Ergo, it requireth faith to certifie mans hart of the will of God. But the word of God is the foundation of faith, as S. Paul witnesseth, Rom. 10, *Faith commeth by hearing, and hearing comineth by the word of God.* For the minde must be taught and instructed to the will of God by the worde, like as the eie is taught and instructed by the outward ceremony. And so Paul by that saying confuteth this opinion, that the sacraments should make men righteous and just before God, for the verie outward worke, without faith of them that receive them.

“ And after this maner doth Paule speake unto the Ephesians : *that Christ doth sanctifie his church through the buthe of water in the word of life.* And for as much as he joineth the word unto the ceremony, and declareth the vertue and power of the word of God that it bringeth with it life, hee doth manifestly teach that the word of God is the principall thing, and even as it were the very substance and body of the sacrament ; and the outward ceremony to be nothing els then a token of that lively inflammation which we receive through faith in the word and promise. Saint Paul also in ministring the sacrament of the Lord's supper, doth manifestly adde the words of Christ : *He tooke bread, saith he, and when he had given thanks, he brake it and saide, Take yee this, and eate yee this, for it is my body.* Item. *Drinke ye this in my remembrance.* Beside this he teacheth evidently that onely Christ and none but he had power to institute a sacrament : and that neither the apostles, nor the church hath any authoritie to alter or to adde any thing unto his ordinance, whereas he saith : *For I have received of the Lord that which I delivered unto you, &c.* To what purpose should hee goe about to moove the people to beleve him, and to win their hearts with this protestation, if it had bene lawfull for him to have made any sacraments, or to have altered the forme and manner of ministring this sacrament ; as some men both wickedly and shamefully doe affirm, that the apostles did alter the forme of baptisme !”

When he had spoken thus much, the bishop of London did interrupt him and said : “ Let us grant that the sacraments may be gathered out of the word of God, yet are you farre deceived, if

ye think that there is none other word of God, but that which every sowter^a and cobler do read in their mother tongue. And if yee think that nothing pertaineth unto the christian faith, but that only that is written in the bible, then erre ye plainly with the Lutherans. For John saith ; *Jesus did many things which be not written*. And Paul commandeth the Thessalonians to observe and keep certaine unwritten traditions and ceremonies. (2 Thess. 2.) Moreover he himself did preach not the scripture only, but even also the traditions of the elders. (Acts 16.) Finally wee have received many things of the doctors and counsels by times, which although they be not written in the Bible, yet forsomuch as the olde doctors of the church do make mention of them, we ought to grant that we received them of the apostles, and that they be of like authority^b with the scripture, and finally that they may worthily be called the word of God unwritten."

^a *Every sowter.*] "Sowter ; Sutor, Calcearius." Skinner, Junius, &c.

^b *Of like authority.*] See *Christian Institutes*—Index, *Tradition and Scripture Church, authority, &c.* See also Articles VI. XX. and XXXIV. of the Church of England.

This seems to be a proper place for a short specimen or two of the fanatical, not to say blasphemous extravagancies, on which some of the popes and canonists ventured on this momentous subject.

"Master Campion was desired by us, to reade the chapter in the canon law, beginning *In Canonicis*, which Gratian takes out of this place of Augustine; and first that he would read the rubric, which he seemed loth to do . . . Yet at length he read it; and it is thus, *Inter Canonicas Scripturas decretales Epistolæ connumerantur*; which after much desiring he englished also, The Decretal Epistles are numbered together among the Canonical Scriptures." *Conference with Campion, the Jesuit, August 1581.* Signat. D 3.

"In the after-noon, we said to M. Campion, let us, we pray you, peruse the canon that followeth that which we last dealt with in the fore-noon concerning the *Pope's Canons and the Canonical Scriptures*; for that the time would not then suffer us to reade it. The wordes of pope Leo IV. there translated word for word are these: 'For this cause, I feare not to pronounce more playnely and with a loude voyce, that he that is convinced not to receive indifferently the statutes of the holy fathers which we have spoken of before, which with us are intituled by the name of canons, whether he be a bishop, a clerk, or a lay-man, that he is prooved neither to beleve, nor to holde profitably and effectually, the catholic and apostolic faith, nor the four holy gospels.' This saith pope Leo . . . To the which let us joyne the saying of pope Agatho, Distinct. xix. cap. *Sic omnes*, which is near to it. 'All the sanctions of the apostolique see are to be taken as established by the divine voyce of Peter himselfe.'" Ibid. signat. D 4 b.

Now when the right noble lord Cromwell, the archbishop, with the other bishops, which did defend the pure doctrine of the gospel, heard this, they smiled a little one upon another, forsomuch as they saw him flee even in the verie beginning of the disputation, unto his olde rustie sophistrie, and unwritten verities. Then Alesius would have proceeded further with the bishop to have confuted this blasphemous lie, but the L. Cromwell bade him bee content, for the time began to go away, and it was twelve of the clocke, and thus he made an ende with his protestation. "Right reverend maister bishop, you deny that our Christian faith and religion doth leane onely upon the worde of God, which is written in the bible; which thing if I can prove and declare, then you will grant me that there be no sacraments, but those that have the manifest word of God to confirm them." Unto this he did consent; and then immediately that assembly was dissolved for that day.

The next daie¹, when the bishops were set againe, the archbishop of Canterburie sending his archdeacon, commanded Alesius to abstaine from disputation; whereupon he wrote his mind, and delivered it unto Cromwell, who afterwards shewed the same unto the bishops. Thus through the industry of Cromwel, the colloquies were brought to this end, that albeit religion could not wholly be reformed, yet at that time there was some reformation had² throughout all England.

¹ *The next daie.*] "Now the next day, when the bishops were assembled agayne, and I was present with the lord Cromwel, there came unto me a certen archdeacon in the name of the archbishop of Cantorbery, which told me, that the other bishops were grevously offended with me, that I being a stranger should be admitted unto their disputaryon: which thing when I had shewed unto the lord Cromwel, he thought it best to give place unto the bishops, specially because he would not procure me their hatred. But he bad me gyve him the paper wherein I had written my disputaryon, that he might shewe it to the bishop of London, and to the other bishops in the council, the contents whereof were this." Alexander Alane, *Of the auctoritie of the word of God*. Signat. A 7. The remainder of the treatise is taken up in confuting the arguments of the bishop of London Stokesly for traditions and unwritten verities; and in establishing in opposition thereto the grand protestant principle, *that the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary unto salvation*.

² *Some reformation had.* The progress made towards the revival of true religion by the deliberations at this period was exceedingly important. Two books, to which it is probable that Fox here alludes, and of which it is to be wished that he had given a detailed account, are especially worthy of men-

How desirous and studious this good Cromwell was in the cause of Christs religion, examples need not to be brought. His whole life was nothing else, but a continuall care and travaile how to advance and further the right knowledge of the gospel, and reforme the house of God; as by many proclamations by his meanes set forth, may well appeare; wherein first he caused the people to be instructed in the Lords praier, and Creed in English; then procured the scripture also to be read and set forth in the same language, for every English man to understand; after that, to rescue the vulgar people from damnable idolatry, he caused certaine of the most grosest pilgrimages to be destroyed. And further, for the more commodity of the poore sort, which get their living with their daily labour and worke of their hands, hee provided that divers idle holy daies were diminished. Item hee procured for them libertie to eate egges and whitemeate in Lent. Furthermore by him it was also provided, for the better instruc-

tion. The first is the *Articles of 1536*: which being brought into convocation by Fox bishop of Hereford on July 11, in that year, were the same day subscribed by the lord Cromwell, the king's vicegerent, the archbishop and prelates, and by the members of the lower house. They were soon after printed (with a prefatory letter addressed by the king to all his loving subjects) under the following title. "Articles devised by the Kynges Highnes Majestie, to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unitie amonge us, and to avoyde contentious opinions; which articles be also approved by the consent and determination of the hole clergie of this realme, anno 1536." Bishop Burnet in the Addenda to the first volume of his *History of the Reformation* has printed these articles from a Cotton MS. still extant in the British Museum, which is a true original, having the autographs of all the subscribers: and from his *History* they are again published in Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 817—23. They may also be read in Fuller (*Church Hist.* cent. 16, p. 213, &c.), as transcribed by him from the acts of convocation. The other book, some mention of which is proper in this place, is the *Institution of a Christian Man*, which being prepared by a Commission of Divines, who held their meetings in the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, was printed, and came out, about the month of October, in the year 1537. The book is divided into four parts, being an exposition (1) of the Apostles' creed, (2) of the seven sacraments, (3) of the ten commandments, and (4) of the Lord's prayer, and *Ave Maria*, with the articles of justification, and purgatory. Prefixed is a preface by the convocation. In the course of this volume, certainly the principal part, perhaps the whole of the articles which came out in the preceding year, is inserted. The book is exceedingly well and carefully composed, in a very pure and dignified style; and is altogether an illustrious monument of the achievements of Cranmer and his colleagues against the intrigues and opposition of a party formidable at once for their zeal, number, and power.

tion of the people, that beneficed men should be resident in their cures and parishes, there to teach and to keepe hospitalitie; with many other thinges, else most fruitfully redressed for the reformation of religion and behoofe of Christs church: as by the proclamations, injunctions, and necessary articles of christian doctrine above specified, set forth in the kings name, by his meanes, may more abundantly appeare.

Now to adjoine withall his private benefites in helping diuers good men and women at sundry times out of troubles and great distresses, it would require a long discourse. Briefely his whole life was full of such examples, beeing a man to that intent ordained of God (as his deedes well proved) to doe many men good, and especially such as were in danger of persecution for religions sake. Amongst other infinite stories, one or two examples shall suffice for a testimony of his worthy doings.

In the yeare of our Lord 1538, Sir William Forman beeing maior of the citie of London, three weekes before Easter, the wife of one Thomas Frebarn dwelling in Pater noster rowe, beeing with childe, longed after a morsell of a pigge, and tolde her minde unto a maide dwelling in Abchurch-lane, desiring her if it were possible, to helpe her unto a peece. The maide, perceiving her earnest desire, shewed unto her husband, what his wife had said unto her, telling him that it might chance to cost her her life and the childe too which she went withall, if shee had it not. Upon this Thomas Frebarne her husband spake to a butter wife which hee knew, that dwelled at Harnsey, named goodwife Fisher, to helpe him to a pigge for his wife, for shee was with childe, and longed sore to eat of a pigge. Unto whom the said goodwife Fisher promised that she would bring him one the Friday following, and so she did, being ready dressed and scalded before. But when she had delivered him the pigge, shee craftily conveyed one of the feet, and carried it unto doctor Cokes, at that time being deane of Canturburie, dwelling in Ivy lane, who at that time of his dinner, before certaine guests which he had bidden, shewed his pigges foote, declaring who had the body thereof: and after that they had talked their pleasure, and dinner was done, one of his guests being landlord unto Frebarne aforesaid, called M. Garret, and by his office, king of armes, sent his man unto the said Frebarne, demanding if there were no body sicke in his house. Unto whom hee answered,

that they were all in good health, he gave God thanks. Then saide he againe, It was told his maister that some body was sicke, or else they would not eat flesh in lent: unto whom Frebarne made answer, that his wife was with child, and longed for a peece of a pigge, and if he could get some for her he would. Then departed his landlords man home againe.

And shortly after his landlord sent for him. But before that he sent for him, he had sent for the bishop of Londons sumner, whose name was Holland, and when this Frebarne was come, he demanded of him, if hee had not a pig in his house, which he denied not. Then commanded M. Garret the said sumner called Holland to take him, and go home to his house, and to take the pig, and carry both him and the pig unto doctor Stokesley his maister, beeing then bishop of London; and so he did. Then the bishop being in his chamber with divers others of the clergy, called this Frebarne before him, and had him in examination for this pigge; laying also unto his charge, that he had eaten in his house that Lent poudred beefe and calves heads. Unto whome Frebarne answered, "My Lord, if the heads were eaten in my house in whose houses were the bodies eaten? Also, if there be either man or woman that can prove, that either I, or any in my house hath done as your lordship saith, let me suffer death therefore." "You speake (said hee) against pilgrimages, and will not take holy bread, nor holy water, nor yet goe on procession, on Palme Sunday: thou art no christian man." "My lord," said Frebarne, "I trust I am a true Christian man, and have done nothing neither against Gods laws nor my princes."

In the time of this his examination, which was during the space of two houres, divers came unto the bishop, some to have their children confirmed, and some for other causes. Unto whome as they came, having the pig before him covered, he would lift up the cloth and shew it them, saying; "How think you of such a fellow as this is? is not this good meate, I pray you, to be eaten in this blessed time of Lent, yea and also powdred beefe and calves heads too beside this?"

After this, the bishop called his sumner unto him, and commaunded him to go and carrie this Thomas Frebarne and the pig openly thorow the streetes, into the old Baylie, unto Sir Roger Chomley: for the bishoppe said, he had nothing to do to punish him; for that belonged unto the civil magistrates. And so was Frebarne carried with the pig before him, to Sir Roger Chom-

leies house in the old Baily, and he not being at home at that time, Frebarne was brought likewise backe againe unto the bishops palace with the pig, and there lay in the porters lodge till it was nine o'clocke at night. Then the bishoppe sent him unto the Counter in the Poultry by the sumner and other of his servants.

The next day being Saturday, he was brought before the maior of London and his brethren unto the Guildhall, but before his coming, they had the pig delivered unto them by the bishops officer. Then the maior and the bench laide unto his charge (as they were informed from the bishop) that he had eaten poudred beefe and calves heads in his house the same Lent. But no man was able to come in that would justifie it; neither could any thing be found, save onely the pig, which (as is before sayd) was for the preservation of his wifes life, and that she went withall. Notwithstanding the maior of London said, that the Monday next following, he should stand on the pillarie in Cheape side, with the one halfe of the pig on the one shoulder², and the other halfe on the other.

² *On the one shoulder.*] In the year 1556, "Two persons at Boston, in the diocese of Lincoln, ate flesh against the law of the Catholic Church; and were put to penance of carrying a quarter of lamb about the market of Boston, bare-legged and bare-headed." *Stryke's Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 296.

Fox's story of the poor woman and her pigs-flesh will perhaps be offensive to some of my readers, and be counted beneath the dignity even of his *History*. But the narrative is very significant of the religious feelings of those times, and the subject of it, as might easily be shown, was associated with many serious and interesting considerations, which, in the age when it was written, would exempt it from the charge of trifling and levity, to which it may now seem liable.

"Many, for shame," says Tindal in his *Obedience of a Christian Man* "keepe back their confession for twenty or thirty yeares, and thinke all the while that they be damned. I knewe a poore woman with childe which longed, and being overcome of her passion, ate flesh on a Friday, which thing she durst not confesse in the space of eighteen yeares, and thought all that while that she had been damned." *Works*, p. 140. A. D. 1572. In the persecution by Bishop Longland about the year 1521, Alice Holting was *abjured*, "for that she being in a state of pregnancy did dine before she went to church to take her rites, saying, that Isabel Tracher did so tell her, that she might dine before she received the Sacrament." Fox, p. 755. Nor were the poor and the humble alone interested in these feelings, and exposed to suffering by their transgressions against the will of the church in these matters. Not long after the time of the story of the poor woman and lord

Then spake the wife of the said Frebarne unto the maior and the bench, desiring that she might stand there, and not he, for it was long of her and not of him. After this they tooke a satten list, and tied it fast about the pigs necke, and made Frebarne to cary it hanging on his shoulder untill hee came unto the counter of the Poultry, from whence he came.

After this was done, the wife of the prisoner tooke with her an honest woman, the wife of one Michaell Loble, which was well acquainted with divers in the lord Cromwells house, unto whom the said woman resorted for some helpe for this prisoner, desiring them to speake unto their lord and maister for his deliverance out of trouble.

It hapned that the same time came in doctour Barnes and maister Barlow, who understanding the matter by Lobleys wife, went up to the lord Cromwell, and certified him thereof: who upon their request, sent for the maior of the citie of London: but what was said unto the lord maior, is unknowne, saving that in the after noone of the same day, the wife of the person aforesaide resorted againe unto the lord maior, suing to get her husband delivered out of prison, declaring how that she had two small children, and had nothing to help her and them, but onely her husband, who laboured for their livings. Unto whom the maior answered, "what come yee to me? You are taken up with the king's councell. I supposed that you had come to desire me that your husband should not stand upon the pillarie in Cheapeside on Monday next, with the one halfe of the pig on his one shoulder, and the other halfe on the other." Also the maior said unto her, that hee could not deliver him without the consent of the rest of his brethren the aldermen. Wherefore he bade her the next day following, which was Sondag, to resort unto Paules to Saint Dunstones chappell, and when he had spoken with his brethren, hee would then tell her more. Other aunswere could shee get none

Cromwell, the gallant earl of Surrey himself, renowned for his devotion to chivalry and the Muses, was imprisoned in Windsor Castle for eating flesh in Lent, on occasion of which he has composed one of his most beautiful Sonnets. Warton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. iii.—"And as touching quietness of conscience, I have knowne manye that have long been cumbred with it. A certaine master of artes which died in Oxford confessed upon his death bed, that he had wept lying in his bed an hundred nyghtes within one yeares space, because he coulde not beleve it" (i. e. the doctrine of Transubstantiation). *Works of Johne Frith*, p. 150. fol. 1572.

at that time. Wherefore shee went unto maister Wilkinson, then being sheriffe of London, desiring him to bee good unto her, and that she might have her poore husband out of prison. Unto whome maister Wilkinson answered; “(O woman, Christ hath laide a piece of his crosse upon thy necke, to prove whether thou wilt helpe him to beare it or no;” saying moreover to her, that if the lord maior had sent him to his Counter, as hee sent him to his brothers, hee should not have tarried there an houre; and so commaunded her to come the next day unto him to dinner, and hee would do the best for her he could. So the next day came: and this woman resorted againe to maister Wilkinson, according as hee bade her, who also had bidden divers guests; unto whome hee spake in her behalfe. But as they were set at dinner, and she also sitting at the table, when she sawe the hote fish to come in, shee fell downe in a swoond, so that for the space of two houres they could keepe no life in her. Wherefore they sent her home to her house in Pater noster row, and then they sent for the midwife, supposing that shee would have been delivered incontinent of her child that she went with: but after that shee came somewhat again to her selfe, where she lay sicke and kept her bed the space of fifteen weekes after, being not able to help her selfe, but as shee was helped of others, during the time of fifteen weekes.

Now to shewe further what became of this pig, whereof we have spoken so much: it was caried into Finsburie field by the bishop of Londons sumner, at his maisters commandement, and there buried. The Monday following, being the fourth day after that this prisoner aforesaid was apprehended, the maior of London, with the residue of his brethren being at Guild hall, sent for the prisoner aforesaid, and demanded sureties of him for his forthcoming, whatsoever hereafter should or might be laid unto his charge: but for lacke of such sureties as they required, upon his owne bond, which was a recognizance of twentie pound, hee was delivered out of their hands. But shortly after that he was delivered out of this his trouble, maister Garret, of whome we have spoken before, being his landlord, warned him out of his house, so that in foure yeares after, he could not get another: but was constrained to be within other good folks, to his great hindrance and undoing.

Hard it were and almost out of number, to rehearse the names and stories of all them, which felt the gentle help of this good

man in some case or other. One other example, though it be somewhat long, with the circumstances and all, I will declare; how he helped the secretarie that then was to doctor Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, which secretarie⁴ is yet alive, and can beare present record of the same.

Mention was made before how king Henrie in the yeare of his reigne 21 caused the six articles⁵ to passe, much against the mind and contrarie to the consent of the archbishop of Canterburie Thomas Cranmer, who had disputed three dayes against the same in the parliament house, with great reasons and authorities. Which articles after they were graunted and past by the parliament, the king for the singular favour which hee ever bare to Cranmer, and reverence to his learning, being desirous to knowe what he had said and objected in the parliament against these articles, or what could be alledged by learning against the same, required a note of the archbishop of his doings, what hee had said and opposed in the parliament touching that matter. And this word was sent to him from the king by Cromwell, and other lords of the parliament; whome the king then sent to dine with him at Lambeth, somewhat to comfort againe his grieved minde and troubled spirits.

⁴ *Which secretarie.*] Ralph Morice, who wrote at the desire of archbishop Parker a life of Cranmer, still existing amongst the MSS. bequeathed by Parker to C. C. Col. Cambridge, No. 140. Strype has made great use of it.

⁵ *The six articles.*] The substance of this sanguinary act, commonly called the *six stringed whip*, and which for that time confirmed the triumph of Gardiner and his party over the friends of the reformation, was as follows:—It decreed, 1. The corporal presence in the eucharist; against which, whoever spake, preached, or wrote, was to be burned, without the privilege of abjuration, and his estates, real and personal, to be forfeited to the king. 2. That communion in *both kinds* is not necessary to salvation: and that it is to be believed, without any doubt, that in the *flesh*, under form of bread, is contained the very *blood*: and with the *blood*, under form of wine, is the very *flesh* of Christ. 3. Against the marriage of priests. Their marriages were declared void; and such as cohabited with their wives afterwards were to suffer death as felons. 4. That vows of celibacy ought to be observed by the laws of God. 5. That private masses ought to be continued. 6. That auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained. Those who contemned, or abstained from confession, or the sacrament at the accustomed times, were, for the first offence, to forfeit their goods and chattels: and to be imprisoned: and for the second to be deemed guilty of felony, &c. Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 127. Compare Fox, p. 1036, &c. Burnet, vol. i. p. 245—88. Strype, &c.

Whereupon when his dinner was finished, the next day after the archbishop collecting both his arguments, authorities of scriptures, and doctors together, caused his secretarie to write a fayre booke thereof for the king, after this order. First the scriptures were alleadged, then the doctors, thirdly followed the arguments deducted from those authorities. This booke was written in his secretaries chamber, where, in a by chamber lay the archbishops almosiner. When this booke was fayre written, and whiles the secretarie was gone to deliver the same unto the archbishop his maister, who was (as it then chanced) rid to Croydon; returning back to his chamber, he found the doore shut, and the key carried away to London by the almosiner.

At this season also chanced the father of the said secretary to come to the citie, by whose occasion it so fell out that he must needes go to London. The booke he could not lay into his chamber, neither durst he commit it to any other person to keepe, being straightly charged, in any condition, of the archbishop his maister, to be circumspect thereof: so that he determined to goe to his father, and to keepe the booke about him. And so thrusting the booke under his girdle, he went over unto Westminster bridge with a sculler, where hee entred into a wherry that went to London, wherein were four of the gard, who went to land at Paules Wharfe, and to passe by the kings highnesse, who then was in his barge, with a great number of barges and boates about him, then baiting of beares in the water over against the banke⁴.

These foresaid yeomen of the gard, when they came against the king's barge, durst not passe by towards Paules Wharfe, least they should be espied: and therefore intreated the secretarie to goe with them to the beare-bayting, and they would finde the meanes, being of the gard, to make roome, and to see all the pastime. The secretarie perceiving no other remedie, assented therto. When the wherry came neie the multitude of the boates, they with pollaxes got in the wherry so farre, that being compassed with many other whirries, and boates, there was no refuge if the beare should breake loose, and come upon them: as in verie dede, within one pater noster while, the beare brake loose, and came into the boate where the yeomen of the gard were, and the sayd

⁴ *Against the banke*. The *Bankside* on the Surrey side of the river Thames, where the bear-garden was situated.

secretarie. The gard forsooke the whirry, and went into an other barge, one or two of them leaping short, and so fell into the water. The beare and the dogs so shaked the whirrie wherein the secretary was, that the boate being full of water, sunke to the ground, and being also as it chanced an ebbing tide, he there sate in the end of the whirrie up to the middle in water. To whome came the beare and all the dogs. The beare seeking as it were aide and succour of him, came back with his hinder parts upon him, and so rushing upon him, the booke was loosed from his girdle, and fell into the Thames out of his reach.

The flying of the people, after that the beare was loose, from one boate to an other, was so comberous, that diverse persons were throwne into the Thames; the king commanding certaine men that could swimme, to strip themselves naked, and to help to save them that were in danger. This pastime so displeased the king, that he had away with the beare, and let us all go hence.

The secretarie perceiving his booke to fleete away in the Thames, called to the beareward to take up the booke. When the beareward had the booke in his custody, being an arrant papist, farre from the religion of his mistres, (for he was the ladie Elizabeths beareward, now the queenes majestie) ere that the secretarie could come to land, he had delivered the booke to a priest of his owne affinitie in religion standing on the banke, who reading in the booke, and perceiving that it was a manifest refutation of the six articles, made much adoe, and told the beareward, that whosoever claymed the booke, should surely be hanged. Anon the secretary came to the beareward for his booke. What, quoth the beareward, dare you challenge this booke? Whose servant be you? I am servant to one of the councell, said the secretarie, and my lord of Caunturburie is my maister. Yea marie, quoth the beareward, I thought so much. You be like I trust, quoth the beareward, to bee both hanged for this booke. Well (sayd hee) it is not so evill as you take it; and I warrant you my lord will avouch the booke to the king's majestie. But I pray you let me have my booke, and I will give you a crowne to drinke. If you would give me five hundred crownes, you shall not have it, quoth the beareward. With that the secretarie departed from him, and understanding the malicious frowardnes of the beareward, he learned that Blage the grocer in cheape side might doe much with the beareward; to

whome the secretary brake this matter, requiring him to send for the beareward to supper, and he would pay for the whole charge thereof; and besides that rather then hee should forgo his booke after this sort, the beareward should have twenty shillings to drinke. The supper was prepared. The beareward was sent for, and came. After supper the matter was intreated of, and twenty shillings offered for the booke. But do what could hee done, neither friendship, acquaintance, nor yet reward of money could obtaine the booke out of his handes, but that the same should be delivered unto some of the councell that would not so sleightly looke on so weightie a matter, as to have it redeemed for a supper, or a piece of money. The honest man M. Blage with many good reasons would have perswaded him not to be stiffe in his owne conceite, declaring that in the end hee should nothing at all prevaile of his purpose, but hee laught to scorne, getting neither peny nor prayse for his travell. Hee hearing that, rushed sodainly out of the doores from his friend maister Blage, without any manner of thanks giving for his supper, more like a beareward, than like an honest man. When the secretary saw the matter so extreamlie to be used against him, he then thought it expedient to fall from any farther practising of intreatie with the beareward, as with him that seemed rather to be a beare himselfe, than the master of the beast, determining the next morning to make the lord Cromwell privy of the chance that hapned.

So on the next day, as the lord Cromwell went to the court, the secretarie declared the whole matter unto him, and how he had offered him twenty shillings for the finding thereof. Where is the fellowe, quoth the lord Cromwell? I suppose, sayd the secretarie, that he is now in the court attending to deliver the booke unto some of the councell. Well sayd the lord Cromwell, it maketh no matter: go with me thither, and I shall get you your booke againe. When the lord Cromwell came into the hall of the court, there stood the beareward with the booke in his hand, waiting to have delivered the same unto Syr Anthony Browne, or unto the bishoppe of Winchester, as it was reported. To whome the lord Cromwell sayd, Come hither fellowe; what booke hast thou there in thy hand? And with that he snatched the booke out of his hand, and looking in the booke, he sayd, I knowe this hand well enough. This is your hand, said hee to the secretarie. But where haddest thou this booke, quoth the lord Cromwell to the beareward? This gentleman lost it two

dayes agoe in the Thames, saide the beareward. Doest thou knowe whose servant he is, saide the lord Cromwell? He saith, quoth the beareward, that he is my lord of Canterburies servant. Why then diddest not thou deliver to him the booke, when he required it, said the lord Cromwell? Who made thee so bold as to detaine and withhold any booke or writing from a counsellers servant, specially being his secretarie? It is more meeter for thee to meddle with thy beares then with such writing; and it were not for thy mistres sake, I would set thee fast by the feete, to teach such malepert knaves to meddle with counsellers matters. Had not money beene well bestowed upon such a good fellowe as this is, that knoweth not a counsellers man from a coblers man? And with those words the lord Cromwell went up into the kings chamber of presence, and the archbishops secretarie with him, where he found in the chamber the lord of Canturburie. To whome he sayd, my lord, I have found heer good stuffe for you (shewing to him the paper booke that he had in his hand) readie to bring both you and this good fellowe your man to the halter, namely if the knave beareward nowe in the hall, might have well compassed it. At these words the archbishop smiled and said, he that lost the booke is like to have the worse bargaine, for besides that he was well washed in the Thames, he must write the booke faire againe; and at those wordes the lord Cromwell cast the booke unto the secretary, saying, I pray thee, Morice, go in hand therewith by and by with all expedition, for it must serve a turne. Surely my lord, it somewhat rejoyceth me, quoth the lord Cromwell, that the verlet might have had of your man twenty shillings for the booke, and nowe I have discharged the matter with never a penie. And shaking him well up for his overmuch malepartnes, I knowe the fellow well enough (quoth he) there is not a rancker papist within this realme than hee is, most unworthy to be a servant unto so noble a princesse. And so after humble thanks given to the lord Cromwell, the sayd Morice departed with his booke, which when he againe had faire written, it was delivered to the kings majestie by the sayd Lord Cromwell, within four dayes after.

It is commonly seene, that men advanced once from base degree, to ample dignities, do rise also with fortune into such insolencie and exaltation of minde, that not onely they forget themselves what they were, and from whence they came, but also cast out of remembraunce all their olde friends and former

acquaintance, which have beene to them before beneficiall. From which sort of men, how farre the curteous condition of this christen earle did differ, by diverse examples it may appeare. As by a certaine poore woman keeping sometime a vitailing house about Hounsloe, to whome the said L. Cromwell remained in debt for certaine old reckonings, to the summe of forty shillings. It hapned that the L. Cromwell, with Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, riding thorow Cheape side towards the Court, in turning his eye over the way, and there espying this poore woman, brought now in neede and miserie, eftsoones caused her to be called unto him. Who being come, after certaine questions he asked her if shee were not such a woman, and dwelling in such a place. At last he demaunded, if he were not behind for certaine payment of money betweene him and her. To whome shee with reverent obeysance, confessed that he owed her money for a certain old reckoning which was yet unpayd, whereof shee stood now in great necessitie, but never durst call upon him, nor could come at him for to require her right. Then the L. Cromwell sending the poore woman home to his house, and one of his servants withall, that the porter should let her in, after his returne from the court, not onelie discharged the debt which he owed, but also gave her a yearly pension of foure pounds, and a livery everie yeere while she lived.

The like curtesie the said L. Cromwell shewed also to a certaine Italian, who in the citie of Florence, had shewed him much kindnes in succoring and relieving his necessitie, as in this storie following may appeare. Which storie set forth and compiled in the Italian tongue by Bandello¹, and imprinted at

¹ *Bandello*. This story forms the 34th novel of part II. of Bandello's *Novelle*, printed at Lucca, by Vincenzo Busdragio, in 1554. It is intitled "Francesco Frascobaldo fa cortesia ad un straniero, e n'è ben rimunerato, essendo colui divenuto Contestabile d'Inghilterra." The revival of the office of constable had been proposed, as we have seen p. 95, by Wolsey, who was overruled by Sir Thomas More, but Cromwell, though not constable, exercised perhaps even greater power as the king's viceroy and viceroy-general. Bandello says of him: "Hora, pero che non pareva a quella cosa de la fortuna haver fatto assai, d'haver levato dal basso de la terra il Cromwellio, e levatolo in alto a tanta grandezza, vole anco alzarlo molto più, e fece che il Re lo creò Contestabile del Regno, degna suprema e a luy solo essente altra dignità Re s'aggiuglia. Fatto che fu Contestabile, il Re tutto il governo del regno in mano gli diede, di modo, che il Cromwellio venne in tanta altezza, che era cosa incredibile. Cresciuto ch'egli fu à tanta grandezza, si

Luke by Busdrago, an. 1554, I thought heere to insert, with the whole order and circumstance thereof, as it is reported.

Not many yeares past, sayth the author, there was in Florence a merchant, whose name was Fraunces, descended from the noble and auncient familie of the Frescobalds. This gentleman was naturally indued with a noble and liberall minde, unto whome also through prosperous successe and fortunate lucke in his affaires and doings, much aboundance of riches increased, so that hee grew in great wealth, having his cofers replenished with many heapes of much treasure. He according to the custome of marchants, used his trade into many countries, but chiefly into England, where long time he lived, sojourning in London, keeping house to his great commendation and prayse.

It happened, that Fraunces Frescobald being in Florence, there appeared before him a poore young man, asking his almes for Gods sake. Frescobald as he earnestly beheld this ragged stripling, who was not so disguised in his tattered attire, but that his countenance gave signification of much towardness and vertue in him, with conformitie of manners agreeing to the same, being moved with pitie, demaunded of what countrey he was, and where he was borne. I am Syr (quoth he) of England, and my name is Thomas Cromwell. My father is a poore man, and by his occupation a cloth shearer⁸. I am strayed from my countrey, and am now come into Italy with the campe of Frenchmen that were overthrowne at Gatilyon⁹, where I was the page to a footman, carrying after him his pike and burganet. Frescobald partlie

scoperse nemico à spada tratta di tutta quanta la nobiltà de l'Isola, e ove poteva à qualche gentilhuomo nuocere, non mancava; e se il Re alcuno ne pigliava in odio; egli aggiungeva stipa al fuoco." 'These very severe remarks Fox has not translated. Bandello's account of Cromwell's rapid elevation and his sudden fall is very graphically told, but is too long to give here.

⁸ *A cloth shearer.*] Fox, in a marginal note on this passage, says, that "this cloth shearer was his father-in-law:" and above, p. 222, he tells us that he was "a smith's sonne, and that his mother married after to a *shyremán*." Cardinal Pole's words are, "*pater ejus pannis verrendis victum quæritabat.*"

⁹ *Gatilyon.*] The battle of the Garigliano. Cromwell's words, as reported by Bandello, are, "Io mi chiamo Tomaso Cremouello, figliuolo d'un povero cimatore di panni, che fuggendo da mio padre, son venuto in Italia col campo dei Francesi, che è stato rotto al Garigliano, e stavo con un fante a piedi, portandole dietro la picca." This was in 1503, when the marquis of Saluzzo, who commanded the French troops sent to enforce the claims of Louis XII. upon the throne of Naples, was defeated at the passage of the Garigliano, and his army utterly dispersed by the Spaniards, under the command of Gonsalvo de Cordova.

considering the present state of this yong man, and partly for the love he bare to the English nation, of whome he had received in times past sundrie pleasures, received him into his house, and with such curtesie entertained his guest, as at his departure when he was in minde to returne to his countrey, he provided such necessaries as he any way needed. Hee gave him both horse and new apparell, and sixteen duckats of gold in his purse, to bring him into his countrey. Cromwell rendring his heartie thanks, tooke leave of his host and returned into England. This Cromwell was a man of noble courage and heroicall spirit, given to enterprise great matters, very liberall, and a grave counsellor, &c. But to our purpose.

At what time Cromwell was so highly favoured of his prince, and advanced to such dignitie as is aforesaid, Frances Frescobald (as it many times hapneth unto merchants) was by many misfortunes and great losses, cast backe and become verie poore. For according to conscience and equitie, he payd whatsoever was due to any other from himselfe, but such debts as were owing unto him, he could by no meanes obtaine: yet calling further to remembrance that in England by certaine merchants there was due to him the summe of fifteen thousand ducates, he so purposed with himselfe, that if he could recover that mony, he would well content himself, and no longer deale in the trade of merchants, but quietly passe over the rest of his daies.

All things prepared for his journey, he setting forward towards England, at last arrived at London, having utterly forgotten what curtesie long before he had shewed to Cromwell, which is the property alwaies of a good nature, for a man to forget what benefites hee hath shewed to other, but to keep in minde continually what he hath received of other. Frescobald thus being now arrived at London, and there travelling earnestly about his business, it chanced him by the way to meete with this noble man, as he was riding toward the court. Whome, as soone as the said lord Cromwell had espied, and had earnestly beheld, hee bethought with himselfe that hee should be the man of Florence, at whose hands in times past he had received so gentle entertainment, and thereupon suddenly alighting (to the great admiration of those that were with him) in his armes he gently embraced the stranger, and with a broken voyce scarce able to refraine teares, he demaunded if hee were not Frances Frescobald the Florentine. "Yea sir (he answered) and your humble

servant." "My servant," quoth Cromwell? "no, as you have not beene my servant in times past, so will I not now account you otherwayes then my great and especiall friend, assuring you that I have just reason to be sorie, that you knowing what I am (or at the least what I should be) will not let me understand of your arriving in this land, which knowne unto me, truely I should have payd part of that debt which I confesse to owe to you: but thanked bee God I have yet time. Well sir, in conclusion, you are hartily welcome. But having now waightie affaires in my princes cause, you must hold mee excused, that I can no longer tarie with you. Wherefore at this time I take my leave, desiring you with the faithfull minde of a friend, that you forget not this day to come to my house to dinner:" and then in remounting on his horse, he passed to the court. Frescobald greatly marveling with himselfe who this lord should be, at last after some pause, his remembraunce better called home, hee knewe him to be the same, whome long before (as you have heard) he had relieved in Florence, and thereat not a little joyed, especially considering how that by his meanes he should the better recover his duetie.

The houre of dinner drawing neere, he repayred to the house of this honourable counsellour, where walking awhile in his base court, he attended his comming. The lord shortly returned from the court, and no sooner dismounted, but hee againe embraced this gentleman, with so friendly a countenance, that both the lord admirall, and all the other noble men of the court being then in his companie, did not a little marvell thereat.

Which thing when the lord Cromwell perceived, hee turning towards them, and holding Frescobald fast by the hand; "Do ye not mervaile my lords (quoth he) that I seeme so glad of this man? This is he by whose meanes I have atchieved the degree of this my present calling: and because ye shall not be ignorant of his curtesie when I greatly needed, I shall tell it you:" and so there declared unto them everie thing in order according as before hath beene recited unto you. His tale finished, holding him still by the hand, hee entered his house, and comming into the chamber, where his dinner was prepared, he sate him downe to the table, placing his best welcommed guest next unto him.

The dinner ended, and the lords departed, he would know what occasion had brought Frescobald to London. Frances in few

words opened his cause, truly telling, that from great wealth, he was fallen into povertie, and that his only portion to maintaine the rest of his life, was fifteen thousand ducates which were owing him in England, and two thousand in Spaine. Whereunto the lord Cromwell answering againe, said, " Touching the things maister Frescobald that be alreadie past, although it cannot now be undone by mans power, nor by policie called againe, which hath hapned unto you by the unstable condition and mutabilitie of this world altering to and fro: yet is not your sorrow so peculiar to your selfe alone, but that by the bond of mutuall love, I must also bewaile with you this your state and condition: which state and condition of yours, though it may worke in you matter of just heaviness, yet notwithstanding, to the intent you may receive in this your heave distresse some consolation for your olde curtesie shewed to me in times past, the like curtesie now requireth of me againe, that I likewise should repay some portion of that debt wherein I stand bound unto you, according as the part of a thankfull man bindeth me to do, in requiting your benefites on my part heretofore received. And this further I avouch in the word of a true friend, that during this life and state of mine, I will never faile to do for you, wherein my authoritie may prevaile to supply your lacke and necessitie. And so let these few words suffice to give you knowledge of my friendly meaning. But let me delaie the time no longer."

Then taking him by the hand, hee led him into his chamber, whence, after that everie man by his commandement was departed, he locked fast the doore. Then opening a cofer full heaped with treasure, he first tooke out sixtene ducates, and delivering them to Frescobald, he said: " Loe heere (my friend) is your money which you lent me at my departure from Florence, and heere other tenne which you bestowed in my apparell, with tenne more that you disbursed for the horse I rid away on. But considering you are a merchant, it seemeth to mee not honest to returne your money without some consideration for the long detaining of it. Take you therefore these four bags, and in everie of them is four hundred ducates, these you shall receive and enjoy from the hands of your assured friend."

Frescobald, although from great wealth he was brought to a lowe ebbe, and (almost) an utter decay, yet expressing the vertue of a modest minde, after gentle thanks given to the lord Crom-

well for his exceeding kindnesse shewed, curteously would have refused that which was offered, had not the other enforced him against his will to receive it.

This done, he caused Frescobald to give him a note of the names of all his debtors, and the summe that from everie one of them was owing him. This schedule he delivered to one of his servants, unto whom he gave charge diligentlie to search out such men whose names therein were contained, if they were within any part of the realme, and then streightly to charge them to make payment of those summes within fifteen daies, or els to abide the hazard of his displeasure. The servant so wel performed his maisters commaundement, that in verie short time they made payment of the whole summe; and if it had liked Frescobald so to have demaunded, they should have answered to the uttermost such commoditie, as the use of his money in so many yeares would have given him profit: but he, contented with his principall, would demaund no further. By which meanes he gat both hartie love and great estimation; and the more, for that he was so deer to the lord Cromwell, and so highly esteemed of him.

And during all this time, Frescobald continuallie lodged in the house of the lord Cromwell, who ever gave him such entertainment as he had right well deserved, and oftentimes mooved him to abide in England, offering him the loan of sixty thousand ducates, for the space of foure yeares, if he would continue and make his banke in London. But Frescobald, who desired to returne into his countrey, and there quietly to continue the rest of his life, with the great favour of the lord Cromwell, after many thanks for his high and noble entertainment, departed towards his desired home, where richly arriving, he gave himselfe quietly to live. But this wealth he small time enjoyed, for in the first year of his returne he died. [*The extract from Bandello ends here.*]

So plentifull was the life of this man in such fruites full of singular gratitude and curtesie, that to rehearse all, it would require too long a tractation. Yet one example amongst many other I may not overpasse, whereby wee may evidently consider or rather marvell at the lowly minde of such a person, in so high a state and place of honour. For as hee comming with other of the lords of the counsaile and commissioners, to the house of Shene, about the examination of certaine monks which there denied the kings supremacie, after the examination done was there sitting at dinner, it chanced him to spie a farre off a certaine poore man,

which there served to sweepe their cels and cloister, and to ring the bells. Whome when the lord Cromwell had well advised, he sent for the poore man to come unto him, and before all the table most lovinglie and friendly calling him by his name, tooke him by the hand, and asked how he did, with many other good words, and turning therewith to the lordes; "My lordes (quoth hee) see you this poore man? This mans father hath beene a great friend to mee in my necessitie, and hath given mee manie a meales meate." Then said he unto the poore man, "Come unto me and I will provide for thee, and thou shalt not lack so long as I live." Such as were there present and sawe and heard the same, report it to be true.

In this worthy and noble person, besides divers other eminent vertues, three things especially are to be considered, to wit, flourishing authoritie, excelling wisdome, and fervent zeale to Christ and to his gospell.—First, as touching his fervent zeale in setting forward the sinceritie of Christian faith, sufficient is to be scene by the injunctions, proclamations, and articles above specified; so that more cannot almost be wished in a noble man, and scarce the like hath beene scene in any.

Secondly, for his wisdome and policie no lesse singular, joyned with his christen zeale; he brought great things to passe, as well on this side the sea, as in the other parts beyond. But especially his working was to nourish peace abroad with forreine realmes, as may well by the kings letters and instructions sent by his meanes to his ambassadors resident both with the emperor, the French king, and the king of Scots, and also with the pope, appeare. In all whose courts, such watch and espiall he had, that nothing there was done, nor pretended, whereof he before had not intelligence. Neither was there any sparke of mischief kindling never so little against the king and the realme, which hee by wit and policie did not quench and keepe downe. And where policie would not serve to obtaine peace, yet by money he brought it out, so that during all the time of Cromwells prosperitie, the king never had warre with any forreine nation: notwithstanding, that both the pope, the emperor, the kings of Fraunce and Scotland, were mightily bent and incensed against him.

Thus, as the prudent policie of this man was ever circumspect abroad, to stay the realme from forreine warres; so his authoritie was no lesse occupied in keeping good order and rule at home. First, in hampering the popish prelates, and disappointing their

subtle devises : secondly, in bridling and keeping other unruly subjects under subjection and discipline of the lawes. Whereby, as he was a succour and refuge to all godly persons, so was hee a terror to the evill doers : so that not the presence of him onely, but also the hearing of the comming of Cromwell brake many fraies, and much evill rule : as well appeared by a certaine notorious fray or riot, appointed to be fought by a companie of ruffians in the streete of London called Pater noster rowe, where cartes were set on both sides of purpose, prepared to enclose them, that none might breake in to part them. It hapned, that as this desperate skirmish should begin, the lord Cromwell comming the same time from the court through Paules churchyard, and entering into Cheape, had intelligence of the great fray toward, and because of the carts he could not come at them, but was forced to goe about the little conduit, and so came upon them through Pannier Alley.

Thus as the conflict began to waxe hot, and the people were standing by in great expectation to see them fight, sodainly at the noise of the lord Cromwels comming, the campe brake up, and the ruffians began to goe, neither could the carts keepe in those so courageous campers, but well was he that first could be gone. And so ceased this tumultuous outrage, without any other parting, only thorough the authoritie of the lord Cromwels name.

One example more of the like affinitie commeth heere in minde, which ought not to be omitted, concerning a certaine serving man of the like ruffianly order, who thinking to dissever himself from the common usage of all other men in strange new-fanglenes of fashions by himselfe (as many there bee whom nothing doth please, which is daiely seene and received) used to go with his haire hanging about his eares downe unto his shoulders, after a strange monstrous manner, counterfeiting belike the wild Irish men, or els *Crinitus Joppas*, which Virgil speaketh of, as one wearie of his owne English fashion : or else as one ashamed to be seene like a man, would rather go like a woman, or like to one of the Gorgon sisters ; but most of all like to himselfe, that is, like to a ruffian ¹⁰, that could not tell how to go.

¹⁰ *Like to a ruffian.*] In the year 1608 archbishop Bancroft, then chancellor of the university of Oxford, gave directions, as we are told by Anth. a Wood, to prevent "occasions of offence, that long hair was not to be worn by the students : for whereas in the reign of queen Elizabeth few or none wore their

As this ruffian ruffling thus with his locks was walking in the streets, as chance was, who should meete him but the lord Cromwell? who beholding the deforme and unseemlie manner of his disguised going, full of much vanitie and hurtfull example, called the man to question with him whose servant hee was: which being declared, then was he demaunded, whether his maister or anie of his fellowes used so to go with such haire about their shoulders as he did, or no? Which when he denied, and was not able to yeeld any reason for refuge of that his monstrous disguising, at length he fell to this excuse, that he had made a vow. To this the lord Cromwell answered againe, that for so much as he had made himselfe a votarie, he would not force him to breake his vowe, but untill his vowe should be expired, he should lye the meane time in prison, and so sent him immediately to the Marshalsey, where he endured, till at length this *intonsus Cato*, being perswaded by his maister to cut his haire, by suit and petition of friends, was brought againe to the lord Cromwell with his head polled, according to the accustomed sort of his other fellowes, and so was dismissed.

Heereunto also pertaineth the example of frier Bartley, who wearing still his friers coule after the suppression of religious houses, Cromwell coming through Paules church-yard, and espying him in Rheines his shop, "yea" sayd he, "will not that coule of yours be left off yet? and if I heare by one a clocke that this apparell be not changed, thou shalt be hanged immediatly for example to all other." And so putting his coule away, he never durst weare it after.

If the same lord Cromwell, which could not abide this serving-man so disfigured in his haire, were now in these our daies a-live, with the same authoritie which then he had, and sawe these new-fangled fashions of attire, used heere amongst us both of men and women, I suppose verily, that neither these monstrous ruffles, nor

hair longer than their ears for they that did so were accounted by the graver and elder sort, *swaggerers and ruffians*; now it was common, even among the scholars, who were to be examples of modesty, gravity, and decency." *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 298 edit. 1796. Sir George Radcliffe, friend of the great earl of Strafford, writes thus, in a letter to his mother, dated Univ. Coll. Ox. Dec. 14, 1610. "The university I find very much reformed, *about drinking, &c.* maine, and other vices, especially our house; out of which two have lately gone, to avoid expulsion for drunkenness." *Life and Correspondence of Sir George Radcliffe*, p. 64. 4to 1810. Radcliffe's early education, it is hardly necessary to say, had been puritan.

these prodigious hose, and prodigall or rather hyberbolicall barbarous breeches (which seeme rather like barels then breeches) would have any place in England. In which unmeasurable excesse of vesture, this I have to marvell; first, how these serving men, which commonly have nothing els but their wages, and that so slender and bare, can maintaine such slops, so huge and so sumptuous, which commonly stand them in more, then their three yeares wages doe come unto. Secondly, I marvell that their maisters and lords (who shall yeelde to God account of their servants doings) do not search and trie out their servants walkes, how they come by these expenses, wherewith to uphold this braverie, seeing their stipendarie wages, and all revenues else they have, will not extend thereunto. Thirdly, this most of all is to be marveiled, that magistrates which have in their hands the ordering and guiding of good lawes, do not provide more severely for the needfull reformation of these enormities.—But heere we may well see, and truly this may say, that England once had¹¹ a Cromwell.

Long it were to recite what innumerable benefites this worthy counsellour by his prudent policie, his grave authoritie and perfect zeale wrought and brought to passe in the publike realme; and especially in the church of England, what good orders he established, what wickednes and vices he suppressed, what corruptions he reformed, what abuses he brought to light, what craftie jugglings, what idolatrous deceptions, and superstitious illusions hee detected and abolished out of the church. What posteritie will ever thinke the church of the pope, pretending such religion, to have beene so wicked, so long to abuse the peoples eyes, with an

¹¹ *England once had.*] But even in king Henry's days, there was not much to boast of in this respect, if we may judge from the frequent complaints of zealous preachers against the follies and extravagance of their contemporaries. Thus in a sermon preached A.D. 1545, by Cuthbert Scot, afterwards bishop of Chester. "May we not" (it is said) "see a serving man havynge not paste foure nobles, or forty shillings wages to lyve upon, so gorgeously appareled in his gesture, and behavoure of his body; in his pace, and goynge so to use himselfe, as if he were a man of substaunce, yea an esquier or a knyght. And yf a man wolde have experience further of his maners and conditions, he shall fynde hym stout in wordes, lyberall, yea prodigall, in expenses, and all together gyven to preferre him self unto other men." Signat. H 3. Imprinted by Johannes Herford. See also *Supplication to King Henry VIII.* Signat D 1—D 2. A.D. 1544, and Becon's *Jewell of Joy.* Works, vol. ii. fol. 19, 20.

olde rotten stocke (called the roode of grace¹) wherein a man should stand inclosed, with an hundredth wyers within the roode, to make the image goggle with the eien, to nod with the head, to hang the lip, to moove and shake his jawes according as the valew was of the gift which was offered? If it were a small piece of silver, he would hang a frowning lip, if it were a piece of golde, then should his jawes go merily. Thus miserably was the people of Christ abused, their soules seduced, their senses beguiled, and their purses spoyled, till this idolatrous forgerie at last, by Cromwels meanes was disclosed, and the image, with all his engines shewed openly at Paules Crosse, and there torne in pieces by the people. The like was done by the bloud of Hales, which in like maner by Cromwell, was brought to Paules Crosse, and there proved to be the bloud of a duche².

¹ *The roode of grace.*] This was a celebrated image at Boxley in Kent. The fraud was suspected and detected by one Nicholas Partridge: after which the whole apparatus was brought to London to be exposed to the people, Hilary, bishop of Rochester, preaching at the same time a sermon on the occasion. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 232. vol. iii. p. 132. See also Hottinger's *Histor. Ecclesiast.*, tom. ix. p. 43—6.

In Lambard's *Peregrination of Kent*, p. 142—5, edit. 1576, is a full and entertaining account how this image was first made, and of the circumstances of its first setting up in the abbey of Boxley, taken from a description published in honour of the rood by the monks of that place.

² *Bloud of a duche.*] "Eilmund, the son and heir of Richard earl of Cornwall, who was second son to king John, being with his father in Germany, there beholding the relicks, and other precious monuments of the antient emperors, he espied a box of gold; by the inscription whereof he perceived (as the opinion of men then gave) that therein was contained a portion of the blood of our blessed Saviour.

"He therefore being desirous to have some part thereof, by fair entreaty and money obtained his desire, and brought the box over with him into England, bestowing a third part thereof on the abbey of Hales, which his father had founded, and wherein his father and mother were both buried, thereby to enrich the said monastery." Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, disc. p. 135, edit. 1767.

But this is not the only account given, of the manner in which the monks became possessed of this precious treasure. "A Christian, it seems, once upon a time, lived in a city, in which were many Jews; this man had a rood, to which he did worship and honour after his cunning. It so happened, that he changed his abode, and unwittingly left the rood behind him. A Jew succeeded him in the possession of his habitation: who soon after making an entertainment for his friends of his own religion, they discovered the rood, which had passed unperceived by their host. Upon this discovery they immediately accused him of apostatizing to christianity, beat the poor man,

Who would have judged, but that the mayd of Kent³ had beene an holy woman and a prophetesse inspired, had not Cromwell and Cranmer tried her at Paules crosse?

and dragged him about the house. They then took the image, beat it, scourged it, and crowned it with thorns; and at the last they made the strongest of them take a spear, and with all his might smite it to the heart. And anon bloud and water ran out of the sides. Then were they sore afraid, and said, 'Let us take pots, and fill them with this blood, and bear it to the temple, to the sick people, to anoint them therewith: and if they be made whole by the blood, then let us cry God mercy, and be christened man and woman.' The sick were healed accordingly. Then went the Jews to the bishop of the city, and told him all that had happened: and anon he kneeled down on his knees, and thanked God for this fair miracle: and when he had christened the Jews, he took phials of glass, cristal, and amber, and filling them with this blood, sent it about to divers churches; *out of this blood, as many men understand, came the blood of Hales.*" *Festival*, fol. 103.

I shall now present the reader with an account of this imposture, from a MS. in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, of a work, to which I have before referred, written in the first year of king Edward VI. by William Thomas, clerk to the council in the reign of that monarch.

"One thing I shall tell you especially. In a certaine monasterie called Hayles, there was a great offering to the bloud of Christ, brought thither many yeares agoe out of the holie land of Jerusalem. And this bloud had such vertue, that as long as the pilgrim were in deadly sinne, his sight would not serve him to regard it: but incontinently as he was in the state of grace, he should cleerely behold it. See heere the craft of these develish soule-quellers! It behoved the person that came thither to see it, first to confesse himself, and then paying a certayne (sum) to the common (stock) of the monasterie, to enter into a chapel, upon the aultar whereof this bloud should be shewed him. This meane while, by a secret way behind the aultar came the monke that had confessed him, and presented upon the aultar a pixe of crystall, great and thicke as a howle on the one side, and thinne as a glasse on the other side: in the which the bloud on the thinner side was open and cleere to the sight, and on the thicke side impossible to be discerned. Now if this holie confessour thought by the confession that he had heard, that the qualitie of the partie confessed would yeeld him more money, then shewed he forthe the thicke side of the pixe, through which the bloud was invisible, so that the person seeing himself remayning in deadly sinne, must turn, and return unto his confessour, till by paying for masses, and other such almes, he had purchased the sight of the thinne side of the cristall; and then he was safe in the favour of God, untill he fell in sinne agayne. And what bloud, trow you, was this? These monks (for there were two specially and secretly appointed to this office) every Saturday killed a ducke, and renued therewith this consecrated bloud, as they themselves confessed, not only in secret, but also openly before an approved audience. And was this miracle think you alone? No! Alas, if I should," &c. Thomas's *Pelegrin Inglese, or Apology for Henry VIII.*, p. 70—2. (or p. 61—3. edit. 1774, printed copy), Lambeth

What should I speak of Darvell Gartheren⁴, of the roode of Chester, of Thomas Becket, our Lady of Walsingham, with an infinite multitude more of the like affinitie? All which stockes and blockes of cursed idolatrie, Cromwell, stirred up by the providence of God, remooved out of the peoples way, that they might walke more safely in the sincere service of almighty God.

While the lord Cromwell was thus blessedly occupied in profiting the common wealth, and purging the church of Christ, it hapned to him, as commonly it doth to all good men, that where any excellency of vertue appeareth, there envie creepeth in, and where true pietie seeketh most after Christ, there some persecution followeth withall.

Thus (I say) as he was labouring in the commonwealth, and doing good to the poore afflicted saints, helping them out of trouble, the malice of his enemies so wrought, continually hunting for matter against him, that they never ceased, till in the end, they by false traines and craftie surmises, brought him out of the kings favour.

The chiefe and principall enemy against him, was Steven Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who ever disdaining and envying the state and felicitie of the lord Cromwell, and now taking his occasion by the marriage of ladie Anne⁵ of Cleve, being a stranger

MSS. No. 464. "The king himself Thomas further informs us was, till God opened his eyes, blinde in these matters and obstinate as the rest," which account is confirmed by a passage in Latimer's seventh sermon preached before king Edward VI — "the blood of Hales, was worth it; *what a doe was it to bring it out of the king's head!*" This great abomination of the blood of Hales could not be taken for a great while out of his minde." Latimer's *Sermons*, fol. 64 b. edit. 1544.

But when it is said that this liquid was the blood of a duck, I must not neglect to mention, that Thomas Hearne has printed the report of the commissioners who were sent to examine into this pretended miracle at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries. From this report it appears that the contents of the pix were neither more nor less than *clarified honey*, "which being in a glasse, appeared to be of a glistering redde, resemblinge partly the color of blood." *Petri Benedicti Vita Henrici II.*, vol. ii. p. 752.

³ *The mayd of Kent*; See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 143-7, Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 176--83, and Lambard's *Perambulation of Kent*, p. 149-53.

⁴ *Darvell Gartheren*; Fox, p. 1005, and Burnet, vol. i. p. 232-4. Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memor.*, vol. i. p. 251, &c.

⁵ *By the marriage of ladie Anne.*] See Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. i. p. 114, edit. 4.

and forreiner, put in the kings eares what a perfect thing it were to the quiet of the realme, and establishment of the kings succession, to have an English queene and prince that were meere English ; so that in conclusion, the kings affection, the more it was diminished from the late married Anne of Cleve, the lesse favour he bare unto Cromwell. Besides this Gardiner, there lacked not other backe friends⁶ also, and ill willers in the court

⁶ *Other backe friends.*] The conduct of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, presents an illustrious exception to that of the rest of the courtiers, in this critical moment of Cromwell's impending destruction. In behalf of a faithful devoted servant, and his own friend, he thus, I will not say fearlessly, but, what is far better, conscientiously, and in a noble spirit of voluntary self-sacrifice, interposes himself, against the displeasure and fury of the king, in a letter of admirable skill and feeling. It is to be regretted that what we have is only a fragment.

"I heard yesterday in your grace's council that he is a traitor. Yet, who cannot be sorrowful and amazed that he should be a traitor against your majesty? He that was so advanced by your majesty; he whose surety was only by your majesty; he who loved your majesty, as I have ever thought, no less than God; he who studied always to set forward whatsoever was your majesty's will and pleasure; he that cared for no man's displeasure to serve your majesty; he that was such a servant in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had; he that was so vigilant to preserve your majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same in the beginning. If the noble princes of memory, King John, Henry II., and Richard II., had had such a counsellor about them, I suppose that they should never have been so traitorously abandoned and overthrown as those good princes were

"I loved him as my friend, for so I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for the love which I thought I saw him bear ever towards your grace, singularly above all other. But now, if he be a traitor, I am sorry that ever I loved him or trusted him; and I am very glad that his treason is discovered in time. But yet again I am very sorrowful; for whom shall your grace trust hereafter, if you might not trust him?—Alas! I bewail and lament your grace's chance herein: I wot not whom your grace may trust. But I pray God continually, night and day, to send such a counsellor in his place whom your grace may trust; and who for all his qualities can and will serve your grace like to him, and that will have so much solicitude and care to preserve your grace from all dangers as I ever thought he had (14 June, 1540)."

"All this," says Lord Herbert, "I have faithfully copied out of the original"—*Life and Reign of K. Henry VIII.*, p. 521, or Jenkyns's admirable edition of the *Works of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 298, 9. Oxf. 1833.

I give the above extract the more readily, because it is no unusual thing to see reflections upon Cranmer, as if he were in the habit of yielding, contrary

about the king, which little made for Cromwell, both for his religion which they maligned, and for other private grudges also incident by the way.

Over and besides all which, it is moreover supposed, that some part of displeasure might rise against him, by reason of a certaine talke which hapned a little time before at Lambeth, at what time the king after the making of the six articles, sent the sayd lord Cromwell his vicegerent, with the two dukes of Northfolk and Suffolke, with all the lords of the parliament to Lambeth, to dine with the archbishop (who mightily had disputed and alledged in the parliament against the said articles) to cheare and comfort his daunted spirits againe.

There the said lord Cromwell with the other noble lords sitting with the archbishop at his table in talke, as everie lord brought forth his sentence in commendation of Cranmer, to signifie what good will both the king and they bare unto him; among the rest one of the companie entring into a comparison between the sayd Thomas Cranmer, and Thomas Wolsey late cardinall of Yorke, declared in his judgement, that Cranmer was much to be preferred for his milde and gentle nature, whereas the cardinall was a stubborne and a churlish prelate, and one that could never abide any noble man, and that (sayd he) knowe you well enough, my lord Cromwell, for he was your master. &c. At these wordes the lord Cromwell being somewhat touched to heare the cardinalls service¹ cast in his teeth, inferred againe saying; that he could not denie but he was servant sometime to cardinall Wolsey; neither did repent the same, for he received of him both fee, meate, and drinke; and other commodities: but yet he

to his own judgment, by cowardly and dishonourable compliance to the arbitrary will of Henry. Whereas I believe it to be true, that we have upon record more examples of conscientious and dangerous opposition to that will, on his part alone, or on his, at least, and that of his friend Latimer jointly if Latimer indeed in any sense can be reckoned among the courtiers, than from all the rest of the courtiers of every description, during the whole of the king's reign taken together.

¹ *The cardinalls service.*] "The articles against Wolsey were presented to the king by the lords, and were sent down to the lower house. Where Thomas Cromwell, obtaining the place of a burgesse, so wittily defended the cardinal his master, that no treason could be laid to his charge. And upon this honest beginning, Cromwell obtained his first reputation." Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.*, p. 307. See also Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* in vol. i. p. 595.

was never so farre in love with him, as to have waited upon him to Rome, if he had beene chosen pope, as he understood that he would have done, if the case had so fallen out. Which when the other had denied to be true, Cromwell still persisted, affirming the same, and shewing moreover what number of florens hee should have received, to be his admirall, and to have safe conducted him to Rome, in case he had beene elected bishop of Rome. The partie not a little mooved with these words, told him, he lyed. The other againe affirmed it to be true. Upon this, great and high words rose betweene them. Which contention, although it was through intreatie of the archbishop and other nobles somewhat pacified for the time, yet it might be, that some bitter roote of grudge remained behinde, which afterward grew unto him to some displeasure. And this was, an. 1540, in the moneth of July.

After this, the next yeare following, which was 1541, in the moneth of April, was holden a parliament, which after divers prorogations, was continued till the moneth of July the sayd yeare. In the which moneth of July, the lord Cromwell being in the counsaile chamber, was sodainly apprehended, and committed to the Tower of London. Whereat, as many other good men which knewe nothing but truth by him, did lament, and prayed hartily for him, so moe there were on the contrary side that rejoiced, especially of the religious sort, and of the clergy, such as had beene in some dignitie before in the church, and now by his meanes were put from it. For indeed, such was his nature, that in all his doings he could not abide any kinde of poperie, nor of false religion, creeping under hypocrisie, and lesse could he abide the ambitious pride of popish prelacie, which professing all humilitie, was so elated in pride, that kings could not rule in their owne realmes for them. These snuffing prelates as he could never abide, so they againe hated him as much, which was the cause of shortning his dayes, and to bring him to his ende: so that the nineteenth day of the month aforesayde, hee was attainted by parliament.

In the which attainer^s, divers and sundrie crimes, surmises, objections and accusations, were brought against him, but chiefly and above all other, hee was charged and accused of heresie, for

^s *In the which attainer.*] The attainer may be found in Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. i. book iii. numb. 16. Records.

that hee was a supporter of them whome they ^{his} recounted for heretickes, as Barnes, Clarke, and manie other, who ^{did} come hee by his authoritie and letters written to shiriffes and justices in divers shires rescued and discharged out of prison. Also ^{that} that he did divulgate and disperse abroad amongst the kings subjects, great numbers of bookes, containing (as they sayd) manifest ^{the} matter of much heresie, diffidence, and misbeliefe. Item, that hee ^{caused} to be translated into our english tongue, bookes comprising matter expressly against the sacrament of the aultar; and that after the translation thereof, he commended and maintained the same for good and christian doctrine. Over and besides all this, they brought in certaine witnesses (what they were, the attainer expresseth not) which most especially pressed (or rather oppressed) him with hainous words spoken against the king in the church of S. Peter the poore in the moneth of March, in the thirtieth yeare of the kings raigne. Which words if they be true, as the attainer doth purport, three things I have heere to mervaile much at. First, if his adversaries had so sure hold and matter against him, then what should moove them to make such hastie speede in all post haste to have him dispatched and rid out of the way, and in no case could abide him to come to his purgation? which if he might have done, it is not otherwise to be thought, but hee would easily have cleared himselfe thereof.

Secondly, this I marvell, that if the wordes had bene so hainous against the king, as his enemies did pretend, why then did those witnesses which heard those words in S. Peters church, in the thirtieth yeare of the kings raigne, conceale the sayd wordes of such treason so long, the space almost of two yeares, and now uttered the same in the thirty second yeare of the kings raigne, in the moneth of July?

Thirdly, here is again to be marvelled, if the king had knowne or believed these words to be true, and that Cromwell had bene indeede such a traytor to his person, why then did the king so shortly after lament his death, wishing to have his Cromwell alive.

* *To come to his purgation*. In parliament he was accused of treason and heresy, and ordered to attend. Some do observe that he purged that way of attainting by parliament, without hearing the party, and that he was the first that by that law did so; he heard, for in July following he was tried upon Oath before Sir H. Spershaw. *De non tenentibus*, &c. London, 1704. But see *Barber's Church History*, 16. p. 234, and *Cromwell's Life*, 11. vol. ii. p. 150.

again? What prince will wish the life of him whome he suspecteth undoubtedly to be a traytor to his life and person? whereby it may appeare what judgment the king had of Cromwell in himselfe, howsoever the parliament by sinister information was otherwise incensed to judge upon him.

Not that I heere speake or meane against the high court of parliament of this our realm necessarily assembled for the common wealth, to whome I alwayes attribute their due reverence and authoritie. But as it hapneth sometimes in generall counsels, which though they be never so generall, yet notwithstanding sometimes they may and do erre in weightie matters of religion: so likewise they that say, that princes and parliaments may be misinformed sometimes, by some sinister heads, in matters civil and politike, do not therein derogate or empaire the high estate of parliaments, but rather give wholesome admonition to princes and parliament men, to be more circumspect and vigilant what counsell they shall admit, and what witnesses they do credit. For private affection, which commonly beareth a great stroke in all societies and doings of men, creepeth sometimes into such generall counsels, and into princes courts also, either too much amplifying thinges, that bee but small, making mountaines of molehills, or else too much extenuating things that bee of themselves great and waightie, according as it is truely sayd of the poet Juvenal (ii. 63);

“Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas,”

Or as our Englishe proverbe sheweth; “as a man is friended, so is his matter ended:” and “where the hedge is lowe, a man may lightly make large leapes:” or rather to speake after the French phrase: *Qui son chien veult tuer, la rage luy met sus*. That is; “He that is disposed to have his dog killed, first maketh men beleieve that he is mad.”—And thus much having declared touching the matter of his accusation, the rest I referre to the high parliament of that mightie king, who shall one day bring all things to perfect light.

In the mean season, howsoever the cause of the lord Cromwell standeth true or false, this is certaine, that Steven Gardiner lacked not an head, nor yet privie assisters, which cunningly could fetch this matter about, and watch their time, when as the king being disposed to marrie another wife, which was the lady Katherine Howard, immediately after the beheading of the lord

Cromwell, did repudiate lady Anne of Cleve, which otherwise is to be thought during the life of Cromwell, could not so well be brought to passe.

But these things being now done and past, let us passe them over and returne again to the lord Cromwell, being now attainted and committed to the Tower. Who so long as hee went with full sayle of fortune, how moderately, and how temperately hee did ever beare himselfe in his estate, before hath bene declared: so now the sayd lord Cromwell, alwayes one man, by the contrarie winde of adversitie being overblown, received the same with no lesse constancie, and patience of a christian hart. Neither yet was he so unprovided of counsaile and forecast, but that hee did foresee this tempest long before it fell, and also prepared for the same: for two yeares before, smelling the conspiracie of his adversairies, and fearing what might happen, he called unto him his servants, and there shewing unto them in what a slipperie state he stood, and also perceiving some stormie weather already to gather, required them to looke diligently to their order and doings, least through their default any occasion might rise against him. And furthermore, before the time of his apprehension, such order he tooke for his servants, that many of them, especially the younger brethren, which had little els to take unto, had honestly left for them in their friends hands to relieve them, whatsoever should him befall.

Briefly, such a loving and kinde master he was to his servants that he provided aforehand almost for them all in so much, that he gave to twelve children which were his musitians, twentie pound a peece, and so committed them to their friends of whome some yet remaine alive, who both enjoyed the same, and also gave record of this to be true.

Furthermore, being in the Tower a prisoner, how quietly he bare it, how valiantly he behaved himselfe, how gravely and discretly he answered and entertained the commissioners sent unto him, it is worthie of noting. Whatsoever articles and interrogatories they propounded, they could put nothing unto him, either concerning matters ecclesiasticall or temporall, wherein he was not more ripened, and more furnished in evrie condition than they themselves.

Amongst the rest of those commissioners which came unto him, one there was whome the lord Cromwell desired to carry from him a letter to the king which when he refused saying

that he would cary no letter to the king from a traytor; then the lord Cromwell desired him at least to do from him a message to the king. So that the other was contented, and graunted, so that it were not against his allegiance. Then the lord Cromwell taking witnesse of the other lords, what hee had promised; “ You shall commend mee (sayd he) to the king, and tell him, by that he hath so well tryed, and thoroughly proved you as I have done, he shall finde you as false a man as ever came about him.”

Besides this, he wrote also a letter from the Tower¹ to the king, whereof when none durst take the cariage upon him, Sir Ralfe Sadler (whome he also had preferred to the king before, being ever trustie and faithfull unto him) went to the king to understand his pleasure, whether he would permit him to bring the letter or not. Which when the king had graunted, the sayd M. Sadler, as he was required, presented the letter unto the king, which he commanded thrise to bee read unto him, in so much as the king seemed to be moved therewith.

Notwithstanding, by reason of the acte of parliament afore passed, the worthie and noble lord Cromwell oppressed by his enemies, and condemned in the Tower, and not comming to his answere, the 28. day of July, an. 1540, was brought to the scaffold² on Tower hill, where he sayd these words following.

¹ *Letter from the Tower.*] Bishop Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation*, has published two letters from Cromwell to the king, both written from the Tower; the one, which seems to have been first written, in vol. iii. b. iii. No. 68. Appendix; the other, dated “the last of June,” in vol. i. book iii. No. 17.

² *Brought to the scaffold.*] “Wherein is to be noted how mightily the Lord worked with his grace and fortitude in the hearts of his servants, especially in such which causelesse suffer with guiltlesse conscience for his religions sake, above other, which suffer otherwise for their desertes. For whereas they that suffer as malefactors, commonlie are wont to goe heavie and pensive to their death, so the other with heavenlie allacrity and chearfulnesse doe abide whatsoever it pleaseth the Lord to lay upon them. Example whereof we have right well to note not onelie in these three godlie martyrs above mentioned, but also in the lord Cromwell, who suffered but two dayes before, the same no lesse may appeare; who although he was brought to his death, attainted and condemned by the parliament, yet what a guiltlesse conscience he bare to his death, his christian patience well declareth.

“Who first calling for his breakfast, and therewith eating the same, and after that passing out of his prison, downe the hill within the Tower, and meeting there by the way the lord Hungerford, going likewise to his execution

"I am come hither to die, and not to purge my selfe, as some thinke peradventure that I will. For if I should so do, I were a very wretch and a miser. I am by the law condemned to die, and thank my Lord God that hath appointed me this death for mine offence. For sithence the time that I have had yeares of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God, for the which I aske him heartily forgiveness. And it is not unknowne to many of you, that I have beene a great traveller in this world; and being but of a base degree, was called to high estate, and sithence the time I came thereunto, I have offended my prince, for the which I aske him hartily forgiveness, and beseech you all pray to God with mee, that he will forgive me. And now I pray you that be heere, to beare me record, I die in the catholieke faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no nor doubting in any sacrament of the church. Manie have slandered me, and reported that I have beene a bearer of such as have maintained evill opinions, which is untrue. But I confesse, that like as God by his Holy Spirit doth instruct us in the truth, so the devill is ready to seduce us, and I have beene seduced, but beare me witnessse that I die in the catholieke faith² of the holy church. And

(who for matter not here to be spoken of, was there also imprisoned, and perceiving him to be all heavy and doubtful, with chearful countenance and comfortable words, asking him why he was so heavy, hee willed him to pluck up his heart, and to bee of good comfort. For, sayd he, there is no cause for you to feare. For if you repent and be heartily sorie for that you have done, there is for you mercie enough of the Lord, who for Christ's sake will forgive you: and therefore be not dismayd; and though the breakfast which we are going to be sharpe, yet trusting in the mercie of the Lord, we shall have a joyfull dinner. And so went they together to the place of execution, and took their death patiently." Fox's *Acts*, p. 125.

² *I die in the catholice faith*. "The general terms wherein this speech is couched," says Coler, "have given occasion for wise men to give contrary judgments thereof." *Crom.* 16. p. 133. Accordingly Burnett remarks, "By what he spake at his death, he left it much doubted of what religion he died." But "continues the bishop, "that is certain he was a Lutheran." The term catholick faith used by him in his last speech, seemed to make it doubtful, but that was then used in England, in its true sense, in opposition to the novelties of the see of Rome: so that his profession of the catholick faith was strangely perverted, when some from thence concluded, that he died in the communion of the church of Rome." *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. 1. p. 274, edit. 4. On the other hand, Coler, having these observations of bishop Burnett in his eye, says, "I readily grant, Cromwell was no papist at his death: but then, it is pretty plain, he was no protestant neither." It is evident, that he died in the communion of the then church of England, that

I hartily desire you to pray for the kings grace, that hee may long live with you in health and prosperitie: and that after him his sonne prince Edward, that goodly impe, may long raigne over you. And once againe I desire you to praie for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I waver nothing in my faith." And so making his praier, kneeling on his knees⁴, he spake these words, the effect whereof heere followeth.

"O Lord Jesu, which art the onely health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in thee: I wretched sinner do submit my self wholly unto thy most blessed wil, and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this fraile and wicked flesh, in sure hope, that thou wilt in better wise restore it to me againe at the last day in the resurrection of the just. I beseech thee most mercifull Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt by thy grace make strong my soule against all temptations, and defend me with the

is, in the religion professed by king Henry the VIII."—*Ecclesiast. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 181.

It appears that the rumour of Cromwell's having made a recantation at the scaffold, had spread rapidly over the Continent. Cardinal Pole, in a letter to Ludovico Beccatelli, dated Viterbo, Sept. 11, refers to this report; but it is material to observe, that he was of opinion, that the joy with which it had been received by the Catholics was premature. "Vereor" (says he) "ne frustra cum reverendissima dominatione vestra per literas de Cromvelli resipiscentia sim gratulatus; nec enim quæ typis sunt excusa, quæ ad me missa sunt, in quibus novissima ejus verba recitantur, *talem animum mihi exprimunt*, qualem eorum narratio, qui de ejus exitu, et de extremis verbis mecum sunt loquuti. Sed horum judicium penes Christum sit, cui nota sunt abscondita cordis, et secundum illa judicabit."—Poli *Epistol.*, vol. iii. p. 62. Brixia, 1748, 4to; comp. Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 147.

⁴ *On his knees.*] The Harleian MS. 3362, has a copy of the "Last Words of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex," which reads thus, omitting the prayer in Fox's account:— "—— and then kneeled he adowne and saide his prayeres, in the which prayeres were contayned thys wordes: 'O Lord, grant me that when that these eyes lose their use that the eyes of my soule may see the,' and said, 'O Lord and Father, when thys mouth shall lose his use that my hart may say, *O pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum*;' and after thys prayer he stodde uppe agayne and said, 'Pray for the prince, and for alle the lordes of the councelle, and for the clergie, and for the commynaltie, and nowe I pray you alle ageyne, that ye wille pray for me.' And then he turnyd hym abowte and sayde, 'Farewelle, Wyat!' and 'Gentylle Wyat! pray for me!' Thys was done the xxviii. day of the month of July, in the yere of our Lord God MDxl. in the xxxvj yere of our soveraigne Lord Kynge Henry."

buckler of thy mercy against all the assaults of the devill. I see and acknowledge that there is in my self no hope of salvation, but all my confidence, hope and trust, is in thy most mercifull goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may alledge before thee. Of sinnes and evill workes (alas) I see a great heape: but yet thorough thy mercy, I trust to be in the number of them to whome thou wilt not impute their sinnes; but wilt take and accept me for righteous and just, and to bee the inheritor of everlasting life. Thou mercifull Lord wast borne for my sake, thou didst suffer both hunger and thirst for my sake: thou didst teach, pray, and fast for my sake: all thy holy actions and workes thou wroughtest for my sake: thou suffrest most grievous paines and torments for my sake: finally, thou gavest thy most precious body and thy blood to be shed on the crosse for my sake. Now most mercifull Savior, let all these things profit me, that thou freely hast done for me; which hast given thy selfe also for me. Let thy blood cleanse and washe away the spots and foulness of my sinnes. Let thy righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness. Let the merites of thy passion and bloodshedding be satisfaction for my sinnes. Give me Lord thy grace, that the faith of my salvation in thy blood waver not in me, but may ever be firme and constant; that the hope of thy mercy and life everlasting never decay in me; that love waxe not cold in me: finally, that the weakness of my flesh be not overcome with the feare of death. Grant mee mercifull Saviour, that when death hath shut up the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my soule may still behold and look upon thee; and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may crie and say unto thee, Lord into thy hands I commend my soule, Lord Jesu receive my spirit. Amen."

And thus his prayer made, after he had godly and lovingly exhorted them that were about him on the scaffold, he quietly committed his soule into the hands of God, and so patiently suffered the stroke of the axe, by a ragged and butcherly miser, which verie ungodly performed the office¹.

¹ *Performed the office* : As we have done elsewhere, we will now collect a few *memorabilia* from other quarters.

"Great scholar he was none, the Latin Testament gotten by heart being his master-piece: nor studied lawyer, never admitted to the inns of court; nor experienced soldier, though necessity cast him upon it; nor courtier, till bred up in Cardinal Wolsey's court yet that of the lawyer in him so helped

Of the Bible in English printed in the large volume, and of Edmund Boner preferred to the bishoprike of London, by the meanes of the Lord Cromwell.

About the time and yeare when Edmund Boner bishop of Hereford, and ambassadour resident in France, began first to be nominate and preferred by the meanes of the lord Cromwell to the bishoprike of London; which was anno 1540, it happened that the said Thomas lord Cromwell and erle of Essex procured of the king of England his gracious letters to the French king,

the scholar, *that* of the soldier the lawyer, *that* of the courtier the soldier, and *that* of the traveller all the rest; being no stranger to Germany, well acquainted with France, most familiar with Italy;—that the result of all together made him for endowments eminent, not to say admirable. His apprehension was quick and clear; his judgment methodical and solid; his memory strong and rational; his tongue fluent and pertinent; his presence stately and obliging; his heart large and noble; his temper patient and cautious; his way industrious and indefatigable; his correspondence well laid and constant; his converse insinuating and close. None more dexterous to find out by his setting dogs and decoy-ducks, none more reserved to keep a secret. He was *equal*, saith my author, to the French politicians, *when under his master*; he *over-reached* them, *when alone*: doing more in one month with his subtle head than the other in twelve months with his stately train.”—Lloyd’s *State Worthies*, p. 58.

“He used to answer those that applauded his service in the Reformation, that if he should arrogate to himself any part in that revolution of Providence, he should be like the flie on the cart-wheel, that said, *What a dust do I raise!*” *Ibid.* p. 65.

“The times are troublesome, but Cromwell calm and quiet, and watchful over occurrences. He takes down the *occasions* and ornaments of idolatry, *i. e.* images, shrines, pilgrimages, &c., and then the thing itself: *Take off the paint of Rome, and you undo her.*” P. 65, 66.

“Some reserved men’s parts he compared to meat in a great Colchester oyster, which would hardly requite the pains of opening: but infinitely was he taken with those who were, as he called them, like the statues of Apollo, had a lance in one hand, and a harp in another: that is, resolution to awe on the one side, and sweetness to oblige on the other; being much pleased likewise with the *reflecting* man, who needs not the dull way of Persia to keep a boy behind him, to bid him remember what he is, and what he ought to do; and with the *devout* courtier. For, as the enamel which adorneth the dove’s neck, never shines so clear and glorious as when the sun looks upon it; so, great men are never so full of majesty themselves, as when they own the majesty of God; never more gods among men, than when humble men before God: who, as St. Lewis of France once said, boweth the hearts of men to a subjection to *them*, who kneel in adoration to Him.” P. 67.

to permit and licence a subject of his to imprint the bible in english within the universitie of Paris, because paper was there more meete and apt to bee had for the doing thereof, than in the realme of England, and also that there were more store of good workmen for the readie dispatch of the same. And in like manner at the same time the said king wrote unto his ambassadour, who then was Edmund Boner bishop of Hereford, lying in Paris, that he should ayde and assist the doers thereof in all their reasonable suites. The which bishop outwardly shewed great friendship to the merchants that were the imprinters of the same, and moreover did divers and sundrie times call and command the sayd persons to bee in manner daily at his table, both dinner and supper, and so much rejoyced in the workmanship of the sayd bible, that he himselfe would visit the imprinters house where the same bibles were printed, and also would take part of such dinners as the Englishmen there had, and that to his cost, which, as it seemed, he little wayed. And further, the saide Boner was so fervent, that he caused the said Englishmen to put in print a new Testament in english and latine, and himselfe tooke a great many of them, and payd for them, and gave them to his friends. And it channed the meane time, while the sayd bible was in printing, that king Henry the 8. preferred the said Boner from the said bishopricke of Hereford, to be bishoppe of London, at which time, the said Boner according to the statute law of England, tooke his othe to the king, knowledging his supremacie, and called one of the afore-said Englishmen that printed the bible, whome he then loved, although afterward upon the change of the world he did hate him as much, whose name was Richard Grafton; to whome the sayd Boner said when he took his othe, "maister Grafton, so it is, that the kings most excellent majestie hath by his gracious gift presented mee to the bishopricke of London, for the which I am sorry, for if it would have pleased his grace, I could have been well content to have kept mine olde bishopricke of Hereford." Then said Grafton, "I am right glad to heare of it, and so I am sure will be a great number of the citie of London. for they yet knowe you not, yet they have heard so much goodnes of you from hence, as no doubt they will hartily rejoyce of your placing." Then said Boner, "I pray God I may do that may content them, and to tell you M. Grafton, before God (for that was commonly his othe) the greatest fault that I ever found in Stokesley, was for vexing and troubling of poore men, as Lobbey the bookbinder

and other, for having the scripture in English, and God willing he did not so much hinder it, but I will as much further it : and I will have of your bibles set up in the church of Paules⁶, at the least in sundry places six of them ; and I will pay you honestly for them and give you hartie thanks.” Which words hee then spake in the hearing of divers credible persons, as Edmund Stile grocer, and other. “ But now M. Grafton at this time I have specially called you to be a witnesse with me that upon this translation of bishops sees, I must according to the statute take an othe⁷ unto the kings majestie knowledging his supreamacy, which

⁶ *In the church of Paules.*] “ Which also at his coming home, he performed, according to the king’s proclamation set forth for the same.

“ The bibles thus standing in Paules by the commandement of the king, and the appointment of Bonner the bishop, manie well disposed people used much to resort to the hearing thereof, especiallie when they could get any that had an audible voice to read unto them, misdoubting therein no danger toward them ; and no more there was ; so long as the daies of Cromwell lasted.” Fox’s *Acts*, p. 1101. Another zealous reformer has given a very unfavourable interpretation of Bonner’s designs in the whole of this transaction. “ He first set up bybles in Paules, not purposyng any christen erudicyon to the people, but as snares to catch them by. For immediately after, he set up a commaundement that God should give place unto the pope, and Christ unto anti-Christ. ‘ There shall be no readyng ’ (sayth he) ‘ for the tyme of God’s service.’ As though their vayne, idle and blasphemous superstitions were only Gods service, and the byble readyng no part thereof, but a very prophane thing. Upon thys polycie did he set them up there, to knowe whych were the busy byble men of London, that he might speak with them at lay-sure. For he had his spyes evermore, and hys Judases there at hand. Some hath already proved it, and also payde the harde pryce thereof. So that they which at his first commyng held up their handes unto God for their good byshop, doth nowe holde downe their heades, and can saye, that sathan hath shewed himself for all hys angelyk face.” *Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe, A disclosing or openynge of the Manne of Synne &c. by Johan Harryson (i. e. John Bale)*, fol. 93. A.D. 1543, printed at Zurick.

⁷ *Take an othe.*] The oath taken by Bonner is printed in Wilkins’s *Concil.*, vol. iii. p. 781, and in other places.

“ Post electionis confirmationem, *pessimo* (quod tamen passim obtinuit ab anno 1535 ad ann. 1553) *exemplo*, commissionem quam vocant seu licentiam episcopatum Londinensem administrandi a rege suscepit, 1539 Novemb. 12. in qua agnoscitur omnem jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam a Rege tanquam ab unico fonte oriri, et ipsum regis tantummodo vicarium esse : atque his præcipue verbis diplomatis vis compingitur. ‘ Tibi vices nostras committimus, teque licentiandum esse decernimus, ad ordinandum infra diocesis tuam Londinensem &c., vice, nomine, et auctoritate nostris &c. per presentes ad nostri bene placiti voluntatem duntaxat duraturas.’ ” Wharton *De Episcopis et Decanis Londinensibus*, p. 194. Compare also Wilkins’s *Concil.*, vol. iii.

before God I take with my heart, and so thinke him to be, and beseech almightie God to save him, and long to prosper his grace. **Holde** the booke sirah, and reade you the othe" (said he) to one of his chapleins, and he laide his hand on the booke and tooke his othe. And after this he shewed great friendship to the said Grafton, and to his partener Edward Whitchurch, but especially to Miles Coverdale, who was the corrector of the great bible.

Now after that the foresaid letters were delivered, the French king gave very good wordes, and was well content to permit the doing thereof. And so the printer went forward and printed forth the booke even to the last part; and then was the quarrel picked to the printer, and he was sent for to the inquisitors^a of the faith, and there charged with certain articles of heresie. Then were sent for the Englishmen that were at the coste and charge thereof, and also such as had the correction of the same, which was Miles Coverdale: but having some warning what would follow, the said Englishmen posted away as fast as they could to save themselves, leaving behind them all their bibles, which were the number of two thousand five hundred, called the bibles of the great volume, and never recovered any of them, saving that the lieutenant criminall having them delivered unto him to burne in a place of Paris (like Smithfield) called Maulbert place, was somewhat moved with covetousnesse, and sold foure great drie fatts of them to a haberdasher to lap caps in, and those were bought againe, but the rest were burned, to the great and importunate losse of those that bare the charge of them. But notwithstanding the said losse, after they had recovered some parte of the foresaid bookes, and were comforted and encouraged by the lord Cromwell, the said Englishmen went againe to Paris, and there got the pressen, letters, and servants of the foresaid printer, and brought them to London, and there they became printers themselves (which before they never intended) and printed out the said bible^b in London, and after that printed

p. 797—9, and p. 810; and Harmer's *Specimen of Errors*, &c. p. 51—3, who shows, in opposition to Burnet, that such a licence was accepted, even by Cranmer in October, 1535. See also Wharton in Appendix to Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, p. 259.

^a Sent for to the inquisitors.) The order of the inquisition was dated Dec. 17, 1534. Lewis's *Histor. Account of English Translations*, p. 121.

^b Printed out the said bible.) This was the bible commonly called Cranmer's

sundry impressions of them : but yet not without great trouble and losse, for the hatred of the bishops, namely Steven Gardiner, and his fellowes, who mightily did stomacke and maligne the printing thereof.

Here by the way, for the more direction of the story, thou hast, loving reader, to note and understand that in those daies there were two sundry bibles in English, printed and set forth, bearing divers titles, and printed in divers places. The first was called Thomas Mathews bible, printed at Hambrough, about the yeare¹ of our Lord 1532, the corrector of which print was then John Rogers, of whom ye shall heare more, Christ willing, hereafter. The printers were Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch. In the translation of this bible, the greatest doer was indeed William Tindall, who with the helpe of Miles Coverdale had translated all the bookes thereof, except only the apocripha, and certaine notes in the margent which were added after. But because the said William Tindall in the mean time was apprehended before this bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to them which had the doing thereof, to change the name of William Tindall, because that name then was odious, and to further it by a strange name of Thomas Mathew, John Rogers the same time being corrector to the print, who had then translated the residue of the apocripha, and added also certaine notes thereto in the margent, and thereof

or the great bible. The title was as follows : "The byble in Englyshe, that is to say the content of all the holy scripture bothe of the olde and newe Testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes by the dylygent studye of dyverse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges.

"Prynted by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, 1539." A correct description of this translation, with many particulars respecting its history, may be found in Lewis's *History of the Translations of the Bible*, edit. 1739, p. 119—29.

¹ *About the yeare.*] The year was 1537.

This was the *second* time in which the whole bible was printed in English ; the first copy (commonly called Coverdale's) being printed in 1535, of which some mention was made above in the *Life of Tindal*. The title-page of this second edition was as follows. "The Byble, which is all the Holy Scripture, in which are contayned the Olde and Newe Testament, truely and purely translated into Englysh. By Thomas Mattheue.

"Esaye 1. Hearken to ye Heavens, and thou earth geave eare : for the Lorde speaketh. 1537.

"Set forth with the King's most gracyous lycence."

See Lewis's *History*, p. 105—112.

came it to be called Thomas Mathewes bible. Which bible of Thomas Mathew, after it was imprinted and presented to the lord Cromwell, and the lord Cranmer archbishop of Canturbury, who liked very well of it, the said Cromwell presented it to the king, and obtained that the same might freely passe to be read of his subjects with his graces licence: so that there was printed upon the same booke, one line in red letters with these wordes: *Set forth with the Kings most gracious licence.*

The setting forth of this booke did not a little offend the clergie, namely the bishops aforesaid, both for the prologues, and specially because in the same booke was one speciall table collected of the common places in the bible, and the scriptures for the approbation of the same, and chiefly about the supper of the Lord and mariage of priests, and the masse which there was said not to be found in the scripture.

Furthermore, after the restraint of this foresaid bible of Mathew, another bible began to be printed at Paris, an. 1540¹. Which was called the bible of the large volume. The printers whereof were the foresaid Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch which bare the charges. A great helper thereto was the lord Cromwell. The chiefest overseer was Miles Coverdale, who taking the translation of Tindal, conferred the same with the Hebrue, and amended many things.

In this bible although the former notes of Thomas Mathew were omitted, yet sundry marks and hands were annexed in the sides, which ment that in those places should be made certaine notes: wherewith also the clergy was offended, though the notes were not made.

After this the bishops bringing their purpose to pass, brought the lord Cromwell out of favour, and shortly to his death: and not long after, great complaint was made to the king, of the translation of the bible, and of the preface of the same, and then was the sale of the bible commanded to be staid², the bishops pro-

¹ *At Paris, an. 1540*. Rather, in the year 1538. For the mandate of the inquisition, directing the seizure of this Paris edition, was dated, as we mentioned before, Dec. 17, 1538, and the London edition, which was built upon it, came out in 1540.

² *Commanded to be staid.* By the act of parliament, a. d. 1542, it was commanded, "that all manner of bookes of the olde and newe Testament in English of Tindal's translation, should be utterly abolished, extinguished, and forbidden." It was also enacted, that "after the first day of October

mising to mend and correct it, but never performing the same⁴: Then Grafton was called, and first charged with the printing of Mathews bible, but hee being fearefull of trouble, made excuses for himselfe, in all things. Then was hee examined of the great bible, and what notes he was purposed to make. To which he answered, that hee knew none. For his purpose was to have retained learned men to have made the notes; but when hee perceived the kings majesty, and his cleargy not willing to have any, hee proceeded no further. But for all these excuses, Grafton was sent to the Fleet, and there remained six weekes, and before he came out, was bound in three hundred pounds that he should neither sell, nor imprint, or cause to be imprinted any mo bibles, untill the king and the clergie should agree upon a translation. And thus was the bible from that time staid, during the raigne of king Henry the eight.

But yet one thing more is to be noted, that after the imprinters had lost their bibles, they continued suitors to Boner, as is afore-said, to bee a meane for to obtaine of the French king their books againe: but so long they continued suitors, and Boner ever fed them with faire wordes, promising them much, but did nothing for them, till at the last Boner was discharged of his ambassade, and returned home, where hee was right joyfully welcomed home

next ensuing, no person should take upon him to read openly to others in any church or public assembly, the bible or any part of scripture in English, unless by special appointment of the king, or by any ordinary. Provided that the chauncellor of England, capitaines of the warres, the king's justices, the recorders of any city, borough, or town, the speaker of the parliament, &c. which heretofore have been accustomed to declare or teache any good, virtuous, or godly exhortations in anie assemblies, may use anie part of the bible or holie Scripture, as they have been wont: and that every nobleman and gentleman, being a householder, may read, or cause to be read by anie of his familie servants in his house, orchardes, or garden, and to his owne familie any text of the bible or new testament: and also every merchant-man being a householder, and other persons, other than women, prentices, &c. might read to themselves privately the bible, &c. But no woman, except noblewomen and gentlewomen, who might read to themselves alone, and not to others any textes of the bible &c., nor artificers, prentices, journeymen, serving men, of the degrees of yeomen or under, husbandmen, nor labourers, were to read the bible or new testament in Englishe, to himself or to any other, privately or openly, upon paine of one month's imprisonment." See Lewis's *History*, p. 149.

⁴ *Never performing the same*] See Lewis's *History of Translations*, p. 144—8.

by the lord Cromwell, who loved him dearly, and had a marvellous good opinion of him. And so long as Cromwell remained in authoritie, so long was Boner at his becke, and friend to his friendes, and enemy to his enemies: as namely, at that time to Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who never favoured Cromwell; and therefore Boner could not favour him, but that he and Winchester were the greatest enemies that might bee. But so soone as Cromwell fell, immediately Boner and Winchester pretended to bee the greatest men that lived, and no good worde could Boner speake of Cromwell, but the lewdest, vilest, and bitterest that hee could speake, calling him the rankest hereticke that ever lived; and then such as the said Boner knew to bee in good favour with Cromwell, he could never abide their sight. Insomuch as the next day after that Cromwell was apprehended, the above named Grafton, who had bene very familiar with Boner, met with the said Boner suddenly, and said unto him, that hee was sorie to heare of the newes that then was abroad. "What are they?" (said he.) "Of the apprehension of the L. Cromwell," said Grafton. "Are ye sorie for that?" (said he.) "It had bene good that he had bene dispatched long agoe." With that Grafton looked upon him and knew not what to say, but came no more to Boner. Howbeit afterward the said Grafton being charged for the imprinting of a ballet made in the favour of Cromwell, was called before the councell, where Boner was present, and there Boner charged him with the wordes that hee spake to him of Cromwell, and told out a great long tale. But the lord Awdley, who then was lord chancellour, right discreetly and honorably, cut off the matter, and entered into other talke.

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JOHN ROGERS.

To burne mee, or to destroy mee, cannot so greatly profit them. For when I am dead, the sunne, and the moone, the starres and the element, water and fire, yea, and also stones, shall defende this cause agaynst them, rather than the veritie should perishe.

DOCTOR ROBERT BARNES.

Go to, therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord; waver not in Christ's religion, truly taught you and set forth in king Edward's days. Never shall the enemies be able to burn it, to prison it, and keep it in bonds. If they may prison, they may bind and burn, as they do and will do, so long as shall please the Lord;—but our cause, religion, and doctrine, which we confess, they shall never be able to vanquish and put away.

JOHN BRADFORD

JOHN ROGERS.

JOHN ROGERS brought up in the university of Cambridge, where he profitably travailed in good learning, at the length was chosen and called by the marchants adventurers to be their chaplen at Antwerpe in Brabant, whom hee served to their good contentation manie years. It chanced him there to fall in company with that worthy servant and martyr of God William Tindall, and with Miles Coverdale; which both, for the hatred they bare to popish superstition and idolatry, and love to true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring with them the scriptures hee came to great knowledge in the gospell of God, in so much that he cast off the heavie yoke of poperie, and joyned himselfe with them two in that painefull and most profitable labor of translating the Bible into the English tongue, which is intituled¹, the translation of Thomas Mathew.

Hee knowing by the scriptures, that unlawfull vowes² may lawfully be broken, and that matrimonie is both honest and honourable amongst all men, joyned himselfe in lawfull matrimonie, and so went to Wittemberge in Saxonie, where he with much sobernesse of living did not onelie greatlie increase in all good and godly learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch³ tongue, that the charge of a congregation was orderly committed to his cure.

¹ *Which is intituled.*] See *Life of Cromwell*, p. 299, note.

² *Unlawfull vowes.*] This kind of expression, in the present case, is unnecessary, or more properly, it is incorrect. It does not appear that Rogers had been a monk, and therefore he was no votary. This point of distinction between the regular and the secular clergy will be set right in the course of this account of Rogers by a valuable note from H. Wharton.

³ *Dutch.*] i. e. German (*Deutsch*).

In which ministrie, he diligently and faithfully served many yeares, untill such time as it pleased God by the faithfull travell of his chosen and deare servant king Edward the sixt, utterly to banish all popery forth of England, and to receive in true religion, setting Gods gospell at libertie. He then being orderly called, having both a conscience and a ready good will to helpe forward the worke of the Lord in his native countrey, left such honest and certaine conditions as he had in Saxonie, and came into England to preach the gospell, without certaintie of any condition. In which office, after he had a space diligently and faithfully travelled, Nicholas Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in the cathedrall church of Paules, and the deane and the chapter chose him to be the Reader of the Divinitie lesson there, wherein he diligently travelled, untill such time as queene Marie obtaining the crowne, banished the gospell and true religion, and brought in the antichrist of Rome, with his idolatrie and superstition.

After the queen was come to the Tower⁴ of London, he being orderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement sermon at Paules Crosse, confirming such true doctrine as hee and other had there taught in king Edwardes dayes, exhorting the people constantly to remaine in the same, and to beware of all pestilent poperie, idolatrie, and superstition. The counceill being then overmatched with popish and bloudie bishops called him to account for his sermon: to whom he made a stout, wittie, and godly answer, and yet in such sort handled himselfe, that at that time hee was cleerely dismissed.

But after that proclamation⁵ was set forth by the queene to

⁴ *Come to the Tower*. "The third of August 1551 was the splendid day on which the queen came riding to London, and so to the Tower; making her entrance at Aldgate." Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 17. Fox's *Acts*, p. 1280. The sermon which gave offence seems to have been preached on Sunday the 6th of that month. In that sermon, according to Fox, "he intreated very learnedly upon the gospell of the same day." *Acts*, p. 1280.

⁵ *After that proclamation.* This proclamation may be seen in Fox's *Acts*, p. 1280. It bears date Aug. 15. The confinement of Rogers to his house began two days before, as appears by the minutes of the privy council "August 16th. John Rogers, alias Matthewe, a seditious preacher, ordered by the lords of the counsaill to kepe himself as prisoner in his house at Paules, without conference of any personne, other than suche as are daylye with him in householde, untill suche time as he hath contrarie commandment." Haynes's *State Papers of Lord Burgheley*, p. 170.

prohibite true preaching, he was called againe before the councell, (for the bishops thirsted after his bloud.) The councell quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him as prisoner to keepe his owne house ; and so he did : although by flying he might easily have escaped their cruell hands ; and many thinges there were, which might have mooved him thereunto. Hee did see the recovery of religion in England for that present, desperate ; he knew hee could not want a living in Germanie ; and he could not forget his wife and ten children, and to seeke meanes to succour them. But all these things set apart, after he was called to answeere in Christs cause, he would not depart, but stoutly stood in defence of the same, and for the triall of that truth, was content to hazard his life.

Thus hee remained in his owne house as prisoner a long time, till at the length through the uncharitable procurement of Boner bishoppe of London, who could not abide such honest neighbours to dwell by him, hee was removed from his owne house, to the prison called Newgate, where he was lodged among theeves and murtherers, for a great space : during which time, what businesse he had with the adversaries of Christ, all is not knowne, neither yet any certaintie of his examinations, further then hee himselfe did leave in writing ; which God would not to be lost, but to remaine for a perpetuall testimony in the cause of Gods truth, as here followeth recorded and testified by his owne writing.

The Examination and Answer of John Rogers made to the Lord Chancellor⁶, and to the rest of the Counsell, the 22. of Januarie, Anno 1555.

First the lord chancellour said unto me thus, “ Sir, ye have heard of the state of the realme in which it standeth now.”

Rogers. “ No my lord, I have beene kept in close prison, and except there have beene some generall thing saide at the table when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing : and there have I heard nothing whereupon any speciall thing might be grounded.”

Then said the lord chancellor ; “ Generall things, generall things,” mockingly. “ Ye have heard of my lord cardinals

⁶ *Lord Chancellor.*] Gardiner, bishop of Winchester.

coming' and that the parliament hath received his blessing, not one resisting unto it, but one man which did speake against it. Such an unitie, and such a myracle hath not bin seen." "And all they, of which there are eight score in one house," said one that was by, (whose name I knowe not) "have with one assent and consent received pardon of their offences, for the schisme that we have had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholike church. How say ye, are yee content to unite and knit your selfe to the faith of the catholike church with us, in the state in which it is now in England? Will ye doe that?"

Rog. "The catholicke church I never didde nor will dissent from."

L. Chan. "Nay, but I speak of the state of the catholike church, in that wise in which we stand now in England, having received the pope to be supream head."

Rog. "I knowe none other head but Christ of his catholike church; neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authoritie than any other bishop hath, by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the olde and pure catholicke church four hundred yeares after Christ."

L. Chan. "Why didst thou then acknowledge king Henrie the eight, to be supream head of the church, if Christ be the onelic head?"

Rog. "I never granted him to any supremacie in spirituall things, as are the forgivenessse of sinnes, giving of the holic Ghost, authoritie to be a judge above the word of God."

[*My lord cardinals coming.*] Cardinal Pole landed at Dover, Nov. 21, 1554, and reached Lambeth on the 24th. Fox's *Acts*, p. 1341. Strype's *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. iii. p. 203. For a copious account of his reconciling the parliament and realm to the pope, of the oration of cardinal Pole, the sermon of bishop Gardiner, and other proceedings connected with that transaction, see Fox's *Acts*, p. 1341-5. We shall only claim a space to record the name of the one individual who had honesty and courage to protest against this precipitate and degrading submission. "Nov. 28 (1554), the parliament, by an instrument, declared their sorrow for their apostasy, and prayed the king and queen to intercede with the cardinal to obtain his absolution, and they all kneeled down and received it. Yet one, Sir Ralph Bagual, refused to consent to this submission and said, 'He was sworn to the contrary to king Henry VIII. which was a worthy prince, and laboured twenty-five years before he could abolish him. And to say I will agree to it, I will not.' And many more were of the same mind, but none had the confidence to speake but he." Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* vol. iii. p. 204.

“Yea,” saide hee, “and Tonsall bishop of Duresme, and Heath bishop of Worcester, if thou hadst said so in his daies (and they nodded the head at me, with a laughter) thou hadst not beene alive now.”

Which thing I denied, and would have told how he was said and meant⁸ to be supreame head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a businesse, that I was constrained to let it passe. There lieth also no great waight thereupon: for all the world knoweth what the meaning was. The lord chancellor also said to the lord William Howard⁹ that there was no inconvenience therein, to have Christ to bee supream head and the bishop of Rome also: and when I was readie to have answered that there could not be two heads of one church, and to have more plainely declared the vanitie of that his reason, the lord chancellor said; “what sayest thou? make us a direct answer, whether thou wilt be one of this catholike church, or not, with us in that state in which we are now?”

Rog. “My lord, without faile, I cannot beleeeve that ye your selves doe thinke in your harts that he is supreame head in forgiving of sinne, &c. (as is before said) seeing you, and all the bishops of the realme have now twenty yeares long¹⁰ preached

⁸ *Said and meant.*] “Where we attribute to the king’s majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our princes the ministering either of God’s word, or of the sacraments, the which thing the injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to godly princes in holy scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers.” Art. XXXVII. of the Church of England. The injunctions of queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1559, may be found in bishop Sparrow’s *Collection of Articles*, &c., in Wilkins’s *Concilia*, vol. iv. &c. On the subject of the regal supremacy, see Bilson’s *True Difference*, part iii. p. 293, &c.

⁹ *William Howard.*] See p. 314.

¹⁰ *Twenty yeares long.*] The self-contradiction of Gardiner, Bonner, &c., as well as the tergiversation and apostasy of the whole parliament, and of very many of the clergy, was often insisted upon, at this time, and afterwards: as it is with great effect by dean Nowell, in his *Reproof of Dorman’s Disproof*, in the following extract.

“*Ask of them*, saith M. Dorman, *with what face they could call king Henry VIII. so many years supreme head of the church of England?* &c. as though the man had so proved the contrary, that none durst shew his face to gainsay him, whereas all he hath said is not worth a rush. *Aske of them*, saith he,

and some of you also written to the contrarie, and the parliament hath so long agoe condescended unto it." And there hee interrupted me thus.

with what face. Nay, aske of your forsworne fathers, the olde papistes, (for some of them are yet living who gave him the title first,) with what face they did geve it him, did sweare it to him," (see Bonner's case, in the *Life of Cromwell*, p. 295, 6, above), "and so longe time continued so calling him. If they did not so thinke as they said, and had sworne but dissembled deeply, ask of them *with what face* they plaied so false dissembling hypocrites with so noble a prince, their soveraigne lorde. Ask of them what manner of subjects they were all the while, feigning in face, in countenance, in word and writynge also, yea and taking a solemne oathe to be with their prince therein; and being in hearte and deede, on the pope, his sworne enemies side:—whiche passeth havyng of *two faces under one hoode*.

"But if they thoughte in *deede*, as they pretended in *wordes*,—then aske of theym, *with what face* they dyd chaunge; theyn copie, and forswere the same and themselves withal, so easelie afterwarde; yea, and compelled all other to be forsworne with them for companie?

"If it will please you to resort to the recordes of the xxiid. and xxivth. yeres of king Henrie VIII., there shall you finde *who* they were, that *first* offered this title to the saide kinge: there shall you finde that all abbottes, and other religious, all the bishoppes, deanes, archdeacons, and cleargie of both the houses of the convocation, then livinge, gave him that title: amongst whom, if you find one protestante, I can for him find one score of papistes, to speake with the least, and peradventure one hundreth too. And those protestantes, who gave him that title, dealed simple and plainlie with their prince, as becomed true subjectes, as the sequele declared. But there shall you finde an huge numbre of papistes, who by their *writing*, not *saying* onely; by their *othe* not *worde* onely, reailed all that false usurped supremacie of the pope, which you and they, as many of them as be yet livinge, without all face, or with a shamelesse face, do nowe maintaine. There shall you find *who* gave to king Henrie the supremacie over the cleargie, as well as the laitie, within his owne dominions. There shall you finde *who* they were that chaunged their copie, and turned with the winde, as the wethercocke. There shall you finde *who* they were, that so falsely aware, re-aware, tri-aware, forsware themselves, and not content therewith, did so cruelly by all most terrible torments, and dreadfull deaths, compell others to perjure with them.

"Seeinge therefore thus standeth the case, *with what face* never M. Dorman moveth such demaundes, and vexeth us with such leude questions, surly be doth it without all forehead or shamefacednes." Fol. 116. A v. 1565. 4to.

"Blessed be God agayne and agayne," says bishop Ridley in a letter to Bradford, both being in prison, "whiche gave you so goode a mynde and remembrance of your *othe* once made against the bishop of Rome, least you should be partaker of the common perjury, which all men almost are now fallen into, in bringing in agayne that wycked usurped power of hye. Whiche *othe* was made according to the prophete, in judgement, in ryghteousnes, and

L. Chan. "Tush, that parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacie from the bishop of Rome."

Rog. "With crueltie? why then I perceive that you take a wrong way with crueltie to perswade mens consciences. For it should appeare by your dooings now, that the crueltie then used hath not perswaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences perswaded with crueltie?"

L. Chan. "I talke to thee of no crueltie, but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that parliament, to let the acte goe forward, yea and even with force driven thereunto; whereas in this parliament it was so uniformly received, as is aforesaid."

Here my lord Paget¹¹ told me more plainely, what my lord chancellor meant. Unto whom I answered; "My lord what will yee conclude thereby; that the first parliament was of lesse authoritie, because but few condescended unto it? and this last parliament of great authoritie, because more condescended unto it? It goeth not, my lord, by the more or lesser part, but by the wiser, truer, and godlier part:" and I would have said more, but the lord chancellor interrupted mee with his question, willing me once againe to answer him. "For," said hee, "wee have moe to speake with than thou, which must come in after thee." And so there were indeed ten persons moe out of Newgate, besides two that were not called. Of which ten, one was a citizen of London, which granted unto them; and nine of the contrary, which all came to prison againe, and refused the cardinals blessing, and the authoritie of his holy fathers church, saving that one of these nine was not asked the question otherwise than thus, whether he would be an honest man as his father was before him: and answering "yea," he was so discharged by the friendship of my lord William Howard (as I have understood).—He bade me tell him what I would doe: whether I would enter

in truth; and therefore cannot without perjury be revoked; let Satan roare, and rage, and practise all the cruelty he can." *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 65, 6. 4to. A.D. 1564. This letter was written immediately after Ridley had perused the narrative of Bradford's examinations before Gardiner and other commissioners, and in the course of which Bradford had several times *reminded* the bishop of his book *De vera obedientia*, and his oath against the pope's supremacy.

¹¹ *Paget.*] William, first lord Paget.

into one church with the whole realme as it is now, or not ?
 “ No,” said I, “ I will first see it proved by the scriptures. Let me have penne, inke, and bookes, &c. and I shall take upon me plainly to set out the matter, so that the contrarie shall be proved to be true ; and let any man that will, confer with me ~~by writing~~.”

L. Chan. “ Nay, that shal not be permitted thee. Thou shalt never have so much proferred thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, and wilt not now condescend and agree to the catholicke church. Heere are two things, mercie and justice. If thou refuse the queenes mercy now, then shalt thou have justice ministered unto thee.”

Rog. “ I never offended, nor was disobedient unto hir grace, and yet I will not refuse hir mercie. But if this shall bee denied me to confer by writing, and to trie out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. Ye your selves (all the bishops of the realme) brought me to the knowledge of the pretended primacie of the bishop of Rome, when I was a young manne twentie yeares past : and will ye now without collation have me to say, and doe the contrarie ? I cannot be so persuaded.”

L. Chan. “ If thou wilt not receive the bishoppe of Rome to be the supream head of the catholicke church, then thou shalt never have her mercie thou mayest be sure. And as touching conferring and triall, I am forbidden by the scriptures to use any conferring and triall with thee. For saint Paule teacheth me that I *shall shunne and eschew an heretike after one or two monitions*, knowing that such an one is overthrowne and is faultie, insomuch as he is condemned by his owne judgement.”

Rog. “ My lord, I denie that I am an heretike : prove yee that first, and then alledge the foresaid text.” But still the lord chancellor plaid on one string, saying,

L. Chan. “ If thou wilt enter into one church with us, &c. tell us that, or else thou shalt never have so much proferred thee againe, as thou hast now.”

Rog. “ I will find it first in the scripture, and see it tried thereby, before I receive him to be supream head.”

Wor. “ Why ? Doe ye not know what is in your creed ? *credo ecclesiam sanctam catholicam*. I believe the holy catholicke church.”

Rog. “ I find not the bishop of Rome there. For (catholicke) signifieth not the Romish church : it signifieth the consent of all

true teaching churches of all times, and all ages. But how should the bishoppe of Romes church be one of them, which teacheth so many doctrines that are plainely and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the catholicke church that doth so? that is not possible."

L. Chan. "Shew me one of them, one, let me heare one."

Rog. "I remembered my self, that amongst so many, I were best to shew one, and said 'I will shew you one.'"

L. Chan. "Let me heare that, let me heare that."

Rog. "The bishop of Rome and his church say, read, and sing, all that they doe in their congregations in Latine¹, which is directly and plainely against the first to the Corinthians, the 14. chapter."

L. Chan. "I denie that, I denie, that that is against the word of God. Let me see you proove that, how proove you that?"

Rog. Thus I began to say the text from the beginning of the chapter, *Qui loquitur lingua, &c.* to speake with tongue, said I, is to speak with a strange tongue; as Latine or Greeke, &c. and so to speake, is not to speake unto men, but to God. But ye speake in Latin, which is a strange tongue, wherefore yee speake not unto men, but unto God (meaning God only at the most). This he granted, that they spake not unto men but unto God.

Rog. "Well, then it is in vaine unto men."

L. Chan. "No, not in vaine. For one man speaketh in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all well."

Rog. "Naie, I will proove then, that he speaketh neither to God nor to man, but unto the winde."

I was willing to have declared how and after what sort these two texts doe agree (for they must agree, they bee both the sayings of the Holy Ghost, spoken by the apostle Paule) as to wit, to speake not to men, but unto God, and to speake unto the winde: and so to have gone forward with the proove of my matter begun, but here rose a noise and a confusion. Then saide the lord chancellor,

"To speak unto God, and not unto God, were impossible."

Rog. "I will proove them possible."

¹ *In Latine.*] See Art. XXIV. of the Church of England, "Of speaking in the congregation in such a tongue as the people understandeth."

"No," said my lord William Howard¹ to my lord chancellor: "now will I beare you witnes, that he is out of the way. For he granted first, that they which spake in a strange speech, spake unto God: and now he saith the contrarie, that they speak neither to God, nor to man."

Rog. "I have not granted or said" (turning mee to my lord Howard) "as ye report. I have alledged the one text, and now I am come to the other. They must agree, and I can make them to agree. But as for you, you understand not the matter."

L. Howard. "I understand so much that that is not possible." "This is a point of sophistrie," quoth secretarie Bourne.

Then the lord chancellor began to tell the lord Howard, that when he was in high Dutchland they at Hake, which had before praied and used their service all in Dutch, began then to turne part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worcest. "Yea and at Wittenburge too."

Rog. "Yea," (but I could not be heard for the noise) "in an universitie², where men for the most part understand the Latine; and yet not all in Latine." And I would have tolde the order and have gone forward both to have answered my lord, and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand: but perceiving their talking and noise to be too noisome, I was faine to thinke this in my hart (suffering them in the meane while to talke one of them one thing and another another). Alas, neither will these men heare me if I speake, neither yet will they suffer mee to write. There is no remedie but let them alone, and committe the matter to God. Yet I began to goe forward, and said that I would make the texts to agree and to prove my purpose wel enough.

L. Chan. "No, no, thou canst prove nothing by the scripture. The scripture is dead³: it must have a lively expositor."

¹ *William Howard.* The first lord Howard of Effingham, and lord high admiral, a son of Thomas, second duke of Norfolk.

² *An universitie.* So, by the acts of uniformity, in the Church of England, it is permitted to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge (2 and 3 Edw. VI cap. 1. § 6.) to use common prayer in their college chapels in the Hebrew, Greek, or Latin languages: but in the act 13 and 14 Car. II cap. 4. § 1. this is restricted to the Latin only.

³ *The scripture is dead.* "M. Dorman hath most untruly charged us as allies to Suenkfeldius, who do waste abhorre, and are moste farr from him, and his stile heretics. Let me see therefore, whether, as I have shewed a

Rog. "No, the scripture is alive.—But let me go forward with my purpose."

very likeness and conformitie to be between Suenkfeldius and the papistes, in the laste point, so I cannot proove the like conformitie between them and him likewise in all other poyntes by M. Dorman here specified.

"*Suenkfeldius* (saith M. Dorman) *holdeth this most abhominable heresie, that we ought to banish utterly from amongst us all scriptures.*

"Doo not the papistes themselves, forbidding the Scriptures to be readde of the laitie, keepyng the Scriptures in an unknownen tongue, burning the Scriptures written in knowen language, goe as neare to this most abhominable heresie of Suenkfeldius, as wee are most farre from the same; who do judge and teache, that all men of all sortes ought with diligence to reade or heare the Scriptures?

"Again" (according to Dorman), "*thou must not be perfecte in the Scriptures, saith the heretike Suenkfeldius. The Scripture is not God's word, but dead letters; and no more accompte to be made of them, than of any other creatures, amongst the whiche they are to be rekened.*

"Thou must not be perfecte in the Scriptures, say these false papistes to all lay men. It is ignorance that is the mother of devotion. It sufficeth a lay man to have *fidem implicitam*, an implicate faith, yea so implicate that the most parte of such men under poperie can no more explicate what they beleewe than can a popenjay. Yea, and popenjay-like, both rehearsing that their implicate faith, and praying in a strange language, they can no more tell what they say than doth the popenjay, whiche biddeth her dame, 'Good night, mistress,' at midde day.

"And the papistes speake of the Holy Scriptures, not only as unreverently and abominably as ever did Swenkfield, but do farre passe him in all outrage, calling the Scriptures most contumeliously and blasphemously, *a nose of wax*: and affirming it to be but an uncertaine thyng, and like a rule of leade appliable to every wicked sentence, and to all purposes, except it have the popes direction as a most certein infallible rule, will reherse the very wordes of that blasphemous beast, I mean Pighius, in his *Hierarchie*, or defense of the pope's supremacie, written in our time Pighius's words are these: 'Sunt scripturæ, ut non minus vere quam festive dixit quidam, velut *nasus cereus*, qui se horsum, illorsum, et in quam volueris partem, trahi, retrahi pangique facile permittit; et tanquam plumbea quædam Lesbæ ædificationis regula quam non sit difficile accommodare ad quidvis volueris. *Et rursum*, supra indicavimus scripturas facile trahi quocunque; et velut plumbeam quandam regulam haud difficulter applicari impiæ cuivis sententiæ,' &c.—These are his very wordes; which in English are thus much: 'The Scriptures, as one no less truely than pleasantly sayd, are like *a nose of wax*, whiche will suffer itselfe easely to be drawen, countredrawen, and framed, which way ye list; and as a certeine rule of leade of the Lesbian buildyng, the whiche it is not hard to applie whereto ye will.'—And agayne the same Pighius, in another place, saith, 'We have shewed before, that the Scriptures may easely be drawen every way, and like a certeine leaden rule, may without difficultie be applied to every wicked sentence.'

"Thus

Wor. "All heretikes have alledged the scriptures for them, and therefore we must have a lively expositor for them."

Rog. "Yea, all heretikes have alledged the scriptures for them: but they were confuted by the scriptures, and by none other expositor."

Wor. "But they would not confesse that they were overcome by the scriptures, I am sure of that."

Rog. "I believe that: and yet were they overcome by them, and in all counceles they were disputed with and overthrowne by the scriptures." And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in these dayes, and so would have come againe to my purpose, but it was impossible: for one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was faine to hold my peace, and let them talke. And even when I would have taken holde on my prooffe, the lord chauncellor bade, to prison with me againe, and "away, away," saide he, "we have more to talke withall: if I would not be reformed" (so he tearmed it) "away, away." Then up I stood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Then sir Richard Southwyll, who stood by in a window, said to me: "thou wilt not burne in this geare, when it commeth to the purpose, I know well that."

Rog. "Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust to my Lord God yes;" lifting up mine eyes unto heaven.

Then my lord of Ely¹ told me much of the queens majesties pleasure and meaning, and set it out with large wordes, saying that shee tooke them that would not receive the bishop of Romes supremacie, to be unworthy to have her mercie.

I sayde, I would not refuse her mercie, and yet I never offended her in all my life: and that I besought her grace and all their honours to bee good to mee, reserving my conscience.

Diverse speak at once. "No!" quoth they then, a great sort of them, and especially secretarie Bourne, "a married priest, and have not offended the law!"

I said, I had not broken the queens law, nor yet any point of

"Thus farre Pighius, speakyng it twyse or thysse, as they say, as is meete for so worthy a matter"

"Wherefore the papistes are more horribly blasphemous, than ever was Suenkfeldius."—*Nowell's Reproof of Dorman's Disproof*, fol. 56. 7. v. 1565. 4to

Compare Jewell's *Apology of the Church of England*, in *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 121. 3.

¹ *Ely.* Thomas Thirlby, who had been bishop of Westminster, and afterwards of Norwich.

the law of the realme therein. For I married where it was lawfull.

Divers at once. "Where was that?" sayde they, thinking that to be unlawfull in all places.

Rog. "In Dutchland. And if yee hadde not heere in England made an open lawe⁶ that priests might have hadde wives, I would never have come home againe. For I brought a wife and eight children with me: which thing ye might be sure that I would not have done, if the lawes of the realme had not permitted it before."

Then there was a great noise, some saying that I was come too soone with such a sort; I should find a souer comming of it: and some one thing, and some another. And one saide (I could not well perceive who) that there was never a catholicke man or countrey, that ever granted that a priest might have a wife.

Rog. "I saide the catholicke church never denied mariage to priests⁷, nor yet to any other men;" and therewith was I

⁶ *An open lawe.*] The cruel hardships, and the barbarous wrong involved at this time in the case of the married clergy, is concisely, but strikingly exhibited in a couple of sentences, which I shall borrow from the Preface prefixed to Cranmer's *Defensio veræ et catholicæ doctrinæ de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi Servatoris nostri*, printed at Emden in 1557, and attributed to Sir John Cheke, then an exile for his religion.

"Postquam enim rerum potente Edvardo sexto, sæpe ac multum in communi ecclesiæ Anglicanæ concilio disputatum, tractatumque fuisset de tollendo sacerdotum cœlibatu, obtinuit ea sententia, quæ, ut omnium ordinum suffragiis approbata erat, præceptum illud Romani Antichristi de non ducendis uxoribus, tanquam a spiritu erroris profectum, sacerdotibus abrogavit: quippe quod non modo verbo Dei, et Apostolorum doctrinæ repugnaret, sed etiam tam veteris legis, quam primitivæ ecclesiæ exemplis, adversaretur. Cæterum, cum multi, hac ipsa totius regni constitutione freti, uxores duxissent, et legitime procreatis inde liberis benedictionem propagationis consequuti essent, coacti fuere, eodem Edvardo sexto e vivis sublato, cum uxoribus suis divortium facere, et liberos etiam suos abdicare.—Hic certe, aut nusquam alibi, miserrimam rerum faciem videre licebat, dum alii ex sacrificorum ordine hypocritæ, repudiatis uxoribus et ejectis e sua familia liberis, ad execratum Papismi vomitum redirent; alii vero, retentis uxoribus et facultatibus suis, exuti, et munere ecclesiastico exautorati, exulare cogerentur."

Of the probable numbers, actually deprived for being married, some important observations will be found in Anth. Harmer's [H. Wharton's] *Specimen of Errors, &c. in the History of the Reformation*, p. 137—9, 139, 40.

⁷ *Mariage to priests.*] The whole question of the marriage of priests, according to *Scripture, History, and Law*, will be found very ably examined, first, in a learned work, written by an anonymous lay-man, in the reign of

going out of the chamber, the sergeant which brought me thither, having me by the arme.

Then the bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said that I wist not where that church was or is.

I sayd yea, that I could tell where it was; but therewith went the sergeant with me out of the doore.

This was the very true effect of all that was spoken unto me, and of all that I answered thereunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect answer to all the former objections, as also a due prooffe of that which I had taken in hand: but at this present I was informed that I shuld to morrow come to further answer. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would most gladly have done, desiring here the heartie and unfained helpe of the prayers of all Christen true members, the true impes of the true unfained catholicke church, that the Lord God of all consolation will now be my comfort, ayde, strength, buckler and shield: as also of all my brethren that are in the same case and distresse, that I and they all may despise all manner of threats and crueltie, and even the bitter burning fire and the dreadfull dart of death, and sticke like true soldiers to our deare and loving captaine Christ, our only redeemer and saviour, and also the only true head of the church, that dooth all in us all, which is the verie propertie of an head (and is a thing that all the bishops of Rome cannot doe); and that we doe not traitorously run out of his tents, or rather out of the plaine field from him, in the most jeopardie of the battell, but that we may persevere in the fight (if he will not otherwise deliver us) till we be most cruelly slaine of his enemies. For this I most heartily, and at this present, with weeping teares most instantly and earnestly desire and beseech you all to pray. And also if I die, to be good to my poore and most honest wife, being a poor stranger; and all my little soules, hers and my

queen Mary, and published in that of Elizabeth, under the superintendence of, and partly written by Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, entitled, *A Defence of Priests marriages stablished by the imperial laws of the realm of England, against a Circular, naming himself Thomas Martin, Doctor of the Civil Lawes*; again, in *Chemnitz Examina Concilii Tridentini*, part iii. bc. 1 and 2. *De celibatu et virginitate*, and *De celibatu sacerdotum*, p. 626—731. edit. 1577. and in Henry Wharton's *Treatise of the celibacy of the clergy, wherein its rise and progress are historically considered* 4to. 1685. See also Art. XXXII. of the Church of England, and the expositors, Hey, Burnet, &c

children. Whome, with all the whole faithfull and true cathollicke congregation of Christ, the Lord of life and death save, keepe, and defend, in all the troubles and assaults of this vaine world, and bring at the last to everlasting salvation, the true and sure inheritance of all crossed Christians, Amen, Amen.

The 27. day of January at night.

The second confession of John Rogers, made, and that should have beene made (if I might have beene heard), the 28. and 29. day of January 1555.

First being asked againe by the lord chancellor, whether I would come into one church with the bishops and whole realme, as now was concluded by parliament, (in the which all the realme was converted to the catholick church of Rome) and so receive the mercy before profered me, arising again with the whole realme, out of the schisme and errour in which we had long been, with recantation of my errors: I answered, that before I could not tell what his mercy meant, but now I understoode that it was a mercy of the antichristian church of Rome, which I utterly refused, and that the rising which hee spake of, was a very fall into errour and false doctrine. Also that I had and would be able by Gods grace, to proove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught, was true and catholicke, and that by the scriptures, and the authority of the fathers that lived four hundred yeares after Christs death. He answered, that should not, might not, nor ought not to be granted me: for I was but a private man, and might not be heard⁸ against the determination of the whole realme. Should,

⁸ *Might not be heard.*] This principle doubtless, in a proper sense, and under due limitations is unquestionable: and so therefore, in king James's time, in reference to the disputes which the puritans endeavoured to prolong after the Hampton Court conference, and therefore were eager to challenge the court divines to fresh disputation, the earl of Worcester said, with reason, in a letter to lord Cranborne, "matters being settled, debate every day cannot be permitted to satisfy private consciences by particular disputation." (Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, vol. iii. p. 266, 7.) And Hooker has well asked, "Is it meet that, when publicly things are received, and have taken place, obedience thereunto should cease to be exacted, in case this or that private person, led with some probable conceit, should make open protestation, 'I Peter or John disallow them, and pronounce them naught?'" *Preface*, chap. vi. § 6. No! The truth must be told. Even in the case of evil and unjust laws the path of duty is clear. After all expedients have been

quoth hee, when a parliament hath concluded a thing, one, or any private person have authority to discusse, whether they had done right or wrong? No, that may not be.

I answered shortly, that all the lawes of men might not, neither could rule the word of God; but that they all must be discussed and judged thereby, and obey thereto; and my conscience, nor no christian mans could be satisfied with such lawes as disagreed from that worde: and so was willing to have said much more, but the lord chancellor began a long tale to very small purpose, concerning mine answer, to have defaced mee, that there was nothing in me wherefore I should be heard, but arrogancie, pride, and vaine-glorie. I also granted mine ignorance to be greater than I could expresse, or then hee tooke it: but yet that I feared not by Gods assistance and strength, to be able by writing to perform my word; neither was I (I thanked God) so utterly ignorant as he would make me; but all was of God to whom be thanks rendred therefore! Proud man was I never, nor yet vaine glorious. All the world knew well, where and on which side pride, arrogancie, and vain-glorie was. It was a poore pride that was or is in us, God it knoweth.

Then said he, that I at the first dash condemned the queene and the whole realme, to be of the church of antichrist; and burdened me highly therewithall. I answered that the queenes majestie (God save her grace) would have done well enough, if it had not bene for his counsell. He said, the queene went before him, and it was her owne motion. I said, without faile I neither could, nor I would ever beleve it.

tried which the constitution of the country and its laws will allow; such as are, in our own, the exercise of the right of petition, which is as inherent in the subject as that of legislation is in the king and his great council, such again, as is the freedom of speech, and the liberty of the press so far as is consistent with law,-- then, thus much having been tried--for the rest, if these shall prove ineffectual,—*the laws must be obeyed*. Or, if we do not obey, then we must have made up our mind to abide the consequences, temporal punishment, namely, here, and a strict enquiry into our motives and conduct hereafter.

Rogers and his fellows were well aware of the alternative. They were no novices. They had counted the cost, and, this being so, they went to the stake in sure and certain hope of better things beyond the grave, and not without the cheering consolation, springing from the very depth of their own sufferings and wrong, that so would be wrought out, through God's mercy, a redemption and deliverance for those—the afflicted church of God,—whom they left behind.

Then said doctor Aldrise⁹ the bishop of Carlile, that they the bishops would beare him witnesse. Yea, quoth I, that I beleeeve well; and with that the people laughed: for that day there were many; but on the morrow they bade keep the doores shut, and would let none in, but the bishops adherentes and servants in maner; yea and the first day the thousandth man came not in. Then maister controller and secretary Bourne would have stood up also to beare witnesse, and did.

I said it was no great matter: and to say the truth, I thought that they were good helpers thereto themselves: but I ceased to say any more therein, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they should bee beleeved before mee, yea and before our Saviour Christ, and all his prophets and apostles too, in these daies.

Then after many wordes hee asked mee what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament, and stood up and put off his cap¹,

⁹ *Aldrise.*] Robert Aldrich, provost of Eton.

¹ *Put off his cap.*] This action of Gardiner and his fellow bishops, was in token of their reverence and devotion to the supposed bodily presence of Christ in the consecrated elements of the eucharist. We learn a little below, in the course of these examinations of Rogers, that this was a ceremonial rarely omitted by Gardiner; who, doubtless, from his controversy with archbishop Cranmer, regarded himself as an eminent champion of the doctrine of transubstantiation. The reader may not be displeased to see a further exemplification of this species of devotion, in the persons of two very distinguished characters of those times, the pope of Rome, Paul III., and the pope-like king of England, Henry VIII. The first extract is taken from a description of a procession of the pope, cardinals, and other ecclesiastics to St. Peter's on Christmas day in the year 1547, of which the narrator was an eye-witness.

"Than came the double crosse, the sworde and the imperiall hatte, and after that the cardinals by two and two, and betweene every two a great route of gentilmen. Then came the ambassadors, and next them *the bishop hymselfe*, blessing all the waie, and carried in his chayre by eight men clothed in long robes of skarlet. And on either side of him wente his garde making rome, and crying, *abasso, abasso*; for they that will not willingly kneele, shall be made kneele by force. And I thynke verily the foremost of this ordre was distant from the hindermost more than a quarter of a myle.

"Thus when he came into the midst of the church against the sacrament of the aulter, *he turned himselfe towards it, and bowyng his head a little, seemed to make a certaine familiare reverence.*

"Then was he carried into the chapell, brought behind the aulter, for the aulter standeth in the midst open every waie, and there in a throne of wonderfull majestie was set up as a god." *History of Italy*, by William Thomas, fol. 38. A.D. 1549. [In

and all his fellow bishops (of which there were a great sort new men, of whom I knew few) whether I beleaved in the sacrament to be the very body and bloud of our Saviour Christ that was borne of the virgin Mary, and hanged on the crosse, really and substantially.

I answered, I had often tolde him that it was a matter in which I was no medler, and therefore suspected of my brethren to bee of a contrary opinion. Notwithstanding, even as the most part of your doctrine in other pointes is false, and the defence thereof onely by force and cruelty : so in this matter I thinke it to be as

In the examination of John Lambert in the year 1538, in which disputation Henry himself bore an active part, Lambert being abashed at the monarch's angry words, makes a short pause, upon which we are told, "the king being hastie, with anger and vehemencie said, why standest thou still? Answered, As touching the sacrament of the aulter, whether dost thou say, that it is the hodie of Christ, or wilt thou denie it? *And with that the king lifted up his cap.*

"Lambert. I answered with St. Augustine, that it is the hodie of Christ, *after a certaine manner.*" Fox's *Acts*, p. 1025. The next extract applies to the examination of Dr. Robert Barnes in the following year (1539), soon after which he was burnt for heresy : the account is from the pen of bishop Gardiner. "And one notable thing was done, in the hearing of that matter by the kynges majestie, when Barnes offered to yield to his highness in his opinion. The kynges grace sytting secretly in his closet, and having with him the late erle of Southampton (whose soul God pardon), the mayster of the horse that now is, Me, Barnes, mayster Doctour Cokes, and Doctour Robinson : the kinges highness, at that offere of Barnes, sayd, 'I am (quoth his majestie) a mortall man : ' and therewith rysynge and turning to the sacrament, and putting off his boket sayde ; 'Yonder is the maister of us all, author of truth, yield in truth to hym, and I shall ' sayeth the kinges majestie ' defende that truthe. And otherwyse Barnes,' (quoth the kinges majestie) 'yield not to me.' . . . But to the purpose I tell this storrye for." *Declaration of Articles against George Joye*, fol 7. 4to.

This homage, as might be expected, did not pass without animadversions from the protestants

"The lady Jane (Gray), she whom the lord Guilford married, being on a time when she was very young at New-hall in Essex at the lady Maries" (afterwards queen Mary), "was by one lady Anne Wharton desired to walke, and they passing by the chappell, the lady Wharton made low curtase to the popish sacrament hanging on the alter. Which when the lady Jane saw, she marvelled, why she did so ; and asked her whether the lady Mary were there or not. Unto whom the lady Wharton answered 'no, but she said, that she made her curtsey to him that made us all.' 'Why,' quoth the lady Jane, 'how can he be there that made us all, and the baker made him : ' This answer coming to the lady Marie's eare, she did never love her after" Fox's *Acts*, p. 1927

false as the rest. For I cannot understand (really and substantially) to signifie otherwise than corporally : but corporally Christ is onely in heaven, and so cannot Christ bee corporally also in your sacrament. And here I somewhat set out his charitie after this sort : My lord, quoth I, ye have dealt with mee most cruelly. For ye have set me in prison without law, and kept mee there now almost a yeare and a halfe. For I was almost halfe a yeare in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I beene a full yeare in Newgate at great costs and charges, having a wife and ten children to finde ; and I had never a penie of my livings : which was against the lawe.

He aunswered, that doctor Ridley which had given them mee, was an usurper, and therefore I was the unjust possessor of them.

Was the king then an usurper, quoth I, which gave doctor Ridley the bishopricke ?

“ Yea,” quoth he, and began to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the bishop of London, and to himselfe also. “ But yet I do misuse my tearmes,” quoth hee, “ to call the king usurper.” But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before ; and I thinke that he was not verie sorie for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I asked him wherefore he set me in prison. He said, because I preached against the queene.

I answered that it was not true : and I would be bound to proove it, and to stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to proove it, and thereupon would set my life. I preached (quoth I) a sermon at the crosse, after the queene came to the Tower : but therein was nothing said against the queene, I take witnesse of all the audience : which was not small. I alleadged also that he had after examination let me goe at liberty, after the preaching of that sermon.

Yea, but thou didst reade thy lectures after, quoth he, against the commandemente of the councell.

That did I not, quoth I : let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have ye now against the lawe of God and man handled me, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of any learning, till now that yee have gotten a whip

to whip me with², and a sword to cut off my necke, if I will not condescend to your minde. This charitie doth all the world understand.

I might and would have added, if I could have beene suffered to speake, that it had beene time enough to take away mens livings, and thereto to have prisoned them, after that they had offended lawes. For they bee good citizens that breake not lawes, and worthy of praise and not of punishment. But their purpose is to keepe men in prison so long, untill they may catch them in their lawes, and so kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniell, which by a craftily devised lawe was cast into the lions den. Item, I might have declared, that I most humbly desired to be set at libertie, sending my wife to him with a supplication, being great with child, and with her eight honest women, or thereabout, to Richmond, at Christmas was a twelve month, whiles I was yet in my house.

Item, I wrote two supplications to him out of Newgate, and sent my wife many times to him. M. Gosnolde also that worthy man, who is nowe departed in the Lord, laboured for me; and so did divers other worthy men also take paines in the matter. These things declare my l. chancellors antichristian charitie, which is, that he hath and doth seeke my bloud, and the destruction of my poore wife and my ten children.

This is a short summe of the wordes which were spoken in the 28 day of January at afternoone, after that M. Hooper had been the first, and M. Cardmaker the second in examination before me. The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we bee smitten downe together, if the Lords will

² *A whip to whip me with*] Rogers here alludes to the revival of those ancient statutes of Richard II. and Henry IVth and Vth against alleged heresy, of whose cruel operations we have already seen so much, and to some further provisions for the like purpose, which had been enacted in the course of that and some preceding months by the parliament; which having gone through its work of cruelty and degradation, had been then very recently dissolved. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii p. 275. Fox's *Acts*, p. 1446. 1461. 1560. We shall find, in the further progress of our history, several other references to the same acts of parliament.

These statutes had severally been repealed under king Henry VIII. (3 Hen VIII. cap. 14) or king Edward VI., were now re-enacted by queen Mary, and at length were finally repealed, with all other former statutes relating to heresy, 1 Eliz. cap. 1. See Blackstone, vol. iv. b. iv. c. 4.

be so to permit it ! For there shall not a haire of our heads perish against his will, but with his will. Whereunto the same Lord grant us to bee obedient unto the end, and in the end ! Amen : Sweete, mighty, and mercifull Lord Jesus the son of David and of God : Amen, Amen, let every true christian say and pray !

Then the clocke being, as I gessed, about foure, the l. chancellor said, that he and the church must yet use charitie with mee, (what maner of charitie it is, all true christians doe well understand, as to wit, the same that the foxe doth with the chickens, and the wolfe with the lambes) and gave me respite till to morrow, to see whether I would remember my self well to morrow, and whether I would returne to the catholicke church (for so he calleth his antichristian false church) againe, and repent, and they would receive me to mercy.

I said that I was never out of the true catholicke church, nor would be : but into his church, would I, by Gods grace, never come.

Well, quoth he, then is our church false and antichristian ?

Yea, quoth I.

And what is the doctrine of the sacrament ?

False, quoth I, and cast my hands abroad.

Then said one, that I was a plaier. To whom I answered not : for I passed not upon his mocke.

Come againe, quoth the lord chancellor, to morrowe betweene nine and ten.

I am ready to come againe, when so ever ye call, quoth I.

And thus was I brought up by the sheriffes to the counter in Southwarke, maister Hooper going before mee, and a great multitude of people beeing present, so that we had much to doe to goe in the streets.

Thus much was done the 28 day of January.

The second day, which was the 29 of January, we were sent for in the morning about nine of the clocke, and by the sheriffes fetched from the counter in Southwarke, to the church againe, as to wit, to S. Mary Overies, where we were the day before in the afternoone, as is said. And when maister Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterward, then sent they for me. When my lord chancellor said unto me :

“ Rogers,” quoth hee, “ here thou wast yesterday, and we gave

thee libertie to remember thy selfe this night, whether thou wouldest come to the holy catholicke church of Christ againe or not. Tell us now what thou hast determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and sory, and wilt return again and take mercy."

"My lord," quoth I, "I have remembered my selfe right well, what you yesterday laid for you, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind what I have to say thereunto, and that don I shall answer you to your demanded question.

"When I yesterday desired that I might bee suffered by the scripture and authoritie of the first, best, and purest church to defend my doctrine by writing (meaning not onely of the primacie, but also of all the doctrine that ever I had preached) ye answered mee that it might not, nor ought not to bee granted me, for I was a private person; and that the parliament was above the authoritie of all private persons, and therefore the sentence thereof might not bee found faulty and valuelesse by me being but a private person. And yet my lord, quoth I, I am able to shew examples, that one man hath come into a generall councell, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, that some one man coming in afterward, hath by the worde of God declared so pithilie that the councell had erred in decreeing the said article, that hee caused the whole councell to change and alter their act or article before determined. And of these examples, said I, I am able to shew two. I can also shew the authoritie of S. Augustine, that when he disputed with an hereticke, he would neither himself, nor yet have the hereticke, to leane unto the determination of two former councels, of the which the one made for him, and the other for the hereticke that disputed against him: but said that hee would have the scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

"Item, I could shew," said I, "the authoritie of a learned lawyer Panormitanus¹, which saith; *that unto a simple lay man, that bringeth the word of God with him, there ought more credite to be given, than to a whole councell gathered together.* By these things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to say my minde, and

¹ *Pa-normitanus*. Niccolò Tedeschi, archbishop of Palermo, one of the most learned canonists of the fifteenth century. His collected works were printed at Venice in 1617, in nine volumes, folio.

to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the worde of God for mee, and the authoritie of the olde church four hundred yeares after Christ, albeit that every man in the parliament had willingly and without respect of feare and favour agreed thereunto (which thing I doubt not a little of,) specially seeing the like had beene permitted in that olde church, even in generall counceles, yea and that in one of the chiefest counceles that ever was, unto which neither any actes of this parliament, nor yet any of the late generall counceles of the bishops of Rome ought to be compared. For, said I, if Henrie the eight were alive, and should call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing (and heere I would have alleadged the example of the act of making the queene a bastard, and of making himselfe the superiour head : but I could not, being interrupted of one ⁴ whom God forgive) then will yee (pointing to my lord chancellor) and ye and ye, and so ye all (pointing to the rest of the bishops) say, Amen : yea, and it like your grace, it is meete that it be so enacted, &c.”

Heere my lord chancellor would suffer me to speake no more : but bade mee sit downe, mockingly, saying that I was sent for to be instructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their instructor.

“ My lord,” quoth I, “ I stand and sit not : shall I not be suffered to speake for my life ? ”

“ Shall we suffer thee to tell a tale, and to prate,” quoth he ? and with that he stode up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant proud fashion ; for hee perceived that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder, by dashing me out of my tale ; and so hee did. For I could never be suffered to come to my tale againe, no not to one worde of it : but hee had much like communication with mee as he had the day before, and as his maner is, taunt upon taunt, and checke upon checke. For in that case, being Gods cause, I tolde him he should not make me afraid to speake.

L. chaun. “ See what a spirit this fellow hath,” said hee, finding fault at mine accustomed earnestnesse and heartie manner of speaking.

Rog. “ I have a true spirite,” quoth I, “ agreeing to and obeying the word of God ; ” and would further have said, that I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a just and true

⁴ *Interrupted of one.*] This was Sir Anthony Brown. Fox.

cause and in my maister Christs matters : but I might not be heard. And at the length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had tolde him that his church of Rome was the church of antichrist, meaning the false doctrine and tyrannicall lawes, with the maintenance thereof by cruell persecution, used by the bishops of the said church (of which the bishop of Winchester and the rest of his fellow bishops that are now in England, are the chiefe members). Of lawes I meane, quoth I ; and not all men and women which are in the popes church. Likewise when I was said to have denied their sacrament (wherof he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintaine his kingdome thereby, than for the true reverence of Christes institution : more for his owne and his popish generations sake, than for religion or Gods sake) I told him after what order I did speake of it (for the maner of his speaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the communication that wee had in the 28 of Januarie) wherewith hee was not contented, but hee asked the audience whether I had not simply denied the sacrament. They would have said, and did what hee lusted, for the most of them were of his owne servants at that day ; the 29 of January I meane. At the last I said, I will never deny that I said, that is, that your doctrine of the sacrament is false : but yet I tell you after what order I said it.

To be short, he read my condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two articles, first that I affirmed the Romish catholieke church to be the church of antichrist ; and that I denied the reality of their sacrament. He cursed me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laitie, and so he gave me over into the shrives hands, which were much better than his.

The copie of which his condemnation here I thought to put down in English, to the intent that the same being here once expressed, may serve for all other sentences condemnatory through the whole story to be referred unto.

The sentence condemnatorie against maister Rogers.

· In the name of God, Amen. We Steven by the permission of God bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour, by authoritie and vertue of our office,

against thee John Rogers priest, alias called Mathewe, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresie; having heard, seene, and understood, and with all diligent deliberation waied, discussed, and considered the merites of the cause, all things beeing observed, which by us in this behalfe, in order of law ought to bee observed, sitting in our judgement seate, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having God onely before our eies:—because by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own confession judicially made before us, wee doe finde that thou hast taught, holden and affirmed, and obstinately defended divers errours, heresies, and damnable opinions contrarie to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, as namely these; *That the catholicke church of Rome, is the church of antichrist*: Item, *that in the sacrament of the aultar, there is not substantially nor really the natural body and bloud of Christ*. The which aforesaid heresies, and damnable opinions being contrarie to the law of God, and determination of the universall and apostolicall church, thou hast arrogantly, stubbornely, and wittingly maintained, helde, and affirmed, and also defended before us, as well in this judgement, as also otherwise; and with the like obstinacie, stubbornnesse, malice and blindnesse of heart, both wittingly and willingly hast affirmed, that thou wilt beleeve, maintaine and holde, affirme and declare the same: Wee therefore Stephen Winton bishop, ordinary and diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent as wel of our reverend brethren the lord bishops here present and assistant, as also by the counsell and judgement of divers worshipfull lawyers and professors of divinitie, with whom wee have communicated in this behalfe, doe declare and pronounce thee the said John Rogers, otherwise called Mathewe, through thy demerites, transgressions, obstinacies, and wilfulnesses (which thou manifold waies hast incurred by thine owne wicked and stubburne obstinacie) to have beene and to bee guilty in the detestable, horrible, and wicked offence of hereticall pravitie and execrable doctrine; and that thou hast before us sundry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornly defended the said cursed and execrable doctrine in thy sundry confessions, assertions, and recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated; and yet still doest maintaine, affirme and beleeve the same; and that thou hast beene and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalfe. Wee

therefore, I say, albeit following the example of Christ, *Which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live*, we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawfull meanes that wee could, and all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee againe unto the true faith and unitie of the universall catholick church, notwithstanding have found thee obstinate and stifnecked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to returne againe unto the true faith and unitie of the holy mother church, and as the childe of wickednesse and darkenesse so to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy shepheard, which with a fatherly affection doth seeke after thee, nor wilt not be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions:—we therefore Stephen the bishop aforesaid, not willing that thou which art wicked, shouldest nowe become more wicked, and infect the Lords flocke with thine heresie (which wee are greatly afraide of) with sorrowe of minde and bitternesse of heart doe judge thee, and definitively condemne thee the said John Rogers, otherwise called Mathewe, thy demerites and defaults being aggravate through thy damnable obstinacie, as guiltie of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to returne to the lappe and unitie of the holy mother church; and that thou hast bene and art by lawe excommunicate, and doe pronounce and declare thee to bee an excommunicate person. Also wee pronounce and declare thee being an hereticke, to bee cast out from the church, and left unto the judgement of the secular power; and now presently so doe leave thee as an obstinate hereticke, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to bee degraded worthily for thy demerites (requiring them notwithstanding¹ in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done upon thee, may so bee moderated, that the rigor thereof bee not too extreame, nor yet the gentlenesse too much

¹ *Requiring them notwithstanding*. "S. Augustine, when the proconsul of Africa went further than that holy man liked in that kind of severity, professeth he had rather be himself slain by them, than by detecting the Donatists, be any cause they should undergo the punishment of death. From whence Baronius conceives it proceeds, that such as deliver an heretic to the secular power for execution, to this day effectually intercede he may not be punished with death. And yet as it were to mock God, and delude the world, if the lay authority having him in his power, shall defer the doing it more than

mitigated, but that it may bee to the salvation of thy soule, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of the heretickes, to the unitie of the catholicke faith) by this our sentence definitive which we here lay upon, and against thee, and doe with sorrowe of heart promulgate in this forme aforesaid."

After this sentence being read, hee sent us (M. Hooper, I meane, and me) to the Clink, there to remaine till night: and when it was darke, they carried us, M. Hooper going before with the one shiriffe, and I comming after with the other, with billes and weapons enow, out of the Clink, and let us thorough the bishops house⁶, and so thorow Saint Mary Overies churchyard, and so into Southwarke, and over the bridge on procession to Newgate through the citie. But I must shew you this also, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curse, and what a vengeable dangerous matter it were to eate and drinke with us that were accursed, or to give us any thing; for all that so did, should be partakers of the same great curse.

"Well my lord," quoth I, "heere I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take him to witnes, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false doctrine: and therefore have I a good conscience before God and al good men. I am sure that you and I shal come before a judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you: and I nothing doubt but that I shall bee found there a true member of the true catholicke church of Christ and everlastingly saved.

ordinary, it is the constant tenet of the canonists, relying on a bull of Alexander IV. (A.D. 1260) that he is to be compelled unto it by spiritual censures; yet may he not take any cognisance of the cause at all." Twisden's *Vindication*, p. 140.

"In the mean time they had prevailed upon the weakness of bigoted princes, to make the civil power subservient to their purposes, by making heresy not only a temporal, but even a capital offence: the Romish ecclesiastics determining without appeal, whatever they pleased, to be heresy, and shifting off to the secular arm the odium and drudgery of executions; with which they themselves were too tender and delicate to intermeddle. Nay they pretended to intercede and pray, on behalf of the convicted heretic, *ut citra mortis periculum sententia circa eum moderetur* (*Decretal.* l. 5. t. 40. c. 27); well knowing at the same time, that they were delivering the unhappy victim to certain death." Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, vol. iv. b. 4. c. 4.

⁶ *The bishops house.*] Winchester house, near the Bankside.

And as for your false church ye need not to excommunicate me forth of it. I have not beene in it these twenty yeares, the Lord be thanked therefore. But now ye have done what yee can my lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing."

"What is that?" quoth he.

"That my poore wife being a stranger, may come and speake with mee so long as I live. For she hath ten children that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsell her what were best for her to doe."

"No," quoth he, "she is not thy wife."

"Yes my lord," quoth I, "and hath beene these eighteen yeares."

"Should I grant her to be thy wife?" quoth he.

"Chuse you," quoth I, "whether yee will or not: she shall bee so neverthelesse."

"She shall not come at thee," quoth he.

"Then have I tried out all your charitie," said I. "You make your selfe highly displeased with the matrimony of priestes, but you maintaine open whoredome': as in Wales," quoth I.

¹ *Open whoredome.*] "The people," says bishop Burnet, vol. ii. p. 85. "had been more prejudiced against the marriage of the clergy, if they had not felt greater inconveniences by the debaucheries of priests, who being restrained from marriage, had defiled the beds and deflowered the daughters of their neighbours."

Henry Wharton, under his assumed name of Anth. Harmer, has very ably stated this whole matter, in an animadversion upon the bishop, severe indeed, but of great learning and value.

"As for adulteries and rapes, which the historian insists on, it is charitably to be hoped, that they were not so frequent in the clergy before the reformation. But the greatest scandal arose by keeping women in their houses under the name and notion of concubines, and being licensed by their several bishops to do it; which abuse obtained generally, and was practised openly throughout the whole western church before the reformation. Yet in any case, to cover the faults of the clergy, and to excuse them when the case admitteth any excuse, not only the respect due to the sacred order, but common justice also requires. Had all these women, thus generally entertained by the clergy, been no other than their concubines, it would indeed have been inexcusable. But in truth they were for the most part their wives; whom they married secretly, and kept under the name of concubines. since the laws and canons then received, forbade them to marry openly, or to entertain women under the name of wives. This the bishops very well knew, and from time to time gave them licences to do it, and tolerated them in it; not allowing them thereby to violate the divine laws of chastity, but only in secret to neglect the ecclesiastical laws of celibacy. Now that this was the case of the western clergy, we are assured by Alvarus Pelagius (*Planet. Eccles.* lib. 2.)

“where every priest hath his whore openly dwelling with him and lying by him: even as your holy father suffereth all the priests in Dutchland and in France to doe the like.” Thereto he answered not, but looked as it were asquint at it: and thus I departed, and saw him last.

Other good matter there is beside penned by maister Rogers in the prison, which hee thought, and would have answered if hee might have beene permitted, as here under followeth to be seene by his own setting downe.

“Hitherto dearely beloved, ye have heard what was said: now heare what I purposed the night before to have said if I could have beene permitted. Two things I purposed to have touched. The one how it was lawfull for a private man to reason and write against a wicked act of parliament, or ungodly councell, which the lord chancellor the day before denied me. The other was to proove that prosperity was not alwaies a token of Gods

Cassander, (*Consultat.* 23.) and others. And lest we should imagine the clergy of England in this practice to have acted, either with less wit or conscience than the clergy of other nations, we find several constitutions of our later provincial councils directed against the clandestine marriages of the clergy. These constitutions were made *for shew*: but were seldom or never *executed*. But the most express testimony herein, is given by archbishop Parker; who, publishing a large and accurate ‘*Defence of Priests’ Marriages*,’ written by an anonymous layman in the reign of queen Mary, hath towards the end of the book, in some copies of it, inserted ten sheets of his own composition, wherein he gives a full and learned history of the marriage and celibacy of the clergy of England, from the first reception of Christianity to the reformation. In this *History* (p. 329) he affirms the practice of the clergy in relation to concubines before mentioned, to have continued all along in England, concluding thus; ‘And so they lived secretly with their friends, not openly vouched for *wives*, but in *affectu sororio, amore uxorio, et fide conjugali*, as they use the termes. In which kynde of lyfe there be no small arguments, that some bishops, and the best of the clergy lyvyng within the memorie of man, dyd continue.’ And in another place (p. 334); ‘For, as many of the cleargie lyved in adulteries, and some in vices —; so dyd dyverse, whose consciences were better, and in knowledge more wise, *lyve secretlie with wives*, and provyded for their children under the names of *nephewes*, and of other men’s children. In which manner lyved Bonifacius, archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishopes of old dayes; but some also of late days dyd lyve, though all the world did not barke at the matter.’” *Specimen of Errors*, 1693. p. 78—80. See also Tyndal against More, *Works*, p. 261, 2; an important passage, very similar in its facts, &c. to the statements of archbishop Parker.

love. And this I purposed to speake of, because the lord chancellor boasted of himselfe that hee was delivered forth of prison, as it were by myracle, and preserved of God to restore true religion, and to punish me and such other, whom he tearmed heretickes. Concerning these two points, in this maner I purposed to have proceeded.

It is not unknowne to you that k. Henry the eight in his time made his daughter the queen that now is a bastard, he abolished the authority of the bishop of Rome, he pulled downe abbeies: and all this hee did by the consent of parliament.

King Edward the sixt in his time made lawfull the marriage of priestes, turned the service into English, abolished the idolatrous masse, with all like superstitious trumperie, set up the holy communion; and all by consent of parliament.

The queene that now is, hath repealed the acte that made her bastard, hath brought in the bishop of Rome, and set him in his olde authoritie, beginneth to set up abbeies againe, hath made the mariage of priests unlawfull, hath turned the English service into Latine againe, hath set up the masse againe with like baggage, and pulled downe the holy communion; and all this is done by consent of parliament.

If the acts of parliament made in k. Henries time and in k. Edwards, had their foundation upon Gods word, wherupon all positive lawe ought to be grounded, then these which are stablished in the queenes time, being cleane contrarie to the others, as they are not warranted by Gods worde, so are they wicked, and therefore to bee both spoken and written against of all men, as well of private as of publike persons.

If your actes, my lord chancellor, which you have lately coyned (I call them yours, because ye onely beare the swinge, devise and decree what yee list, all other men are forced to follow) bee good, and according to Gods words, then the former acts were naught, which thing yee seeme to say, in utterly taking of them away, and setting up of the contrarie: if the former were naught, why, then did ye consent unto them, and confirme them to be good by your voluntary and advised writing, as it appeareth, and will to the worlds ende, in your booke *de vera Obedientia*, where you prove the queene a bastard, and the bishop of Rome to be an usurper, and to have no authority in the realme of England?

Ye must needes confesse, that the most part of your actes of parliament in these latter daies, have bene according to the fan

tasies of a few. King Henry in his time established by parliament in a manner what he listed, and many things that might well have beene amended.

In king Edwards daies, the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland bare a great stroke in things, and did not all things sincerely. Even so, since the queene that now is, came to the government of the realme, all things are ordered by your devise, and head, and the whole parliament house is led as you list; by reason whereof they are compelled to condescend to things both contrarie to Gods manifest worde, and also contrarie to their owne consciences; so great is your crueltie.

For to bring your wicked purposes to passe, and to establishe your antichristian kingdome (which I trust the Lord, with the breath of his mouth will speedily blowe over) yee have called three parliaments in one yeere and an halfe, that what you could not compass by subtile perswasion, yee might bring to passe by tyrannicall threatning; for if ye had not used cruell force in your doings, yee had never brought to passe such things as this day yee have, to the utter defacing and abolishing of Gods true religion, and to the casting away and destruction of your naturall countrey, so much as in you lieth.

And it is most true that as acts of parliament have in these latter daies beene ruled by the fantasies of a few, and the whole parliament house, contrarie to their minds, was compelled to consent to such things as a few have conceived: so it must needs bee graunted that the papists at all times were most ready to apply themselves to the present world, and like men pleasers to follow the fantasies of such as were in authoritie, and turne with the estate, which way soever it turned. Yea, if the estate should chaunge tenne times in one yeare, they would ever bee readie at hand to chaunge with it, and so follow the cry, and rather utterly to forsake God, and be of no religion, then that they would forgoe lust or living, for God or for religion.

King Henry by parliament, according to Gods worde, put downe the Pope: the clergie consented, and all men openly by othe refused his usurped supreamacy, knowing by Gods word CHRIST to bee head of the church, and every king in his realme to have under and next unto Christ, the chiefe soveraigntie.

King Edward also by parliament, according to God's word, set the marriage of priests at liberty, abolished the popish and idolatrous masse, changed the Latine service, and set up the holy

communion : the whole clergie consented^a hereunto : many of them set it forth by their preaching : and all they by practising confirmed the same.

^a *The whole clergie consented.*] Compare *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 340, 1, and 351, 2, with n.

With respect to the particular question of the marriage of the clergy, we possess an account of the proceedings of convocation, of very high authority, being from archbishop Parker himself, and of the more value because the official records of the convocation are not extant.

"These matters aforesayde," says he, "with many others being well and advisedly pondered by that noble prince king Edward, his nobles, and cleargie, somewhat to stave the foule abuse whiche so long tyme without remedie had been used in that state of the realme which should by due tyme expresse, for example, most puritie of life ; he thoughte it good to remove the force of such forayne lawes which compelled to this daungerous state of lyfe ; his cleargie meetyng in synode together, and after debatements concludyng.

"If ye lyst to understand what was done and subscribed unto, ye shall heare what the lower house dyd affirme in this case of continencie to whose consciences was this proposition propounded, eyther to be freely affirmed, or to be freely denied by them : videz ;

"That all such canons, lawes, statutes, decrees, usages, and customes heretofore made, had, or used, that forbyd any person to contracte matrimonie, or condemne matrimony by any person alredie contracted for any vowe of priesthood, chastitie, or widowhood, that from henceforth be utterly voyde and of none effect.

"The *affirmantes* of this proposition, were almost treble so many as were the *negantes*. Amongst which *affirmantes* divers were then unmarried, and never dyd afterward take the libertie of maryage : as doctor Tailor the bishop, doctor Benson, doctor Redman, doctor Hugh Weston, maister Wotton, &c. Of them that denyed it, notwithstanding their superscriptions to the contrary, as few as they were, yet some of them took upon them the libertie of marage not long after ; as doctor Oken, maister Rayner, maister Wilson

"Nowe yf any man may fortune to doubt of the judgement of that notable learned man, and commonly reputed of grave judgement, I mean doctor Redmayn, doctor of divinitie, he shall heare his very judgement, which he uttered in the self same convocation, written in a paper severally by his owne hande, yet extant to be shewed, and subscribed with his owne name. And thus he saith :

"I thinke that although the worde of God do exhort and counsell priestes to lyve in chastitie, out of the cumber of the flesh and of the world, that thereby they may more wholly attende to theyr calling : yet the banke of continyng from marage, doth only ly upon priestes of this realme, by reason of canons and constitutions of the church, and not by any precept of Gods worde as in that they should be bound by reason of any vowe.

Notwithstanding, now when the state is altered, and the lawes changed, the papisticall clergie with other like worldlinges, as men neither fearing God, neither flying worldly shame, neither yet regarding their consciences, othes, or honesty, like wavering weather-cockes, turne round about, and putting on harlots foreheads, sing a new song, and cry with an impudent mouth; "Come againe, come againe to the catholicke church," meaning the antichristian church of Rome, which is the synagogue of Sathan, and the very sinke of all superstition, heresie, and idolatry.

Of what force I pray you may a man thinke these parliaments to be, which scantly can stand a yeare in strength? Or, what credite is to bee given to these law makers, which are not ashamed to establish contrary lawes, and to condemne that for evill, which before (the thing in it selfe and the circumstances remaining all one) they affirmed, and decreed to be good. Truly, ye are so ready, contrarie to all right, to change and turne for the pleasure of man, that at length I feare, God will use you like changelings, and both turne you forth of his kingdom, and out of your owne countrey.

Ye charge the gossell preachers with the undoing of this realme: nay it is the turning papists, which have not only set a sale their countrey like traitours, but also troubled the simple people, so that they cannot tell what they may beleieve. For that which they affirmed, and preached to bee true doctrine in king Edwards daies, now they cry against it, as it were most

which, in as farre as any conscience is, priestes in this churche of Englande do not make. I thynke, that it standeth well with Gods worde, that a man which hath bene and is but once maryed, beyng otherwise accordingly qualified, may be made a prieste.

"And I thynke, that forasmuch as canons and rules, made in this behalfe, be neither universall, nor everlastyng, but upon considerations may be altered and chaunged; therefore the kynges majestie and the hygher powers of the churche, may upon such reasons as shall move them take away the clogge of perpetual continencie from priestes, and graunt that it may be lawful to such as can not or will not contayne, to marye one wyfe. And yf she die, then the sayde priest to mary no more, remanyng styll in his ministration.

"JOHN REDMAYN."

"Thus this learned man, in such credit universally in decyding questions of conscience, doth in a great sort of respectes condempne the universal tract of the bolde assertions inspersed through Dr. Martins whole booke." *Defence of Priests' Marriages*, p. 351—3.

abominable heresie. This fault I trust ye shall never find at our hands.

Therefore, to conclude that which I proposed, forsomuch as the actes of parliament of these latter times are one contrarie to another, and those which yee now have established in your time, are contrarie to Gods most manifest worde, as is the usurped supreamacie of the bishop of Rome, the idolatrous masse, the Latine service, the prohibiting of lawfull marriage^{*} (which Saint Paul calleth the doctrine of devils) with many such other : I say it is not onely lawfull for any private man, which bringeth Gods word for him, and the authoritie of the primitive and best church, to speake and write against such unlawfull lawes, but it is his duty, and hee is bound in very conscience to doe it :

^{*} *Lawfull marriage*] From the hand of Henry Wharton we have here again, a very concise, but very valuable distinction, pointed out of the difference of proceedings, in queen Mary's reign, in regard to the deprivation for marriage, of the two great classes of clergy, the regulars and the seculars ; and which has been very imperfectly understood by the ordinary historians.

"Nor was this all," says the bishop, p. 277, "but after they were deprived, they were also forced to leave their wives; which piece of severity was grounded on the row, that as was pretended they had made; though the falsehood of this charge was formerly demonstrated."

"It is true," continues Wharton, "that the *secular* clergymen had made no row. But it cannot be denied, that as many of the clergy, as had formerly been *regulars*, had made solemn and express rows. Now the number of these was very considerable among the beneficed clergy of that time; by reason that all priests, who had been ejected out of religious houses, were enabled to hold benefices; and that the king also, and other patrons, did more readily give benefices to them, that so by that means, they might discharge themselves from the obligation of paying their annual pensions any longer to them. These therefore were all forced to leave their wives, unless they evaded it by any base complance, by connivance, or by the favour of any great person. But that any of the *seculars* were forced to leave their wives, I do no where find; indeed, it was necessary to *all* who would continue in their benefices, to renounce their wives, but we now speak of those clergymen, who had been already deprived of their benefices. Against many of them processes were formed for their marriage, which may be found in the registers often made. but therein I cannot find any beaule *regulars*, to have been deprived by the sentence of the court, or their marriages to have been annulled: and accordingly, in the articles of enquiry, to be administered to every married clergyman, formed in March 1554, when the persecution of the married clergy began in the diocese of Canterbury, the *first* is whether he had been a *religious*, and of what order, and in what monastery or house." *Specimen of Errors*, p. 139, 40.

which thing I have prooved by divers examples before ; and now will adde to but one other, which is written in the fift of the Acts, where it appeareth that the high priests, the elders, scribes, and pharises decreed in their councell, and gave the same commandement to the apostles, that they should not preach in the name of Christ, as ye have also forbidden us : notwithstanding when they were charged therewithall, they answered, *we ought more to obey God then man* : even so we may and do answere you. God is more to be obeied then man : and your wicked lawes cannot so tongue tie us, but we will speake the trueth.

The apostles were beaten for their boldnesse, and they rejoiced that they suffered for Christes cause. Ye have also provided rods for us, and bloudy whips : yet when ye have done that which Gods hand and counsell hath determined that yee shall doe, be it life or death, I trust that God will so assist us by his holy spirit and grace, that we shall patiently suffer it, and praise God for it : and whatsoever become of me and others, which now suffer for speaking, and professing of the truth, yet bee yee sure that Gods worde will prevaile and have the overhand, when your bloudy lawes and wicked decrees, for want of sure foundation, shall fall in the dust : and that which I have spoken of your acts of parliament, the same may be said of the generall counsels of these latter daies, which have been within these five hundreth yeares, where as the antichrist of Rome, by reason of his usurped authoritie ruled the roast, and decreed such things as made for his gaine, not regarding Gods glory : and therefore are they to be spoken, written, and cried against of all such as feare God, and love his truth.

And thus much I purposed to have said, concerning the first point.

Now touching the second point. That whereas my lord chancellor had the day before said his pleasure of them that ruled the realme, while he was in prison, and also rejoiced as though God had made this alteration, even for his sake and his catholicke church, as he called it ; and to declare as it were by myracle, that we were before in a schisme and heresie, and the realme was now brought unto an unitie, and to a truth, and I cannot tell whereto : thereto was I fully purposed to have said ; secondly, my lord, where as ye yesterday so highly dispraised the government of them that ruled in innocent king Edwards daies,

it may please your lordship to understand, that we poore preachers, whom ye so evill allow, did most boldly and plainly rebuke their evill governance in many things, specially their covetousnesse, and neglect and small regard to live after the gospell, as also their negligence to occasion other to live thereafter, with moe things than I can nowe rehearse. This can all London testifie with us. I would also have told him, what I my selfe for my part did once at Paules Crosse, concerning the misuse of abbeyes, and other church goods: and I am assured right well, that never a papist of them all did ever so much therein as I did, I thanke the Lord therefore. I was also, as it is well knowne, faine to answer therefore before all the councell; and many of my brethren did the like; so that wee for the not rebuking of their faults, shall not answer before God, nor be blame worthy before men. Therefore let the gentlemen and the courtiers themselves, and all the citizens of London, testifie what we did.

But my lord you could not abide them, for that which they did unto you, and for that they were of a contrary religion unto you. Wherefore in that you seeme so infest against them, it is neither any just or publicke cause, but it is your own private hate, that maketh you to report so evill of their governance. And ye may now say what yee list of them, when they bee partly dead and gone, and partly by you put out of office.

But what shall be said of you when your fall shall follow, yee shall then heare. And I must say my conscience to you: I feare mee yee have and will with your governance bring England out of Gods blessing into a warme sunne. I pray God you do not.

I am an English man borne, and God knoweth, do naturally wish well to my countrey. And my lord, I have often proved, that the things which I have much feared afore hand should come to passe, have in deed followed. I pray God I may faile of my guessing in this behalfe: but truly that will not bee with expelling the true worde of God out of the realme, and with the sheading of innocent blood.

And as touching your rejoicing, as though God had set you alofte to punish us by myracle (for so you reporte and bragge openly of your selfe) and to minister justice, if we will not receive your holy fathers mercie; and thereby to declare your church to be true, and ours false, to that I answered thus: Gods workes be wonderfull, and are not to be comprehended, and perceived by mans wisdom, nor by the wit of the most wise.

and prudent. Yea, they are soonest deceived, and do most easily judge amisse of Gods wonderfull workes, that are most worldly wise. God hath made all the wisdom of this worlde foolishnesse, (first Corinthians the first, and the second chapter) that is, He hath put his beloved and deare heart, into the hands of the enemies thereof. (Jerem. c. 12.)

This thing doth God, which thing all wise men accompt to be the most foolish and unwise part that can be. Will the wise of the world, trow ye, put their most deare friends and tenderly beloved children, into their enemies hands, to kill, slay, burn? That is unto them a madnesse above all madnesse. And, yet doth God use this order: and this is an high and singular wisdom in his sight, which the world taketh to bee most extreame madnesse.

Can the world shew a cause why he suffered the great multitude of innocent children to be murdered of Herode of Ascalon, or why hee put that most holy man John Baptist, into the hands of Herode his sonne to bee beheaded, and that in prison secretly without open judgement most tyrannously? Why hee suffered his beloved apostle James, to bee beheaded of another Herode (Actes 12)? Why hee suffered his beloved seede of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to bee foure hundred yeares in thraldome and bondage, and under Pharao? And all the stocke of Juda and Benjamin his beloved children and church, to come under the power, sword, and tyranny of Nabuchodonosor? No verely; but his true catholicke church knoweth divers causes hereof, which are now too long to rehearse, and which I would right gladly shew, if I had time.

But this I am right sure of, that it was not because that the foresaid godly men were in heresies, and subject to false Gods' services, and idolatry, and that their adversaries were men of God, and beloved of God.—The contrarie was true. John Baptist was beloved of God, and Herode hated, and so forth of the rest: and John Baptist, the innocent children, James, the children of Israell, in Egypt, and in Babylon, were the catholicke members and people of God: and their adversaries, into whose hands they were put and delivered, and that of God, and by his good will and pleasure, were idolaters and the people of the divell: but they would be called the chiefe members of God, and rejoiced that they had the true God, and that it was now declared by myracle, that the Israelites had but a false God, and a false

religion, seeing they were delivered into the Babylonians hands. And all the other (the Herodes and Pharao I meane) plainly determined, that if the men which they killed and handled evill, had beene Gods people, God woulde never have suffered them to come into their hands, but rather have done the contrarie, and have let John Baptist kill Herode, and the Israelites Pharao, and Nabuchodonosor. Even the like is now to be scene in us, and in our most cruell adversaries.

They are not therefore the catholieke church, because our mercifull God hath at this present given our lives into their hands: neither are wee therefore heretickes, because we suffer punishment at their hands, as the lord chauncellor by his rejoicing, seemeth to gather: the contrarie is hereby to be gathered, that wee be the members of the true catholieke church, because we suffer for the same doctrine which John Baptist, James, the Israelites, yea Christ, and the apostles, did teach. And in like case, as the above mentioned holy men, though they in their daies, were counted to be heretickes, seditious, and disturbers of the whole world, (for unto John Baptist it was said, John 1.) *Wherefore baptisest thou, if thou be not Elias, nor that prophet, &c.* as who say, "thou hast no such authoritie to begin a newe ceremonie in the church: for wee be in ordinarie possession of the church: and of us thou hast received no such power. Wee abide by our circumcision:" and the like could I declare of James, and of all the apostles and prophets, and of our Saviour Christ himselfe, that were all condemned as heretickes and blasphemers of God, and disturbers of the whole world. Paule and Silas (Act. 16.) heard like wordes of the Philippians: "these men trouble our citie, seeing they are Jewes, and preach institutions, which are not lawfull for us to receive, seeing we be Romanes." And in Athens, the wise men of this world, and such as gave their endeavour to wisdom, said by S. Paul, What will this prater (as my lord chancellor said to me, "Shall wee suffer this fellowe to prate?" when I would faine have said that thing, that I have here written) trifle, newes carier, or bringer, that telleth whatsoever men will have him, for gaine and advantage, that will for a piece of bread say what yee will have him, &c. And another said in the same place; *hee seemeth to be a preacher of new diuels.* And, Actes 21, the Jewes say by Paule, laying hands on him, *helpe () yee Israelites,* say they, *this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people* (meaning the Jewes)

and the lawe and this place, meaning Jerusalem; and yet was never a word of these true. And Actes 22, the same Jewes said of Paule; *out of the earth with that man, or away with him: for it is not lawfull for him to live*, or hee is not worthy to live. And how many mo of these examples are to be found in the bible? Although, I say, these men were in their daies taken for heretickes, of them that were then in authoritie, and of the great multitude of the world, yet it is nowe well knowne, yea and very shortly after their deathes this was knowne; yea, and even in their lives also unto the true catholick church, that they were not only the chiefe and speciall members of the true catholicke church, but also the founders and builders thereof, (notwithstanding the sinister judgement, that the wise and mighty men, and the great multitude of the world had of them) and in their consciences they were alwaies assuredly certified of the same. Even the same shall the world find true in us, shortly after our deathes; as also there be at this houre (the Lord be thanked therefore) not a few, that already know it; as we our selves also are by Gods grace assuredly certified in our consciences, that we are no heretickes, but members of the true catholicke church, and that our adversaries the bishops and popish clergie, which will have that title, are the members of Sathans church, and their antichristian head of Rome with them.

But here they will cry out: loe these men will bee still like John Baptist, the apostles and prophets, &c.

I answer, wee make not our selves like unto them, in the singular vertues and gifts of God, given unto them: as of miracles doing, and of many other things. The similitude and likenesse of them and us, consisteth not in all things, but only in this, that is, that we be like them in doctrine, and in the suffering of persecution and infamie for the same.

We have preached their very doctrine and none other thing. That wee are able sufficiently to declare by their writings: and by writing for my part, I have profered to proove the same (as is now often said). And for this cause wee suffer the like reproache, shame, and rebuke of the world, and the like persecution, leeing of our lives and goods, forsaking (as our maister Christ commaundeth) father, mother, sister, brethren, wives, children, and all that there is, being assured of a joyfull resurrection, and to be crowned in glorie with them, according to the unfallible promises made unto us in Christ, our onely and sufficient mediatour, recon-

ciler, priest, and sacrifice, which hath pleased the father, and quieted and pacified his wrath against our sinnes, and made us without spot or wrinkle in his sight by imputation, although we, of, and in our selves are bespotted, and beblotted with many filthy sinnes, which if the great mercy graunted in Christ, did not put away, by not imputing them unto us of his measurelesse unspeakable mercy and love to save us, they woulde have brought us to everlasting damnation, and death perpetuall. Heerein, and in no other, do we affirme our selves to bee like unto our head Christ, and all his apostles, prophets, martyrs and saintes: and herein ought all christian men to be like them; and herein are all true christian men and women like them every one, according to the measure of the faith that God hath dealt unto them, and to the diversitie of the giftes of the Spirit given unto them.

But let us now consider, that if it bee Gods good will and pleasure, to give his owne beloved heart, that is his beloved church, and the members thereof, into the hands of their enemies, to chasten, try and proove them; and to bring them to the true unfained acknowledging of their owne naturall stubbornnesse, disobedience towards God, and his commandements, as touching the love of God and of their brethren or neighbours, and their naturall inclination, readinesse and desire, to love creatures, to seeke their owne lusts, pleasures and things forbidden of God, to obtaine a true and earnest repentance, and sorrowfulnessse therefore, and to make them to sigh and cry for the forgivenessse of the same, and for the aide of the spirit, daily to mortifie and kill the said evill desires and lusts: yea and often falling into grosse outward sinnes, as did David, Peter, Magdalen, and other, to rise againe also thereout with a mighty crying for mercie, with many other causes: let us also consider what hee hereafter doth with the said enemies, into whose hands hee hath given his tenderly beloved dearelings to be chastened and tried. Forsooth, whereas he but chasteneth his dearelings, and crosseth them for a small while, according to his good pleasure, as all fathers doe with their children, (Heb. 12. Proverb 3.) he utterly destroyeth, yea and everlastingly damnth the unrepentant enemies. Let Herode tell mee what hee wanne by killing James, and persecuting Peter, and Christes tender dearelings, and beloved spouse and wife, his church. Verely God thought him not worthy to have death ministered unto him by men or angells, or any worthy creatures, but those small, and yet most vile beastes, lice, and small wormes, must

consume and kill his vile, and tyrannous body. Pharao and Nabuchodonoser, for all their pride and most mighty power, must at the length let Gods dearelings go freely away out of their land, yea out of their hands and tyranny. For when it could not bee obtained at their hands, that Gods congregation might have true mercy ministered unto them, but the counterfaite mercie of these our daies, that is to say, extreame cruelty, and even the very and that most horrible and cruell death, God arose and awoke out of his sleepe, and destroyed those enemies of his flocke, with a mighty hand and stretched out arme. Pharao did with most great and intolerable labors and burdens, oppresse and bring under the poore Israelites, and yet did the courtiers undoubtedly noise abroad, that the king was mercifull unto them, to suffer them to live in the land, and to set them a worke, that they might get them their livinges. If hee should thrust them out of his land, whither should they goe, like a sort of vagabonds and runnagates? This title and name of mercie, would that tyrant have, and so did his flattering false courtiers spread his vaine praise abroad. Have not wee the like examples nowe adaies? O that I had nowe time to write certain things pertaining to our Winchesters mercy! How mercifull hee hath beene to mee and to my good brethren I will not speake of; neither yet unto the duke of Suffolkes most innocent daughter¹⁰, and to her as innocent husband. For although their fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lacke of experience deserved a pardon by all true mercifull mens judgements. O that I had time to paint out this matter aright: but there bee many alive that can doe it much better, when I am dead. Pharao had his plagues: and his most flourishing land was by counterfaite mercy, which was in deede right crueltie and abominable tyranny, utterly destroied. And thinke yee that butcherly bishoppe of Winchester and his brethren shall escape? Or that England shall for their offences, and specially for the maintenance of their idolatry, and wilfull following of them, not abide a great brunt¹? Yes undoubtedly.

¹⁰ *Innocent daughter.*] Lady Jane Gray.

¹ *A great brunt.*] A grave author, early in the reign of queen Elizabeth, writing under the immediate superintendence of archbishop Parker (if the penman of this particular portion of the work were not the archbishop himself), gives the following detail of some of the physical and moral calamities with which the nation was visited in the unhappy reign of queen Mary.

“What immoderate raynes and tempestes raged in one yere; what intole-

If God looke not mercifully upon England, the seedes of utter destruction are sowne in it alreadie, by these hypocriticall tyrants, antichristian prelates, and double traitours to their naturall countrey. And yet they speake of mercy, of blessing, of the catholick church, of unity, of power and strengthening of the realme. This double dissimulation will shew it selfe one day when the plague commeth, which will undoubtedly light upon these crowne-shorne captaines, and that shortly, whatsoever the godly, and the poore realme suffer in the meane while, by Gods good sufferance and will.

Spite of Nabuchodonosers beard, and maugre his heart, the

rable heate and droughtes in another yere; what penurie and scarcitie of corne and vittaile; what hunger and famine thereof followed; what sicknesses, what agues, what strange mortalities reigned and raged, wherewith the eldest and gravest personages of all degrees and conditions, were in great numbers wasted and consumed; what misfortunes commonly fell to women with chylde in their delyvery; what fyers chaunced, far above the wont of other yeres of other princes raignes, in many places wastying whole vyllages, towns, and churches.—Agayne, what crueltie was scene executed by fyeryng olde men and women, young men and maydes, without choice whether the women were with chylde, or free from chyldren; what proscriptions and banishments of learned men out of the realme; and suche as taryed within the realme, how they were driven to corners, spoyled, and impoverysed, and such as could be gotten, shamed openly by vyle penancies and shameful recantations. And furthermore, what rapes and vyllanies committed, above the common practised disorder, by straungers and forayners; what unpunished wonne and purchased to the unchaste generation, to recurre agayne to theyr olde trade of lewde lyving, after they had confounded the priests' chaste matrimones, so stablyshed and authorised by the hygh lawes of the realme. Then at the last, what dishonor and losse the realme suffered, by losyng that notable borderer Calyce, aforesayd so valiantly wonne and gotten by king Edward III, and (to these unfortunate dayes of resumyng the great adversarie of all Christian realmes, the pope agayne, politiquely and chargeably maynteyned and defended in good and sure possession, to the comforte of the whole realme, and to the terrour of all our forayne enemies. I say, to consider all these particularities as they might deserve to be set out at length, what Englyshe hearte could forbear teares, and not inwardly sygh and lament the miserie whiche heavy infelicities the Englyshe chyldren yet unborn shall wepe at, and wayle, to consider the same.

"If these be not severe tokens and proofes of Gods heaveie displeasure towards Englande, for so vylely despising his worde, his light, his religion, his sacramentes, his institutions, what can He shewe of his wrath and indignation?" *Defence of Priests' Marriages; Preface to the Reader.* Compare also Sir Thomas Smith, in *Steype's Life of him*, p. 17-9. Appendix. edit. 1698, and p. 108-110. ditto.

captive, thrall and miserable Jewes must come home againe, and have their citie and temple builded up againe by Zorobabell, Esdras, and Nehemias. And the whole kingdome of Babylon must goe to ruine, and be taken of strangers, the Persians and the Medes : so shall the dispersed English flocke of Christ be brought againe into their former estate, or to a better I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent king Edwards daies, and our bloody Babylonical bishops, and the whole crowne-shorne company be brought to utter shame, rebuke, ruine, decay, and destruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly wil not suffer for ever their abhominable lying false doctrine, their hypocrisie, bloudthirst, whoredome, idlenesse, their pestilent life pampered in all kinde of pleasure, their thrasonicall boasting pride, their malicious, envious, and poisoned stomackes, which they beare towards his poore and miserable Christians. Peter truely warneth, that if judgement beginneth at the house of God, what shall be the ende of them that beleieve not the gospell? If the righteous shall scant be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinfull appeare? Some shal have their punishment here in this world, and in the world to come; and they that doe escape in this world, shall not escape everlasting damnation."

After that John Rogers, as ye have heard, had beene long and straightly imprisoned, lodged in Newgate amongst theeves, often examined, and very uncharitably intreated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly by wicked Winchester condemned; the fourth of February, in the yeare of our Lord 1555, being Munday in the morning, hee was warned sodainly by the keepers wife of Newgate, to prepare himselfe to the fire: who then being sound a sleepe, scarce with much shogging² could be awaked. At length being raised and waked, and bid to make haste, "then," said hee, "if it bee so, I neede not to tie my points:" and so was had downe, first to Boner to be degraded. That done, hee craved of Boner but one petition. And Boner asking what that should be; "nothing" said hee, "but that he might talke a few words with his wife," before his burning. But that could not bee obtained of him. Then said hee, "you declare your charity what it is:" and so hee was brought into Smithfield by maister Chester, and maister Woodrofe, then sheriffes of London, there to be burnt; where he shewed most constant patience, not using many words, for hee

² *Shogging.*] Shaking.

could not bee permitted, but only exhorting the people constantly to remaine in that faith and true doctrine which hee before had taught and they had learned, and for the confirmation whereof hee was not onely content patiently to suffer and beare all such bitternesse and cruelty as had been shewed him, but also most gladly to resign up his life, and to give his flesh to the consuming fire, for the testimony of the same.

Briefely and in fewe wordes to comprehend the whole order of his life, doings, and martyrdom, first this godly M. Rogers was committed to prison, as is abovesaid, and there continued a yeare and a halfe. In prison he was merry, and earnest in all he went about. He wrote much : his examinations hee penned with his owne hand, which els had never come to light. Wherein is to bee noted by the way a memorable working of Gods providence. Yee heard a little above how maister Rogers craved of Boner, going to his burning, that he might speak a few wordes before with his wife, which coulde not bee graunted. What these words were which hee had to say to his wife, it is for no man certainly to define : likely it may be supposed that his purpose was, amongst other things, to signifie unto her of the booke written of his examinations and answers, which he had privily hid in a secret corner of the prison where hee lay. But where mans power lacketh, see how Gods providence worketh ! For notwithstanding that during the time of his imprisonment, strait search there was to take away his letters and writings, yet after his death, his wife and one of her sonnes called Daniell, comming into the place where he lay, to seeke for his bookes and writings, and now ready to goe away, it chanced her sonne aforenamed, casting his eye aside to spy a black thing (for it had a black cover, belike because it should not bee knowne) lying in a blinde corner under a paire of stairs ; who willing his mother to see what it was, found it to bee the booke written with his owne hand, containing these his examinations and answers, with other matter above specified.

Furthermore, amongst other his words and sayings, which may seeme prophetically to be spoken of him, this also may be added, and is notoriously to be marked, that he spake being then in prison, to the printer of this present booke, who then also was laid up for like cause of religion : " Thou," said he, " shalt live to see the alteration of this religion, and the gospell to be freely preached againe : and therefore have me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them be circumspect in

displacing the papists, and putting good ministers into churches, or else their end will be worse than ours." And for lacke of good ministers to furnish churches, his devise was³ (M. Hooper also agreeing to the same) that for every ten churches, some one good and learned superintendent should be appointed, which should have under him faithfull readers, such as might well be got, so that popish priests should cleane be put out, and the bishop once a yeere to oversee the profiting of the parishes, and if the minister did not his duety, as well in profiting himselfe in his booke, and his parishioners in good instructions, so that they may be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they doe profite, then he to be expelled, and another put in his place: and the bishop to do the like with the superintendent. This was his counsell and request. Shewing moreover, and protesting in his commendations to his brethren by the printer aforesaid, that if they would not so doe, their end hee said would be worse than theirs.

Over and besides divers other things touching M. Rogers, this is not to be forgotten, how in the daies of k. Edward the sixt, there was a controversie among the bishops and clergie, for wearing of priests caps, and other attire belonging to that order⁴. M. Rogers being one of that number which never went otherwise then in a round cap, during all the time of king Edward, affirmed that he would not agree⁵ to that decreement of uniformitie, but

³ *His devise was.*] Compare Becon's *Works*, vol. ii. fol. 7. b. *Jewel of Joy*.

⁴ *That order.*] "John Rogers, lecturer of St. Paul's, and vicar of St. Sepulchre's, with John Hooper, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, were ring-leaders of that" (the Puritan non-conformist) "party." Fuller's *Church Hist.*, book vii. cent. 16.

⁵ *He would not agree.*] Day, bishop of Chichester, was commanded, at the latter end of the year 1550, as appears by the minutes of the privy council, to take down all *altars* in the churches of his diocese, and in lieu of them to set up *tables* in some convenient place of the chancels; with permission "for naming the *table* an *altar*, because ancient writers sometimes call it so." The bishop replied, "He could *not conform his conscience* to do what was commanded, and therefore prayed to be excused." At a future appearance he was again pressed, on his allegiance, to comply: but "he answered plainly he could not do it, *saving his conscience*; and that he determined rather to lose all that ever he had."—The result was, that after further trial and proceedings without effect, he was deprived, Oct. 10, 1551, of his bishopric.—Anth. Harmer's [Henry Wharton's] *Specimen of Errors*, p. 113—16.

On the occasion now before us, Rogers "would not agree" to wear the square cap, tippet, and other apparel recently prescribed to the clergy by au-

upon this condition, that if they would needs have such an uniformitie of wearing the cap, tippet, &c. then it should also be decreed withall, that the papists for a difference betwixt them and other, should bee constrained to weare upon their sleeves a chalice with an host upon it. Whereunto if they would consent, hee would agree to the other ; otherwise he would not he said consent to the setting forth of the same, nor ever weare the cap, as indeed he never did.

To proceede now further in describing the doings of this man : during the time while he remained prisoner in Newgate,

thority of convocation and parliament. It was *against his conscience* ; which he could not (or would not) reform. Seemingly without much effort to effect this, he appears therefore to have lived and died in wilful and cherished contumacy and disobedience to the lawful ordinances of the church and state, of which he was a subject and a minister.

Again, in the Life which next follows in our series, namely that of Hooper, we shall find that he too, being designed for a bishop, declined wearing the square cap and other prescribed episcopal vestments, it being "*offensive to his conscience* ;" and refused to take the oath to be administered at his consecration, it being "*burdensome to his conscience*." (On reflexion, however, and conference, and argument, Hooper happily *reformed his conscience* ; and (shall I not say happily :) *by these means, he lived a bishop, and died a martyr*.

Hooper and Rogers, it is probable, would have been as loud in condemning Day for his disobedience about the *altars*, as they were strenuous in maintaining their own against the *habits*. And where, I would ask, does Day's case differ from their own ? The same is true likewise of many other pleas of *conscience* and *private judgment*, in religious as well as civil affairs, which we hear urged, and which disturb society in every age ; and not a little also in our own.

But the main object for which I have ventured to invite the reader's attention to these particulars, is not what has hitherto appeared, but something further : namely, that we should meditate seriously on what our human nature is, and on the contingencies and circumstances of our condition and duties here below ; and therefore that I should entreat my readers to consider with themselves, How can the church ever attain to peace on such terms and pleas as those of Day, and Rogers and Hooper, and how can these and the many like dangerous and unchristian divisions and schisms be prevented or remedied, in any other way, than by as many of the community as possible, being well disciplined from their youth, to understand, and value, and act upon the healing principles of truth, and justice, and wisdom, embodied in the xth, xxiith, xxvth, xxvith, and xxvith articles of the Church of England

The reader may derive benefit from consulting also *The Christian Institutes*, Index, under *Church Authority*, and *Private Judgment*, and the extracts there given

hee was to the prisoners beneficiall and liberall; for whom hee had thus devised, that he with his fellowes should have but one meale a day, they paying notwithstanding, for the charges of the whole; the other meale should be given to them that lacked on the other side of the prison. But Alexander their keeper, a strait man, and a right Alexander, a coppersmith indeed, of whose doings more shall be said, God willing hereafter, would in no case suffer that. The Sunday before he suffered, he drank to M. Hooper, being then underneath him; and bade them commend him unto him, and tell him, there was never little fellow better would sticke to a man than he would sticke to him, presupposing that they should both be burned together; although it hapned otherwise, for maister Rogers was burnt alone.—And thus much briefly concerning the life and such actes of M. Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.

Now when the time came, that he being delivered to the shiriffes, should bee brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution; first came to him M. Woodrofe one of the foresaid shiriffes, and calling M. Rogers unto him, asked him if he would revoke his abhominable doctrine, and his evill opinion of the sacrament of the aultar, M. Rogers, aunswered and said; “that which I have preached, I will seale with my bloud.” Then quoth maister Woodrofe, “thou art an here-ticke.” “That shall be knowne,” quoth Rogers, “at the day of judgement.” “Well,” (quoth maister Woodrofe) “I will never pray for thee⁶.” “But I will pray for you,” quoth maister Rogers; and so he was brought the same day, which was Munday the fourth of Februarie, by the shiriffes toward Smithfield, saying the psalme *Miserere*⁷ by the way, all the people wonder-

⁶ *I will never pray for thee.*] At the burning of John Frith, in the year 1533, “This one thing is yet to be remembered” (says Fox) “that he being bounde to the stake with another good martyr, which was a very simple young man named Andrew Hewet, there was present one doctour Cooke, that was parson of the church called All-hallows in Honey-lane, situate in the myddest of Chepsyde. And the sayd Cooke made an open exclamation, and admonished the people, *that they should in no wise pray for them*, noe more than they would doe for a dogge. At which wordes Frith smiling, desired the Lord to forgive him. But the ungodly and uncharitable wordes of the sayd doctour did not a little offend the people.” Fox’s *Life of Frith*, prefixed to his Works.

⁷ *The psalme Miserere.*] This, which is the 51st psalm, and one of those commonly called the *seven penitential* psalms, appears to have been frequently

fully rejoysing at his constancie, with great praises and thanks to God for the same: and there in the presence of maister Rochester, controller of the queenes housholde, Sir Richard Southwell, both the shiriffes, and a wonderfull number of people, hee was burned into ashes*, washing his hands in the flame as hee was in burning. A little before his burning at the stake, his pardon was brought if he would have recanted, but he utterly refused it. He was the first proto-martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in queene Maries time, that gave the first adventure upon the fire. His wife and children, beeing eleven

made use of upon the like melancholy occasions. See Fox's *Acts*, p. 138, in his account of Dr Taylor, p. 139, in that of William Hunter, and More's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 274.

In like manner, we find the 106th Psalm sometimes resorted to, (Fox's *Acts*, p. 155) and that Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, at his death, "with an obedient heart full meekly sayd the 106th, 107th, and 108th Psalmes." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1661.

* *Hee was burned into ashes.* We may easily believe, that events of this tragical nature would awaken a variety of passions in the minds of the spectators: nor is it surprising, that superstition had its place amongst them. Miles Hoggard, a most intemperate and malignant enemy of the reformation, has recorded an anecdote of this kind respecting the martyrdom of Rogers, which is worthy of insertion. "When Rogers their *pseudo-martyr* *proto-martyr* I would say: was burnt in Smithfield, were there not divers marchant men and others, which seeing certayn pigeons flying over the fire, that haunted to a house hard adjoining, and which, being amased with the smoke, forsooke their nestes, and flew over the fire, were not ashamed boldly to affirme, that the same was the Holy Ghoste in the likeness of a dove: This thinge is sufficiently knowen by experience to them which were there present. Then by the lyke argument they might have said, the crows which the same time hovered over the fire, were develles. But what blasphemy is this, suche opinionative fooles to beleve or credite such fantasies?" *Displaying of the Protestants*, fol. 56. A.D. 1558.

To this Hoggard, by trade a hosier, whose activity and influence against the protestants was very great during the reign of queen Mary, Robert Crowley, addressing himself, at an earlier period, says,

"Remembre your selfe, frynde Hogherde, howe manye you have sette forward towards Smithfield in the tyme of persecution. Men thinke that from the tyme of John Litch to the death of the constant witnessse of Gods truth, Anne Askewe, there was no blood shed in Smithfild, but your parts will be in it at the laste daye. Repent therefore, and acknowledge your fault. God is mercifull to the penitent. He is able to take frome you your ston. heart, and to give you one of flesh." *Consolation of the Minutere to the Litch* called *the Place of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altare*, signed with a cross. 1564.

in number, ten able to go, and one sucking on her brest, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield. This sorrowfull sight of his owne flesh and bloud could nothing moove him, but that he constantly and cheerefully tooke his death with wonderfull patience, in the defence of the quarell of Christes gospell.

BISHOP HOOPER.

A Patriot's blood
Well spent in such a strife, may earn indeed,
And for a time ensure, to his lov'd land
The sweets of liberty and equal laws.
But Martyrs struggle for a brighter prize,
And win it with more pain. Their blood is shed
In confirmation of the noblest claim—
Our claim to feed upon immortal truth,
To walk with God, to be divinely free,
To soar, and to anticipate the skies

COWPER.

BISHOP HOOPER.

JOHN HOOPER student and graduate in the university of Oxford, after the study of other sciences, wherein he had abundantly profited and proceeded, through Gods secret vocation¹ was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the scriptures. In the reading and searching wherof, as there lacked in him no diligence, joined with earnest praier, so neither wanted unto him the grace of the holy Ghost to satisfie his desire, and to open unto him the light of true divinitie.

¹ *God's secret vocation.*] We have some particulars of Hooper's early history from his own pen, in a letter to Henry Bullinger, from which it appears, that he was much influenced in his conversion by the writings of *that* divine, and of Hulderic Zuinglius. "Non multos ante annos" (says he), "cum in aula Regis nostri aulicus aulice plus satis vixerim, ornatissime Domine et Frater in Christo dilectissime, tum fausto et felici omine mihi obtulerunt sese quædam opera Doctoris Huldrici Zuinglii, eximii viri piæ memoriæ, et commentaria in Paulinas Epistolas, quæ tu felicissime universo orbi innotuisti, in perpetuum tui nominis monimentum duratura. Ista egregia Dei dona universo mundo per vos exhibita negligere nolui; cum in ipsis præsertim de animæ meæ salute felicitateque perpetua serio agi videbam. Omni itaque studio, et velut diligentia quadam superstitiosa, noctes atque dies operam vestris scriptis navare operæ pretium fore duxi. Nec labor iste mihi unquam molestus in ea re fuit. Nam postquam excessi ex ephebis, et patris clementia liberius vivendi fuit potestas, cultu impio et quovis genere idololatriæ, majorum æmulatus impietatem, Deum prius cœperam blasphemare, quam quid Deus esset, recte cognoveram. Inde tamen Dei benignitate liberatus, quod Deo et vobis unice acceptum fero, jam nihil restat, quod ad reliquum vitæ meæ et ultima fata spectat, quam ut Deum pura mente colam." Hottingeri *Histor. Ecclesiast novi Testamenti*, vol. vi. p. 271. Hottinger does not mention whether the original letter, from which he transcribed the above extract, bore any date of time and place.

Thus maister Hooper growing more and more by Gods grace, in ripenesse of spirituall understanding, and shewing withall some sparkles of his fervent spirite, being then about the beginning of the sixe Articles¹, in the time of k. Henry the eighth, fell eft-soones into displeasure and hatred of certaine rabbines in Oxford, who by and by began to stirre coales against him, whereby, and especially by the procurement of doctour Smith, he was compelled to void the universitie; and so remooving from thence, was retained in the house of Sir Thomas Arundell, and there was his steward; till the time that Sir Thomas Arundell having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no case did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the person and conditions of the man, found the meanes to send him in a message to the bishop of Winchester, writing his letter privily to the bishop, by conference of learning to doe some good upon him, but in any case requiring him to send home his servant to him againe.

Winchester after long conference with M. Hooper four or five daies together, when hee at length perceived that neither hee could doe that good which he thought to him, nor that hee would take any good, at his hand, according to M. Arundell's request, he sent home his servant againe, right well commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his brest a grudging stomacke against maister Hooper still.

It followed not long after this, as malice is alwaies working mischief, that intelligence was given to maister Hooper to provide for himselfe, for danger that was working against him. Whereupon M. Hooper leaving M. Arundell's house, and borrowing an horse of a certaine friend (whose life he had saved a little before from the gallows) tooke his journey to the sea side, to go to France, sending back the horse again by one, which indeed did not deliver him to the owner. M. Hooper being at Paris tarried there not long, but in short time returned into Englande againe, and was retained of M. Sentlow, till the time that he was again molested and laid for: whereby he was compelled, under the pretence of being captaine of a ship going to Ireland, to take the seas, and so escaped he (although not without extreame perill of drowning) through France, to the higher parts of Germany. Where hee entering acquaintance with learned

¹ *Beginning of the sixe Articles.* This was in the year 1539. Comp. *Cromwell's Life*, p. 207, note 1.

men, was of them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at Basill, and especially at Zurick of maister Bullinger, being his singular friend. Where also he married his wife, which was a Burgonian³, and applied very studiously to the Hebrue tongue.

At length when God saw it good to stay the bloody time of the six articles, and to give us k. Edward to raigne over this realme, with some peace and rest unto the gospell, amongst many other English exiles, which then repaired homeward, M. Hooper also, moved in conscience, thought not to absent himself, but seeing such a time and occasion, offered to helpe forward the Lords worke, to the uttermost of his abilitie. And so comming to M. Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance in Zurick, (as dutie required) to give them thanks for their singular kindnesse and humanitie toward him manifold waies declared, with like humanitie he again purposed to take his leave of them at his departing, and so did. Unto whom M. Bullinger againe (who had alwaies a speciall favour to M. Hooper) spake on this wise; “M. Hooper,” said hee, “although we are sorry to part with your company, for our own cause, yet much greater causes we have to rejoyce, both for your sake, and especially for the cause of Christs true religion, that you shall now returne out of long banishment into your native countrey againe; where not onely you may enjoy your own private libertie, but also the cause and state of Christs church by you may fare the better, as we doubt not but it shal.

“An other cause moreover why wee rejoyce with you and for you, is this, that you shall remoove not only out of exile into liberty: but you shall leave here a barren, a sowre, and an unpleasant country, rude and savage, and shall goe into a land flowing⁴ with milk and hony, replenished with all pleasure and fertilitie.—Notwithstanding, with this our rejoicing, one feare and care we have, least you being absent, and so farre distant from us, or els comming to such abundance of wealth and felicitie, in your new welfare, and plenty of all thinges, and in your flourishing honors, where ye shall come peradventure to be a bishop, and where ye shall finde so many new friends, you will

³ *Burgonian.*] Burgundian.

⁴ *A land flowing.*] Compare William Thomas's *Defence of king Henry VIII.* p. 7—14. A.D. 1774.

forget us your old acquaintance and wellwillers. Nevertheless, howsoever you shall forget and shake us off, yet this perswade your selfe, that we will not forget our old friend and fellow master Hooper. And if you will please not to forget us againe, then I pray you let us heare from you."

Whereunto M. Hooper answering againe, first gave to M. Bullinger, and the rest right hartly thanks, for that their singular good will, and undeserved affection, appearing not only now, but at all times towards him: declaring moreover that as the principal cause of his remooving to his countrey was the matter of religion; so touching the unpleasantnes and barrennesse of that countrey of theirs, there was no cause therein, why hee could not finde in his hart to continue his life there, as soone as in any place in the world, and rather than in his owne native countrey, if there were nothing els in his conscience that mooved him so to doe. And as touching the forgetting of his olde friends, although, said hee, the remembrance of a mans countrey naturally doth delight him, neither could hee deny, but God had blessed his countrey of England with many great commodities: yet neither the nature of countrey, nor pleasure of commodities, nor newnesse of friends should ever induce him to the oblivion of such friends and benefactors, whom hee was so intirely bound unto: and therefore you shall be sure, said he, from time to time to here from me, and I will write unto you as it goeth with me. But the last newes of all I shall not be able to write: for there, said hee, (taking M. Bullinger by the hand) where I shall take most paines, there shall you heare of mee to be burned to ashes: and that shall be the last newes which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall heare it of me*."

To this also may be added an other like propheticall demonstration, foreshewing before the manner of his martyrdome where-with he should glorifie God, which was this. When M. Hooper being made bishop of Worcester and Gloucester should have his

* *Shall heare it of me.*] Bullinger, in a letter written to Hooper in prison, dated Zurich, Octob. 10, 1554, refers to their common forebodings of his future sufferings. "Now," (says he) "is that thing happened unto you, my brother, the which we did oftentimes prophesie unto ourselves at your being with us, should come to passe, especiallie when we did talke of the power of Anti-Christ, and of his felicitie and victories." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1379. The original in Latin, is given in Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 12; edit. 1537.

armes given him by the herald, as the maner is ⁶ here in England, every bishop to have his armes assigned unto him (whether by the appointment of maister Hooper, or by the herald I have not certainly to say), but the armes which were to him allotted was this; a lambe in a fierie bush, and the sun beames from heaven descending down upon the lambe, rightly denoting, as it seemed, the order of his suffering, which afterward followed.

But now to the purpose of our story againe. Thus when M. Hooper had taken his farewell of maister Bullenger and his friends at Zurick, he made his repaire againe into Englande⁷ in the raigne of k. Edward the sixth, where he comming to London used continually to preach, most times twise, at least once every day and never failed.

In his sermons, according to his accustomed maner, he corrected sinne, and sharpely inveighed against the iniquitie of the world, and corrupt abuses of the church. The people in great flockes and companies, dayly came to heare his voice, as the most melodious sound and tune of Orpheus harpe, as the proverb saith: insomuch that oftentimes when he was preaching the church would be so full, that none could enter further then the doores thereof. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the scriptures perfect, in paines indefatigable.

Moreover, besides other his giftes and qualities, this is in him to be marvailed, that even as he began, so he continued still unto his lifes end. For neither could his labour and pain-taking breake him, neither promotion chaunge him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good, that no kind of

⁶ *As the maner is.*] "Thus did the king" (says Strype speaking of Henry 8th and archbishop Cranmer) "interpose himself divers times between his archbishop and his irreconcilable enemies the Papists: and observing, by these essays against him, under what perils he was like to come hereafter for his religion, about this time (1544) it was, as I conjecture, that the king changed his paternal coat of arms and altered the *three Cranes*, which were parcel of his ancestors' arms, into *three Pelicans*, declaring unto him, that those birds should signify unto him, that he ought to be ready, as the Pelican is, to shed his blood for his young ones, brought up in the faith of Christ. For, said the king, you are like to be tasted, if you stand to your tackling, at length." Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, p. 126.

⁷ *Repaire againe into Englande.*] This was probably early in the year 1548. His *Answer to my Lord of Winchester's book* is dated from Zurich, Sept. 9, 1547, and his *Declaration of Christ*, from the same place, Dec. 8 in the same year.

slander (although divers went about to reprove it) could fasten any fault upon him. He was of body strong, his health whole and sound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatsoever sinister fortune and adversitie could do. He was constant of judgment, a good justicer, spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time. In housekeeping very liberall, and sometime more free than his living would extend unto. Briefely, of all those vertues and qualities required of S. Paule in a good bishop, in his epistle to Timothy, I knowe not one in this good bishop lacking. Hee bare in countenance and talke alwaies a certaine severe and grave grace, which might peradventure be wished sometime to have been a little more popular and vulgar-like in him: but he knew what he had to do best himselfe.

This by the way I thought to note; for that there was once an honest citizen, and to mee not unknowne, which having in himselfe a certaine conflict of conscience, came to his doore for counsell, but being abashed at his austere behaviour durst not come in, but departed, seeking remedie of his troubled minde at other mens handes, which he afterward by the help of almighty God did finde and obtaine. Therefore in my judgement, such as are appointed and made governors over the flock of Christ, to teach and instruct them, ought so to frame their life, manners, countenance and externall behavior, as neither they shew themselves too familiar and light, wherby to be brought into contempt, nor on the other side againe, that they appeare more lofty and rigorous, than appertaineth to the edifying of the simple flocke of Christ. Nevertheless, as every man hath his peculiar gift wrought in him by nature, so this disposition of fatherly gravitie in this man neither was excessive, neither did he beare that personage which was in him, without great consideration. For it seemed to him peradventure, that this licentious and unbridled life of the common sort, ought to be chastened, not only with wordes and discipline, but also with the grave and severe countenance of good men.

After he had thus practised himselfe in this popular and common kinde of preaching; at length, and that not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the kings majesty, and soon after, made bishop of Gloucester by the kings commandment. In that office he continued two yeares, and behaved himselfe so well, that his very enemies (except it were

for his good doings, and sharpe correcting of sinne) could finde no fault with him : and after that he was made bishop of Worcester⁸.

But I cannot tell what sinister and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of bishops, and of their apparell, with such other like trifles, began to disturbe the good and luckie beginning of this godly bishop. For notwithstanding that godly reformation of religion begunne in the church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable or tending to edification, they used to wear such garments and apparell as the popish bishops⁹ were woont to do : first a chymere,

⁸ *Bishop of Worcester.*] He was nominated to the see of Gloucester May 15th, 1550, but was not consecrated till March 8th in the following year. He had the bishopric of Worcester granted to him to hold *in commendam*, on the deprivation of bishop Heath, in April 1552. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 101. 299. And towards the end of the same year the two dioceses were united, from thenceforth to be reputed and taken as one. Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 355. They were disunited again, after Hooper's martyrdom, early in 1554. See Le Neve, &c.

⁹ *As the popish bishops.*] This kind of representation, in which Fox frequently indulges, is neither just nor prudential. Could Fox be ignorant, that Hooper was to be consecrated agreeably to the acts, both of convocation and parliament, and according to the *Book of Ordination*, so authorized, of the second year of king Edward VI., at which time the habits of the bishops, as well as of the inferior orders of the clergy, had undergone, like all other points of doctrine and discipline, a very extensive and searching reform? I cannot perhaps bring this matter more concisely before my readers, than by an extract from the preface to the valuable *Life of Bishop Pecock, by John Lewis, Vicar of Margate*. After quoting from a Romish ritualist the names, and describing the nature of the vestments used by the "popish clergy," viz. "an amess, an albe, a surcingle, a maniple, a stole, and a chasuble;" all which are distinctly blessed or consecrated, and supposed "to be watered from above by God's grace, . . . that the bishops, priests and levites being habited with them, may deserve to be defended from all attacks or temptations of malignant spirits," Lewis contents himself with adding simply, "Not one of these vestments was retained in the church of England after the reformation; nor any other consecrated vestments." Why then should Fox lend the weight of his respected name to such injurious misrepresentations; and introduce into these *acts and monuments of the martyrs*, otherwise so valuable and so interesting, materials, thus wholly incongruous, and out of place; making his book the unsuspected and therefore the more dangerous vehicle for misleading, at that time, a large and growing party of Protestants, who of themselves were sufficiently perverse, wrong-headed, and ignorant, and doing injury to the cause of sound judgment, discretion, and truth, in every age? This it should seem is nothing better than another example, how utterly delusive it is to think by concession and conciliation, to content and satisfy a *Puritanizing* (not less than a *Popish*) spirit. [Ou

and under that a white rochet, then a mathematicall cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into foure parts. These trifles tending more to superstition than otherwise, as he could never abide, so in no wise could he be perswaded to weare them. For this cause he made supplication to the kings majesty, most humbly desiring his highnesse either to discharge him of the bishopricke, or els to dispense with him for such ceremoniall orders. Whose petition the king granted immediately, writing his letter to the archbishop after this tenour.

“ Right reverend father, and right trusty and welbeloved, we greet you well. Whereas we by the advise of our counceyl, have called and chosen our right welbeloved and well worthy. M. John Hooper, professor of divinity, to be our bishop of Gloucester, as wel for his great knowledge, deep judgement and long study both in the scriptures and other prophane learning, as also for his good discretion, ready utterance and honest life for that kind of vocation; to the intent al our loving subjects which are in his said charge and elsewhere, might by his sound and true doctrine learne the better their duty towards God, their obedience towards us, and their love towards their neighbours: from consecrating of whom, wee understand you do stay, because hee would have you omit and let passe certain rites and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby ye thinke ye should fal in premunire of lawes: we have thought good by the advise aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you of all maner of dangers, penalties and forfeitures, you should run and be in, any maner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these our letters shal be your sufficient warrant and discharge therefore.

“ Yeven under our signet at our castell of Windsor,
the 5. of August, the 4. yeare of our raigne.

“ ED. SOMERSET.

W. WILTSHIRE.”

W. NORTH.

W. PAGET.

AN. WINGFIELD.

N. WOOTTON.”

Our maxim and motto therefore ought to be—“ Let us stand to the truth and the truth, and the truth only, shall make us free.” For then, the God of truth will be our shield and buckler

“ W. Wiltshire } Thomas Holcyn, earl of Wiltshire, father of Anne Holcyn, died 1534. William Paulet was created earl of Wiltshire, 19th Jan. 1551.

Besides this letter of the king, also the earle of Warwick (which was afterwards duke of Northumberland) adjoined his letter to the foresaid archbishop of Canturbury to this purpose and effect, that maister Hooper might not be burdened with the oath¹ used then commonly in the consecration of bishops, which was against his conscience, as by the purport of the letter here is to be seene, as followeth.

“After my most harty commendations to your grace, these may be to desire the same, that in such reasonable things, wherein this bearer my lord elect of Glocester, craveth to be born withall at your hands, you wold vouchsafe to shew him your graces favor, the rather at this my instance: which thing, partly, I have taken in hand by the kings majesties own motion. The matter is waied by his highnes none other but that your grace may facily condescend unto. The principal cause is, that you would not charge this said bearer with an oth burdenous to his conscience. And so for lacke of time I commit your grace to the tuition of almighty God. From Westminster the 23 of July, 1550.

“Your graces most assured loving friend

I. WARWICK.”

Both this grant of the king, and also the earles letters aforesaid notwithstanding, the bishops still stode earnestly in defence of the aforesaide ceremonies, saying it was but a small matter, and that the faulte was in the abuse of the things, and not in the

¹ *Burdened with the oath.*] Strype *supposes*, and bishop Burnet *asserts*, that this was the oath of canonical obedience. *Life of Cranmer*, p. 211, and *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 146. But in his third volume, the bishop, apparently upon better grounds, affirms that it was the oath of supremacy, and tells us, upon the authority of Micronius, minister of the German church in London, that his exception to the oath was, because the *form* ran in these words, “by God, *by the Saints*, and by the Holy Gospels.” This he thought impious. And when he was before the council, the king being present, he argued that God only ought to be appealed to in an oath, for he only knew the thoughts of men. The king was so fully convinced by this, that with his own pen he struck these words out of the oath, saying that no *creature* was to be appealed to in an oath. This being cleared, no scruple remained but with relation to the habits. *Burnet*, vol. iii. p. 203. The bishop, it is probable, was first set right upon this subject by a note of the learned Mr. Baker, of St. John’s College, Cambridge. See *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. iii. p. 407. Appendix.

things themselves; adding moreover, that he ought not to be so stubburne in so light a matter, and that his wilfulnesse therein was not to be suffered.

To be short, whilst both parties thus contended about this matter more than reason would, in the meane time occasion was given, as to the true Christians to lament, so to the adversaries to rejoyce. In conclusion, this theological contention came to this end, that the bishops having the upper hand, maister Hooper was faine to agree to this condition, that sometimes he should in his sermon shew himselfe appparelled as the other bishops were. Wherefore, appointed to preach before the king as a new plaier in a strange apparel, he commeth forth on the stage. His upper garment was a long scarlet chymere downe to the foote, and under that a white linnen rochet that covered all his shoulders. Upon his head he had a geometricall, that is, a four squared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cause of shame the strangenesse hereof was that day to that good preacher, every man may easily judge. But this private contumely and reproach, in respect of the publike profite of the church, which hee onely sought, hee bare and suffered patiently. And I would to God in like manner, they which tooke upon them the other part of that tragedie, had yielded their private cause², whatsoever it was, to the publike

² *Their private cause.*] This again is a very unjust and pernicious misrepresentation. The truth was directly the reverse of what is here stated, the bishops and council, for their part, had no "private cause." They did not follow their own private judgment, or so far as they did, it was only in this, that the convictions of their conscience went along with their dutiful and faithful allegiance and obedience to the voice of *the law* of their country. Whereas, the contrary in both respects was the case with Hooper, the law was against him, and on that account as well as others, he was against the law; and had nothing to stand his friend but his own short-sighted and perverse private judgment; and the favour perhaps of a very few persons, as rash and inconsiderate as himself. Then, with respect to Fox's allegation of *private ends* and *self-will* being the motive, could he have forgotten, that almost in this very same page, he has laid before us a letter of the king in council, to the archbishop, from which it appears, that Crommer had pleaded he could not yield to Hooper, "*lest he should fall into a premunire of the law*," and though it appears from the same letter, that the king was willing to give way, but then, it is also clear, this could only be effected by the exercise of that tremendous attribute, a royal despotic power, a dangerous prerogative, indeed, then occasionally claimed as a prerogative, but never without danger and mischief, and after all, the event

concord and edifying of the church: for no man in all the citie, was one hair the better for that hot contention.

I will name no body^a, partly for that his oppugners being after-

shews, that (he too) the king and the council, on more reflection, determined to abide by the law.

^a *I will name no body.*] The reader is desired to notice this part of the narrative, as it contains the beginnings of a new series of controversy, directly opposite to those which we have hitherto been engaged in. Fox's inclinations towards Puritanism are well known; and are very apparent, as well on his whole account of this controversy respecting Hooper's consecration, as in many other parts of his *History*. The narrative is coloured in a manner much too favourable to the memory of Hooper. When the author says, that "*he will name nobody*," we may be permitted to mention, that while Hooper's principal antagonists were Cranmer and Ridley, names not to be ashamed of, and men certainly very much Hooper's superiors in learning, good temper, and wisdom, his conduct was not approved of, even by Peter Martyr, and Martin Bucer, whose foreign habits and partialities certainly tended towards Puritanism. If the reader is desirous of a more full and correct knowledge of *this early part* of the controversy, which upon its *revival* in the reign of queen Elizabeth blazed out with fury, and became of most pernicious extent and importance, he may consult Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 152—4. vol. iii. p. 199—204. Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 224—7. *Life of Cranmer*, p. 211—16. Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 309—24, &c. &c. It is some consolation, however, that Hooper himself ere long saw his error, and was ashamed of his pertinacity.

The proof of this, a fact far from generally known, and conveying impressions of a very different nature from Fox's statement, we possess in a letter from Hooper himself, which seems to have lain hid for above a century, being not published till the year 1669, when it appeared in the *Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Vindiciæ*, of Dr. John Durell, 4to. On account of the importance of the document, and the *Vindiciæ* being also a scarce volume, I give the entire letter, with the account how it came into his possession. The reader will immediately see, it is of cardinal importance in understanding the true principles and history of this controversy: more especially, if coupled with the other documents, &c., given in immediate connection from Henry Wharton, &c. It seems much to be regretted that the modern editor of Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs* (London, 1837), has done nothing to supply in an appendix, this and many other important deficiencies in Coverdale's collection.

"Extat earum literarum" (says Dr. Durell) "exemplar in vetere libro manuscripto plurima ejusmodi complectente, qui penes est virum, non in theologia modo, sed et in omni disciplinarum genere cultissimum, D. Sethum Ward, Sarisburiensem episcopum dignissimum, qui illius, pro summa sua humanitate, lubens mihi copiam fecit.

"Valde mihi doluit quod non satisfecerim meo scripto voluntati dignissimorum consiliariorum. Atqui sperabam hoc meo scripto ita satisfecisse, ut nihil ultra possent a me exigere. Quid enim poteram amplius, quam, *mea conscientia liberata ab omni scrupulo quo antea fuit sollicitata, judicium hujus quæstionis vestris Clementiis deferre, et polliceri me facturum quicquid statu-*

wards joined in the most sure friendship with him, in and for one caused suffered martyrdom; and partly for that I commonly use

setis? Ego scripto illo nollem contendere, sed hoc solum, ut me purgarem omni crimine inobedientiæ, et contemptus authoritatis reverentiarum ac vestrarum Clementiarum; atque in hunc finem pauca induxi argumenta, quæ me *hactenus* movissent. Id etiam volebam intelligeretis, me nunc agnoscere *libertatem filiorum Dei in rebus externis omnibus*; quas nec per se impias, nec usum earum quemlibet per se impium, assero aut sentio: *abusum* solum, qui omnibus esse potest, vitio utentium superstitiosæ, aut alioqui male, reprehendo, cum D. Bucero, D. Martyre, et omnibus piis ac doctis viris. Cæterum quod ad me attinet, in hac causa usus vestium ac rituum inaugurationis episcopalis, si adhuc dubitarem aut herrerem in aliquo, attamen abunde putarem me satisfacturum omni officio reverentiæ, vel obedientiæ, si volens meum sensum ac judicium (non?) cæteris omnibus præferre, (sed?) ipse vestrarum Clementiarum judicio subjicerer, quicquid judicaturi fueritis, ex animo facturum. Id (est) quod meo scripto volebam. Et nunc idem facio et polliceor. Etenim in hac causa cupi meum judicium sensumque meum ita habere suspecta, ut vestrarum Clementiarum judicio, vel eorum, quocunque nominaveritis, pios ac doctos in lege Dei, stare ac niti quam meo unius, existimem consultius, et Christiana humilitate dignius. Id non puto in me esse mutatum. Ago gratias reverend. vestræ Clementiæ quod tam multas molestias ac labores meo nomine subire dignatus sis. Rogo etiam supplex cum aliquis Dominationibus, ut contenti esse velint in nomine Christi. Neque ita sentiant de me, quasi aliquid faciam simulate ullo metu, aut ulla alia causa, nisi ecclesiæ. Dominus Jesus testis est, qui absita cordium novit. Idem reverend. Tuam Clementiam suo spiritu semper augeat, atque omnibus bonis bect. In carcere, Februar. 15, 1551, 2. reverend. T. Clementiæ observantissimus, Joh. Hooperus." P. 140, 1.

I shall not scruple to give two further extracts, on this very important subject, from the small, but extremely valuable and scarce volume of Henry Wharton, to which we have already been greatly indebted, in points of prime historical moment

First, bishop Burnet having said in his *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii p. 153, of his first edition,

"Cranmer wrote about this difference raised by Hooper about wearing the episcopal vestments to Bucer, reducing it to these two plain questions (1) *Whether it was lawful to use those garments?* &c. And 2. *Whether he that affirmed it was unlawful, or, on that account refused to use those vestments, did not sin against God?*"

Wharton remarks, "The latter part of the question put by Cranmer was this, *An is qui affirmaret nefas esse, aut veniale, his vestibus uti, peccat in Deum, quia unumquodque eorum dicit quod Deus sanctificavit, et in magistratus, quod violat ordinem politicum?*" The reader will here find his use in turning to Art. XXXIV. of the Church of England. — *Editor*; "The historian therefore" Wharton goes on "hath negligently translated it, and in part changed the sense of the question, by adding these words *on that account*," which make the refusal to proceed wholly upon a supposition that the thing commanded was unlawful by the law of God, whereas Cranmer put the question more gene-

according to my accustomed maner, to keep my pen from presumptuous judging of any person : yet I thought to note the thing

rally in those words ‘*aut recusarit,*’ so as to include a *refusal* to obey the command of the magistrate out of wilfulness, or for any other cause, beside pretence of unlawfulness by the law of God, which is taken away by the answering to the first part of the question.” *Specimen of Errors, &c.*, p. 92, 3.

This remark the reflecting reader will observe is of extreme moment; and corresponds perfectly with what had been written long before, by Hooker, Francis Mason, Sanderson, and others, some of the best portions of which have been printed in the editor’s *Christian Institutes*. It is much to be regretted, that Burnet, a bishop of the church of England, but often a very hasty and inconsiderate writer, should have confused a fundamental question, which was understood, and conceded, by one section even of the puritans themselves; abundantly hasty and inconsiderate men, as they too were in all points of this description.

But again, we must hear the bishop and the presbyter, in the next page, in further connexion with this unhappy proceeding of Hooper.

“Cranmer wrote back,” (*Hist. Reformat.*, p. 154,) “that he could not dispense with the use of episcopal garments at the consecration of Hooper, without incurring a *præmunire*. So the king was moved to write to him, warranting him to do it. But though this was done on the 4th Aug. yet he was not consecrated till March next year, and in the mean while he was suspended from preaching.”

“The king and council rejected this puritanical niceness of Hooper’s conscience, much further than all this amounts to; which affairs I will relate from the council book.

“‘In council, 1550, Oct. 6.—A letter to the bishop of London, that where there hath been some difference between him and the elect bishop of Gloucester, upon certain ceremonies belonging to the making of a bishop, wherein their lordships’ desire is, because they would in no wise the stirring up of controversies between men of one profession, did send for him, willing him to cease the occasions thereof; who humbly desired that he might for declaration of his doings, put in writing such arguments as moved him to be of the opinion he held; which thing was granted; and he was by their lordships commanded to be at court on Sunday next, bringing with him, that he shall for an answer have thought convenient.

“‘1551. Jan. 13.—Mr. Hooper, bishop elect of Gloucester, appeared before the council touching his old matter, of denying to wear such apparel as other bishops wear: and having been before commanded to keep his house, unless it were to go to the archbishop of Canterbury, bishops of Ely, London, or Lincoln, for satisfaction or counsel of his conscience, in that matter; nor further, neither to preach nor read, until he had further licence from the council. It appeared, both that he had not kept his house, and that he had also written and printed a book wherein was contained matter that he should not have written. For the which, and for that also he persevered in his former opinion of not wearing the bishop’s apparel, he was now committed to

for this consideration, to admonish the reader hereby how wholesome and necessarie the crosse of Christ is sometime in the church of Christ, as by the sequels hereof did afterward appeare. For as in a civill governance and common wealth, nothing is more occasion of war, than overmuch peace; so in the church, and among churchmen, as nothing is more pernicious than too much

the archbishop of Canterbury's custody, either there to be reformed, or further to be punished as the obstinacy of his case required.

"Jan. 27th.—Upon a letter from the archbishop of Canterbury, that Mr. Hooper cannot be brought to any conformity, but rather persevering in his obstinacy, coveteth to prescribe orders and necessary laws of his own head —

"It was agreed, he should be committed to the Fleet upon the occasion, aforesaid.

"A letter to the warden of the Fleet, to receive the said Mr. Hooper, and to keep him from conference of any person, saving the ministry of that house."

"On the 5th of March following he was consecrated. Now, all this was done after the king's letter written in Hooper's behalf to Cranmer; so that in all appearance he was forced to reconcile his squeamish conscience to the episcopal habit, in order to obtain his bishopric." *Specimen of Errors, &c.*, p. 93—95.

Thus happily in this first conflict, the law of the land, the law of reason, and, in a proper sense, the law also of scripture, the firmness of Edward's wise council, and the learning of those great prelates Cranmer, Ridley, and others, were in their combined force, too much for this single champion, and his mere handful of half a-dozen associates; for, at this moment, they hardly exceeded that number. It must not be forgotten however, that the principles upon which Hooper started, and Fox appears too much to have persevered, did not spend their rage, till a century after the monarchy and church of England, and the constitution and liberties of both, had suffered a temporary overthrow, and the land had been deluged with blood.

The last sentence from Wharton shows the exceeding importance of the letter preserved to us by Dr. Durell. It supplies the only link that was wanting, to complete the chain—and we cannot but sensibly regret that this extraordinary man appears to have died without the knowledge of this document, of which he would have understood so well to make the due use. That one article, of an historical nature, should have escaped the notice of Wharton, when we consider the early age at which he was removed, is no way surprising; but it may perhaps be considered less excusable, that the import of a document published by a very able vindicator of the church of England, so long ago as the year 1664, should have been overlooked by Burnet, Strype, Gough, and the whole succession of our ecclesiastical historians. It is some satisfaction to me to believe, that this important passage of ecclesiastical history is for the first time completely developed and cleared in the extracts laid before my readers in the present note. It had only been very concisely and obscurely hinted at in the two former editions, in the bare and naked reference to Paiton's *Moderation of the Church of England*.

quietnes, so nothing more ceaseth private contentions oftentimes rising amongst them, than the publike crosse of persecution.

Furthermore, so I perswaded myselfe, the same not to bee unexpedient, to have extant such examples of holy and blessed men. For if it do not a little appertaine to our publick consolation and comfort, when we read in the scriptures of the foule dissention betweene Paule and Barnabie, of the fall of Peter, and of Davids murder and adultery ; why may or should it not be as well profitable for our posterity, to heare and know the falls of these godly martyrs, whereby we may the lesse despaire in our infirmitie, considering the same or greater infirmities to raigne in the holy saints of God, both prophets, apostles, and martyrs?—And this by the way.

Thou hast heard, good reader, hitherto the weakness of these good men, plainly and simply, as the truth was, declared unto thee, to the end their fall may minister occasion to us either of eschewing the like, or else to take hart and comfort in the like fall and frailnesse of ours.—Now againe, on the other part, it remaineth to record after the foresaid discord the godly reconciliations of these good men in time of persecution, who afterward being in prison for the truths sake, reconciled themselves again with most godly agreement, as appeareth by this letter sent by bishop Ridley, to the said bishop of Glocester. The copie whereof as it was written with his own hand in Latin, hereafter followeth translated into English.

“ To my deare brother and reverend fellow elder in Christ, John Hooper, grace and peace.

“ My dearly beloved brother and fellow elder, whom I reverence in the Lord ; pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto since your captivitie, and mine, I have not saluted you by my letters, whereas I doe indeed confesse, I have received from you (such was your gentleness) two letters at sundry times ; but yet at such time as I could not be suffered to writ unto you againe, or if I might, yet was I in doubt how my letters might safely come unto your hands. But now my deare brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have but superficialle seene, that we thoroughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, against the which the worlde so furiously rageth in these our daies, howsoever in

time past in certain by matters and circumstances of religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I grant) hath a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his owne sense and judgement: now, I say, bee you assured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ, I love you in the truth, and for the truthe sake, which abideth in us, and as I am perswaded, shal by the grace of God, abide in us for evermore.

“ And because the world, as I perceive brother, ceaseth not to play his pageant, and busily conspireth against Christ our saviour, with all possible force and power, *exalting high things against the knowledge of God*: let us joine handes together in Christ, and if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth let us shake those *high altitudes, not with carnall, but with spirituall weapons*: and withall brother, let us prepare our selves to the day of our dissolution, by the which after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we shall triumph together with him in eternall glory.

“ I pray you, brother, salute in my name your reverend fellow prisoner and venerable father, D. C.* by whom since the first day that I heard of his most godly and fatherly constancie in confessing the truth of the gospel, I have conceived great consolation and joy in the Lord. For the integritie and uprightness of that man, his gravitie and innocencie, all England I thinke hath known long ago. Blessed be God therefore, which in such abundance of iniquity and decay of al godlines, hath given unto us in this reverend old age, such a witnessse for the truth of his gospell. Miserable and hard hearted is he, whom the godlinesse, and constant confession of so worthy, so grave, and so innocent a man, will not move to acknowledge and confesse the truth of God.

“ I doe not now brother require you to write any thing to me againe: for I stand much in feare least your letters should be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Nevertheless know you, that it shall be to me great joy to heare of your constancie and fortitude in the Lords quarrell. And albeit I have

* *Venerable father, D. C.* Bishop Burnet understands these initials to apply to archbishop Cranmer. *Hist. of Reformat.*, vol. ii. p. 283. edit. 4. But the person intended was undoubtedly Dr. Crome, as appears by Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 46. &c. 1563. See also Strype's *Ecclesiast. Mem.*, vol. iii. p. 106. 208.

not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twise, as I could, sent unto you my minde touching the matter which in your letters you required to know. Neither can I yet, brother, be otherwise perswaded: I see me thinkes so many perils, whereby I am earnestly mooved to counsell you not to hasten the publishing of your workes, especially under the title of your own name. For I feare greatly least by this occasion both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and all thinges taken away from the rest of the prisoners, whereby otherwise, if it so please God, they may bee able to doe good to many.—Farewell in the Lord my most deare brother: and if there be any moe in prison with you for Christs cause, I beseech you, as you may, salute them in my name. To whose praiers I doe most humbly and hartily commend my selfe and my fellow prisoners and con-captives in the Lord; and yet once againe, and for ever, in Christ my most deare brother, farewell.

“N. RIDLEY.”

M. Hooper after all these tumults and vexations susteined about his investing and priestly vestures, at length entring into his diocesse, did there imploy his time which the Lord lent him under k. Edwards raigne with such diligence, as may bee a spectacle to all bishops, which shall ever hereafter succeed him, not onely in that place, but in whatsoever diocesse through the whole realme of England.—So carefull was he in his cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor waies unsought, how to traine up the flocke of Christ in the true word of salvation, continually labouring in the same. Other men commonly are woont for lucre or promotions sake, to aspire to bishoprickes, some hunting for them, and some purchasing or buying them, as men use to purchase lordships, and when they have them, are loth to leave them, and thereupon also loth to commit that thing by worldly lawes, whereby to lose them.

To this sort of men M. Hooper was cleane contrarie; who abhorred nothing more then gaine, labouring alwaies to save and preserve the soules of his flocke. Who being bishop of two diocesses, so ruled and guided either of them, and both together, as though he had in charge but one family. No father in his houshold, no gardiner in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied, then hee in his dioces amongst his flocke, going about his townes and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there.

That time that hee had to spare from preaching, he bestowed either in hearing publicke causes, or else in private study, praier, and visiting of schooles. With his continuall doctrine, hee adjoined due and discreet correction, not so much severe to any, as to them which for aboundance of riches, and wealthy state, thought they might do what they listed. And doubtlesse he spared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all men, as well rich as poore, to the great shame of no small number of men nowe a daies. Whereof many wee doe see so addicted to the pleasing of great and rich men, that in the meane time they have no regard to the meaner sort of poore people, whom Christ hath bought as dearely as the other.

But now againe we will returne our talke to maister Hooper, all whose life was such, that to the church and all churchmen, it might be a light and example, to the rest a perpetual lesson and sermon. Finally, how vertuous and good a bishop hee was, yee may conceive and know evidently by this; that even as he was hated of none but of them which were evill, so yet the worst of them all could not reprove his life in any one jot.

I have now declared his usage and behaviour *abroad* in the publicke affairs of the church: and certainly there appeared in him *at home* no lesse example of a worthy prelates life. For although he bestowed and converted the most part of his care upon the publicke flocke and congregation of Christ, for the which also he spent his bloud; yet nevertheless there lacked no provision in him, for to bring up his owne children in learning and good maners: in so much that yee could not discern whether he deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or for his bishoplike doings abroad. For every where he kept one religion in one uniforme doctrine and integritie. So that if you entred into the bishops palace, you would suppose yourself to have entred into some church or temple. In every corner thereof, there was some smell of vertue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of holy scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly roystering or idleness: no pompe at all, no dishonest word, no swearing could there be heard.

As for the revenues of both his bishopricks, although they did not greatly exceede, as the matter was handled^a, yet if any thing surmounted thereof, he pursued nothing, but bestowed it in hospi-

^a As the matter was handled *Strype's Ecclesiast. Memor.*, vol. ii. p. 155. - 7

talitie. Twise I was, as I remember, in his house in Worcester ; where in his common hall I sawe a table spread with good store of meate, and beset full of beggers and poore folke : and I asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and maisters manner was, to have customably to dinner a certaine number of poore folke of the said citie by course, who were served by foure at a messe, with whole and wholesome meats : and when they were served (being afore examined⁶ by him or his deputies of the Lords praier, the articles of their faith, and ten commandements) then hee himselfe sate downe to dinner, and not before.

After this sort and maner maister Hooper executed the office of a most carefull and vigilant pastor, by the space of two yeares and more, so long as the state of religion in king Edwards time did safely flourish and take place : and would God that all other bishops would use the like diligence, care, and observance in their function !

After this, king Edward beeing dead, and Mary being crowned queene of England, religion beeing subverted and changed, this good bishop was one of the first⁷ that was sent for by a pursivant to be at London, and that for two causes.

⁶ *Afore examined.*] “He,” bishop Ken, as we learn, from the very short and imperfect sketch of his life, by his grandson, Wm. Hawkins, “had a very happy way of mixing his spiritual with his corporeal alms. When any poor person begged of him, he would examine whether he could say the *Lord’s Prayer*, the *Creed*, &c. ; and he found so much deplorable ignorance among the grown poor people, that he feared little good was to be done upon them : but said, he would try, whether he could not lay a foundation, to make the next generation better. And this put him upon setting up many *schools* in all the great towns of his diocese, for the poor children to be taught to read, and say their catechism ; and about this time, and for this purpose it was, that he wrote and published his *Exposition of the Church-catechism*. . . . By this method and management, he engaged the ministers to be more careful in catechizing the children of their parishes ; and they were by him furnished with a stock of the necessary books for the use of children. And we may now judge, by the great and good success of the *charity-schools*, what great and good ends he at that time proposed.” P. 12—14. edit. 1713.

⁷ *Was one of the first.*] Two several letters were despatched, Aug. 22, 1553, to Miles Coverdale and John Hooper clerks, for their immediate repair to the court, there to attend before the lords of council : and on the 29th of that month he made his first personal appearance before the council at Richmond. See Journal of Proceedings in the Privy Council, in Haynes’s *State*

“ First, to answer to doctor Heath then appointed bishop of that diocess, who was before in king Edwardes daies deprived thereof for papistry.

“ Secondly, to render account to doctour Boner bishop of London, for that he in king Edwards time was one of his accusers, in that hee shewed himselfe not conformable to such ordinances as were prescribed to him by the king and his counsell, openly at Paules crosse. And although the said maister Hooper was not ignorant of the evils that should happen towards him (for he was admonished by certaine of his friends to get him away and shift for himselfe) yet hee would not prevent them, but tarried still, saying; ‘ once I did flee and tooke me to my secte, but now, because I am called to this place and vocation, I am throughly perswaded to tarie, and to live and die with my sheepe.’ ”

And when, at the day of his appearance, which was the first of September, he was come to London, before he could come to the aforesaid doctor Heath and Boner, he was intercepted and commanded violently against his will to appeare before the queene and hir counsell, to answer to certaine bondes and obligations, wherein they said hee was bound unto hir. And when he came before them, Winchester by and by received him very opprobriouslie, and railing and rating of him, accused him of religion. Hee againe freely and boldly tolde his tale, and purged himselfe. But in fine it came to this conclusion, that by them he was commanded to ward (it being declared unto him at his departure, that the cause of his imprisonment was only for certaine sums of money, for the which hee was indebted to the queene; and not for religion). This howe false and untrue it was, shall hereafter in his place more plainly appeare.

The next yeare, being 1554, the 19. of March, he was called againe to appeare before Winchester and other the queens commissioners: where, what for the bishop, and what for the unruly multitude, when he could not be permitted to plade his cause, hee was deprived of his bishoprickes. Which how, and in what order it was done, here now followeth to be seen by the testimony and report of one, which being present at the doing, committed the same to writing

Papers, p. 175. — On the last of Sept. 1555, he was committed to the Fleet prison. — *Ibid* p. 175.

A letter or report of a certaine godly man, declaring the order of M. Hoopers deprivation from his bishoprickes, An. 1554. March 19.

“ Forsomuch as a rumor is spread abroad of the talke had at my lord chauncellours, betweene him with other commissioners there appointed, and M. Hooper, cleane contrary to the verity and truth thereof indeede, and therefore to be judged rather to be risen of malice, for the discrediting of the truth by false suggestions and evill reports, than otherwise: I thought it my duty, being present thereat my selfe, in writing to set forth the whole effect of the same: partly that the verity thereof may be known to the doubtfull people, and partly also to advertise them, how uncharitably M. Hooper was handled at their hands, which with all humilitie used himselfe towards them, desiring that with patience he might have beene permitted to speake; assuring all men, that where I stoode in a mammering and doubt, which of these two religions to have credited, either that set forth by the kings majesty, that dead is, or els that now maintained by the queenes majesty, their unreverend behaviour towards M. Hooper, doth moove me the rather to credit his doctrine, then that which they with railing and cruell words defended, considering that Christ was so handled before. And that this which I have written here was the effect of their talk, as I acknowledge it to be true my selfe, so I appeale to all the hearers consciences, that there were present, (so they put affection away) for the witnesse of the same.

The bishops of Winchester⁸, of London⁹, of Duresme¹, of Landaffe², of Chichester³, sate as commissioners.

At M. Hoopers comming in, the lord chancellor asked whether he was married.

⁸ *Winchester.*] Stephen Gardiner, Chancellor.

⁹ *London.*] Edmund Bonner.

¹ *Duresme.*] Cuthbert Tunstall.

² *Landaffe.*] Robert Warton, or Purfoy.

³ *Chichester.*] George Day.

Hooper. "Yea my lord, and will not bee unmarried, till death unmarrie me'."

Duresme. "That is matter enough to deprive you."

Hooper. "That it is not, my lord, except ye do against the law."

The matter concerning marriage was no more talked of then, for a great space: but as well the commissioners, as such as stood by, began to make such outeries, and laughed, and used such gesture as was unseemely for the place, and for such a matter. The bishop of Chichester, Dr. Day, called M. Hooper hypocrite, with vehement wordes, and scornefull countenance. Bp. Tonstall called him beast: so did Smith one of the clerks of the councell, and divers other that stood by. At length the bishop of Winchester said, that all men might live chaste that would, and brought in this text; *Castraverunt se propter regnum cœlorum.* (Mat. 19.)

M. Hooper said, that text proved not that all men could live chaste, but such only to whom it was given: and reade that which goeth before in the text. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and scorning, with calling him beast', that the text could not be examined. Then maister Hooper said, that it did appeare by the olde canons that marriage was not forbidden unto priests, and named the *Decrees*'. But the bishop of Winchester sent for another part, namely the Clementines, or the Extravagantes. But bishop Hooper said, that booke was not it which he named.

* *Till death unmarrie me.* ; He had succeeded in procuring his wife's escape, with their children, into Germany. See Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 94---111, 126.

* *Calling him beast* ; This abusive language and all their violence on this particular subject of the marriage of the clergy, did certainly require no small degree of front from the parties, when they could not but know very well, that many of their own side, and even of themselves, were married priests, only they kept their wives *secretly*, and under the appellation of *concubines*. (See note above on *Rogers*, p. 312.) So that these persons were, in truth, equal in guilt with the reformers, if any guilt there were in being married, and besides this, they went a great deal further, for they violated, if not in fact, yet in *profession*, or, at least, in *public estimation* and *repute*, the devout and known laws and canons against clerical incontinence, thus living, in many ways, a life of unceasing and complex hypocrisy, and fraudulence, and falshood.

* *Decrees*. See note on the books of the Canon Law in vol. i. p. 128.

Then cried out the bishop Winchester and said, "You shal not have any other, until ye be judged by this." And then began such a noise, tumulte, and speaking together of a great many that favoured not the cause, that nothing was done ne spoken orderly, nor charitably. Afterwards judge Morgan began to raile at M. Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foule words of his doing at Gloucester in punishing of men, and said there was never such a tyrant as hee was. After that, doctor Day bishop of Chichester said, that the councell of Ancyra, which was before the councell of Nice, was against the marriage of priests.

Then cried out my lord chancellor, and many with him, that M. Hooper had never read the councels.

"Yes my lord," quoth M. Hooper, "and my lord of Chichester, doctor Day, knoweth, that the great councell of Nice, by the meanes of one Paphnutius, decreed that no minister should be separated from his wife." But such clamors and cries were used, that the councell of Nice was not seene.

After this long brutish talke, Tonsall bishop of Duresme, asked M. Hooper whether he beleaved the corporall presence in the sacrament. And maister Hooper said plainly that there was none such, neither did he beleeve any such thing.

Then would the bishop of Duresme have read out of a booke, for his purpose belike (what booke it was, I cannot tell): but there was such a noise and confuse talke on every side, that hee did not read it. Then asked Winchester of M. Hooper, what authority mooved him not to beleeve the corporall presence? He said, the authoritie of God's word, and alledged this text; *Whom heaven must hold untill the latter day.*

Then the bishop of Winchester would have made that text to have served nothing for his purpose, and he said, he might be in heaven, and in the sacrament also.

M. Hooper would have said more to have opened the text, but all men that stood next about the bishop, allowed so his saying with clamours and cries, that M. Hooper was not permitted to say any more against the bishop. Whereupon they bade the notaries write that he was married, and sayd, that hee would not goe from his wife; and that he beleaved not the corporal presence in the sacrament: wherefore he was worthy to be deprived⁷ from his bishopricke.

⁷ *Worthy to be deprived.*] "The register of Canterbury testifieth, that on the 20th of March 1554, the bishops of Winchester, London, Chichester, and

This is the truth of the matter (as farre as I can truly remember) of the confuse and troublesom talk that was between them, and except it were hasty and uncharitable words, this is the whole matter of their talk at that time."

The true report of M. Hoopers entertainment in the Fleet, written with his owne Hand, the Secenth of January, 1553.

"The first of September, 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet, from Richmond, to have the libertie of the prison: and within sixe daies after, I paide for my libertie five pounds sterling to the warden for fees: who immediately upon the payment therof, complained unto Steven Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and so was I committed to close prison one quarter of a yeare, in the Tower chamber of the Fleet, and used very extreanly. Then by the meanes of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come downe to dinner and supper, not suffered to speake with any of my friends: but as soone as dinner and supper was done, to repaire to my chamber againe. Notwithstanding whilst I came downe thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarels with mee, and complayned untruly of me, to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

"After one quarter of a yeer and somewhat more, Babington the warden and his wife fell out with mee for the wicked masse: and thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained to put me into the wardes, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw, and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, untill by Gods meanes good people sent me bedding to lie in. Of the one side of which prison is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other side the town ditch, so that the stinch of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.

"During which time I have been sick: and the doores, barres,

Durham, by virtue of the queen's commission directed to them, pronounced the sentence of deprivation upon John Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, "Ob nultatem consecrationis ejus, et defectum tituli sui quem habuit a rege Edwardo sexto per litteras patentes, cum hac clausula dum bene se gesserit," upon John Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, "propter conjugium et alia mala merita, et vitiosum titulum ut supra," upon John Harlowe, bishop of Hereford, "propter conjugium et harem ut supra, &c." Harmer's *Specimen of Errors*, p. 153

haspes, and chaines being all closed, and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called and cried for help. But the warden when he hath knowne mee many times readie to die, and when the poore men of the wardes have called to help me, hath commanded the dores to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at mee, saying; 'let him alone, it were a good riddance of him.' And amongst manie other times, he did thus the 18. of October, 1553, as many can witnes.

"I paied alwaies like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees as for my boord, which was twenty shillings a weeke, besides my mans table, untill I was wrongfully deprived of my bishopricke, and since that time I have paied him as the best gentleman doth in his house: yet hath he used me worse and more vilely than the veriest slave that ever came to the hall commons.

"The sayd warden hath also imprisoned my man William Downton, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters, and could finde none, but onely a little remembrance of good peoples names, that gave me their almes to relieve me in prison: and to undoe them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto the said Steven Gardiner, Gods enemy and mine.

"I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteene moneths, my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from mee, the queene owing me by just account eighty pounds or more. Shee hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to finde me^s; neither is there suffered any to come at me, whereby I might have reliefe. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedie (saving Gods helpe) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgement. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it by life or death."

Thus much wrote he himselve of this matter.

Another Examination of M. Hooper.

The xxii. of Januarie following, (1555) Babington the warden of the Fleete was commanded to bring maister Hooper before

^s *Nothing to finde me.*] He found relief however from the compassion and charity of friends. In another letter, he says, "for these ten months, almost ever since my imprisonment, I have had no living nor goods to sustain myself withal: yet such hath been the favour of our heavenly Father, that I have had sufficient to eat and drink, and the same paid for." Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 84. edit. 1837.

the bishop of Winchester, with other bishops and commissioners at the said Winchesters house at S. Mary Overie, where as in effect thus much was done.

The bishop of Winchester in the name of himselfe and the rest, mooved maister Hooper earnestly to forsake the evill and corrupt doctrine (as hee learned it) preached in the dayes of king Edward the sixt, and to returne to the unitie of the catholicke church, and to acknowledge the popes holynesse to be head of the same church, according to the determination of the whole parliament, promising, that as he himselfe, with other his brethren, had received the popes blessing, and the queens mercy, even so mercy was readie to bee shewed to him and others, if he would arise with them, and condescend to the popes holynesse.

M. Hooper answered: that for as much as the pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Christs church, much lesse to be head thereof: wherefore hee would in no wise condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction, neither esteemed he the church, whereof they call him head, to be the catholicke church of Christ: for the church onely heareth the voice of her spouse Christ, and flieth the strangers. Howbeit (sayth he) if in any point to me unknowen, I have offended the queens majesty, I shall most humbly submit my selfe to her mercy, if mercy may bee had with safetie of conscience, and without the displeasure of God.

Answer was made, that the queene would shewe no mercie to the popes enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to bring him to the Fleete againe: who did so, and shifted him from his former chamber into another, nere unto the wardens own chamber, where he remained six daies: and in the meane time, his former chamber was searched by doctor Martin and others, for writings and bookes, which M. Hooper was thought to have made, but none was found.

Here followeth another examination of M. Hooper.

The 28th of January, Winchester and other the commissioners, sate in judgement at S. Mary Overie, wheras M. Hooper appeared before them at afternoone againe, and there

after much reasoning and disputation⁹ to and fro, he was commaunded aside, till maister Rogers (which was then come) had

⁹- *Much reasoning and disputation.*] Some further account of this and the next day's proceedings, taken from the official acts of the court, may be found in Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 180, 1, as follows :

"Hooper being called in, the bishop of Winchester (Monday, Jan. 28) began to tell him, that even yet, if he would be reconciled, he should be willingly received into the bosom of the holy mother church. Which Hooper then did not only refuse, but broke out into some blasphemies (say the *Acts*); that is, no more than that he spake against some of their doctrines.

"Then, amongst many other articles, the bishop specially objected to him these that follow :

"*First*, that being a priest, and of a religious order, expressly professing a rule approved by law, he took a certain woman to be his wife, *de facto*, whereas *de jure* he ought not; and cohabited with her in wicked and unlawful marriage: and preached, taught, and by books set forth, published and defended such pretended marriages to be lawful and valid by God's law; and so asserted and believed still.—All which Hooper confessed, and was ready, he said, to defend.

"*Secondly*; that he had asserted, preached, taught, published, and defended in books set forth, and still so believed and held, that by reason of the sin of fornication or adultery committed, persons lawfully married may, by the word of God and his authority, and by the ministry of the magistrate, be separated from the bond of matrimony and divorced from one another; and that so it may be lawful for the man to take another wife, and the woman another husband; on this account, because the woman is no longer the wife of the former man; nor the former man any more the husband of the former wife.—To this he answered affirmatively; and that he was ready to defend it to be true, both by divine and human right, against all adversaries.

"*Thirdly*; that he had asserted, held, published, and in books set forth, taught, and defended, and so believed, asserted, and held still, that in the eucharist or sacrament of the altar, is not truly the true and natural body of Christ, and his true and natural blood, under the species of bread and wine; and that there is mere material bread and material wine only, without the truth and presence of the body and blood of Christ.—To which article he answered in these words, that the very natural body of Christ is not really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar; saying also, that the mass is the iniquity of the Devil; and that the mass is an idol.—This was the work on Monday.

"On the next day, being January 29, the bishop of Winchester, with the bishops above named, together with George, bishop of Chichester, persuaded and exhorted Hooper with many reasons, to reconcile himself. But he, according to the language of the *Acts*, persisted in his obstinacy and malice, and brake out into blasphemies saying, that matrimony is none of the seven sacraments: and, that if it be a sacrament, he can prove seven score sacraments. So, at this session, Winchester pronounced and read the definitive

beene likewise examined. Examinations beeing ended, the two sheriffes of London were commanded about foure of the clocke, to carrie them to the counter in Southwark, there to remaine till the morrow at nine a clocke, to see whether they would relent and come home againe to their catholick church. So maister Hooper went before with one of the sheriffes, and maister Rogers came after with the other; and being out of the church doore maister Hooper looked backe, and stayed a little till maister Rogers drewe neere, unto whome he said; "Come brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to frie these fagots?" "Yea sir," said maister Rogers, "by Gods grace." "Doubt not," sayde master Hooper, "but God will give strength." So going forwards, there was such a prease of people in the streets, which rejoiced at their constancie, that they had much adoe to passe.

By the way the sheriffe sayd to maister Hooper, "I wonder that ye were so hastie and quicke with my lord chancellour, and did use no more patience;" he answered, "Maister sheriffe, I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earnest in my masters cause; and it standeth mee so in hand, for it goeth upon life and death: not the life and death of this world onely, but also of the world to come."—Then were they committed to the keeper of the counter, and appointed to severall chambers, with commandement that they should not be suffered to speake one with another, neither yet any other permitted to come at them that night.

Upon the next day following, the 29 of January, at the houre appointed they were brought againe by the sheriffes, before the sayde bishop and commissioners in the church, where they were the daie before. And after long and earnest talke, when they perceived that maister Hooper would by no means condescend unto them, they condemned him to bee degraded, and read unto him his condemnation¹. That done, maister Rogers was brought

sent to the Tower of London, and committed him for a further, and longer imprisonment, and was presently delivered him to the secular court, and into the hands of David Woodrell and William Chester, sheriffs of London, who carried him away with them."

The form of the sentence in the original Latin, is given at large by Strype in his *Life of John a Lasco*, No. xxv. p. 50, 1.

¹ *Thus was written*.—A copy of this sentence of condemnation is preserved by Strype in his *Eccl. Mem.*, vol. iii. p. 50, 1. He was condemned upon three

before them, and in like manner intreated, and so they delivered both of them to the secular power, the two sheriffes of London, who were willed to carrie them to the Clink, a prison not farre from the bishop of Winchesters house, and there to remaine till night.

When it was dark, maister Hooper was led by one of the sheriffes, with many bils and weapons, first through the bishop of Winchesters house, and so over London Bridge, through the citie to Newgate. And by the way some of the sergeants were willed to goe before, and put out the costerdmongers candles, who used to sit with lights in the streets: either fearing of likelihood that the people would have made some attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had seene him goe to that prison; or else beeing burdend with an evill conscience they thought darkenesse to be a most fit season for such a businesse.

But notwithstanding this devise, the people having some foreknowledge of his comming, many of them came forth of their doores with lights and saluted him, praying God for his constancie in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end. Master Hooper passed by, and required the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him, and so went through Cheapeside to the place appointed, and was delivered as close prisoner, to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained sixe daies, no bodie being permitted to come to him, or to talke with him, saving his keepers, and such as should be appointed thereto.

During this time, Boner bishop of London, and others at his appointment, as Fecknam, Chedsey, and Harpsfelde, &c. resorted divers times unto him, to assay if by any meanes they could perswade him to relent, and become a member of their anti-christian church. All the waies they could devise, they attempted. For besides the disputations and allegations of testimonies of the scriptures, and of auncient writers wrested to a wrong sense, according to their accustomed maner, they used also all outwarde gentelnesse and significations of friendship, with manie great

separate points: first, for maintaining the lawfulness of the marriages of the clergy, both *secular* and *religious*; secondly, for his doctrine respecting divorce, and thirdly, for denying the carnal presence of Christ in the eucharist. See also Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformat.*, vol. iii. p. 246—8. Appendix.

profers and promises of worldlie commodities, not omitting also most grievous threatenings, if with gentlenesse they could not prevaile; but they found him alwaies one man, stedfast and immoveable. When they perceived that they coulede by no means reclaime him to their purpose, with such persuasions and offers as they used for his conversion, then went they about by false rumors and reports of recantations² (for it is well knowen, that

² *Of recantations.*] “I found by experience that this device of inventing and spreading false news in their own favour, frequent among the papists at other places, at Rome above all, was a most ordinary practice; from whence during the time of my abode in Italy there came first solemn news that the patriarch of Alexandria, with all the Greek church of Africa, had by their ambassadors submitted and reconciled themselves to the pope, and received from his holiness absolution and benediction; there being no such matter, as I learned afterward of a Greek bishop, who hath particular acquaintance and intelligence with that patriarch. Another time, that the king of Scots, amongst many acts worthy of a christian prince, had chased away his ministers; yea, and executed two of them, confiscating their goods, and bestowing them upon the catholicks: which news was soon after recalled from the same place. Not long after, that Beza the arch-heretick, Calvin’s successor, drawing towards his death, had in full senate at Geneva recanted his religion, exhorting them, if they had care to save their souls, to seek reconciliation with the catholick church, and to send for the Jesuits to instruct them; whereupon both himself by special order from the pope was absolved by the bishop of Geneva ere he dyed, and the city had sent to Rome an embassy of submission: a beginning of which news it was my chance to hear, as being whispered among the Jesuits, two months ere it brake out; but when it was once advertised so solemnly from Rome, it ran over all Christendom, and in Italy was so verily believed to be true, that there were as is said, who rode on very purpose to see those ambassadors of Geneva, yet invisible. To make up the full measure of that noble policy, I being afterwards at Lyons understood that the post of Rome there, then passing for Spain, gave confidently out that he left the queen of England’s ambassadors at Rome making great instance for agreement and amity with his holiness, and to have her re-catholized and absolved; news, as to me then seemed, cut out purposely for Spain, and to console their favourers and afflicted adherents. I find also by the observation and judgement of some wise men, that the Jesuits are masters of that worthy mint, and that all these chymical coins are of their stamp, yea, and that all their glorious news of the miraculous proceedings of the fathers of their society in converting the Indies are not thought much truer, and lastly I perceive that the doctrine of all that sale in their cases of conscience makes it lawful for them to equivocate with their adversaries in their answers, though given upon their oaths, whenever their lives or liberties are touched. Yet the Jesuits are noted by some of their own friends to be too hardly equivocators, whereof they give example of a Jesuit who instructed a maid-servant in England, that if she were examined whether she knew of any priest

they and their servants did spread it first abroad) to bring him and the doctrine of Christ which hee professed, out of credite with the people. So the brute being a little spread abroad, and beleevd of some of the weaker sort, by reason of the often resort of the bishop of London and other, it increased more, and at the last came to M. Hoopers eares. Wherewith he was not a little grieved, that the people should give so light credite unto false rumours, having so simple a ground; as it may appeare by a letter which hee wrote upon that occasion, the copy whereof followeth.

A Letter of M. Hooper for the stopping of certaine false rumours spread abroad of his recantation.

“The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ bee with all them that unfainedly looke for the comming of our Saviour Christ. Amen.

“Deare brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellow prisoners for the cause of Gods gospell: I do much rejoyce and give thanks unto God for your constancie and perseverance in affliction, unto whom I wish continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoyce in *your* faith and constancie in afflictions that bee in prison, even so doe I mourne and lament to heare of our deere brethren that yet have not felt such daungers for Gods truth, as we have, and do feele, and be daily like to suffer more, yea, the very extreame and vile death of the fire.

“Yet such is the report abroad (as I am credibly informed) that I John Hooper a condemned man for the cause of Christ, should now after sentence of death (beeing in Newgate prisoner, and looking daily for execution) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And this talke ariseth of this, that the bishop of London and his chaplaines resort unto mee. Doubtlesse, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would thinke, that in case I did refuse to talke with them, they might have just occasion to say, that I were unlearned, and durst not speake with learned men; or else proud and disdainfull to

resorting to her master's house, she should swear if she were put to it, that she knew not of any, which she might do lawfully with this secret intent, that she knew not of any, viz.: with purpose to disclose them: though others defend this as a point of laudable wisdom.” Sir Edwin Sandys' *View of the State of Religion*, &c. London, 1673. p. 110—12.

speake with them. Therefore to avoide just suspicion of both, I have and doe daily speake with them when they come, not doubting but that they report that I am neyther proude nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to doe as I doe in this point. For I feare not their argumenta, neither is death terrible unto mee: praying you to make true report of the same, as occasion shall serve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached heretofore, by their comming.

“Therefore, yee that may send to the weake brethren, praie them that they trouble mee not with such reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto left all things of the world, and suffered great paines and imprisonment, and I thanke God I am as ready to suffer death, as a mortall man may bee. It were better for them to praie for us, than to credite or reporte such rumors that be untrue. We have enemies enow of such as know not God truly. But yet the false report of weake brethren is a double crosse. I wish you eternall salvation in Jesus Christ, and also require your continuall prayer, that hee which hath begun in us, may continue it to the end.

“I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen heretofore; and heereafter shortly will confirme the same by Gods grace with my bloud. Forth of Newgate the second of February, an. 1555.

“Your brother in Christ,

“JOHN HOOPER.”

Upon Munday morning the bishop of London came to Newgate, and there degraded maister Hooper.

But first here is to be noted, that they, degrading this blessed bishop, did not proceede against him as against a bishop, but as only against a priest³, as they termed him: for such as he was, these baulamites accounted for no bishop.

³ *But as only against a priest.* “When they proceeded to burn them that were in orders, they went upon the old maxim, that orders given in whom were not valid. So they did not esteem Hooper nor Ridley bishops, and therefore only degraded them from priesthood, though they had been ordained by their own forms, saving only the oath to the pope. But for those who were ordained by the new book,” of ordination made in the reign of king Edward “they did not at all degrade them, supposing now they had no true orders by it.” Burnet’s *Hist. of Reformat.*, vol. ii. p. 260, ed. 1741. Compare Prideaux’s *Ecclesiastical Tracts*, *The Validity of the Orders of the Church of England*, and Francis Mason’s *Vindicia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, in which two

Heere followeth the forme and manner used in the degrading of B. Hooper.

The fourth day of February, the yeare above mentioned, in the chappell in Newgate, the bishop of London there sitting with his notarie and certaine other witnesses, came Alexander Andrew the gaoler, bringing with him M. Hooper and M. Rogers, being condemned before by the chauncellor: where the sayd bishop of London, at the request of the aforesaid Winchester, proceeded to the degradation of the parties above mentioned, maister Hooper and maister Rogers, after this forme and manner. First, hee put upon them all the vestures and ornaments belonging to a priest, with all other things to the same order appertaining, as though (being revested) they should solemnly execute in their office. Thus they being apparelled and invested, the bishop beginneth to plucke off, first the uttermost vesture, and so by degree and order comming downe to the lowest vesture, which they had onely in taking Bennet and Collet⁴: and so being stript and deposed, hee deprived them of all order, benefite and priviledge belonging to the clergy: and consequently, that being done, pronounced, decreed, and declared the said parties so degraded, to bee given personally to the secular power, as the sheriffes, being for that yeare, M. Davy Woodrofe, and M. William Chester: who receiving first the sayd M. Rogers at the hands of the bishop, had him away with them, bringing him to the place of execution where he suffered. The witnesses there present, were maister Harpsfield

works, the latter particularly, the whole of this question is discussed with the singular ability and learning of that admirable writer.

“One thing I observe” (says Strype, speaking of Bradford) “that he is styled ‘*laicus*,’ as though they disowned the ordination he received from the hands of Ridley, bishop of London.” *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 232. Again; among certain articles communicated by the queen to the bishops in the year 1554, we find it enjoined “touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to anie orders after the newe sort and fashion of orders; considering they were not ordered in verie deed, the bishop of the diocese, finding otherwise sufficiencie and ability in those men, may supply *that thing which wanted in them before*, and then according to his discretion admit them to minister.” Fox’s *Acts*, &c., p. 1295.

⁴ *Bennet and Collet.*] These were of the lowest offices in the church. The degradation from the latter (the acolythship) consisted in taking away the “cruet and candlestick;” and from the former, in taking away the “surplice and first tonsure.” See Fox’s *Acts*, p. 606. Compare Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 412.

archdeacon of London, Robert Cosin, and Robert Willerton, canons of Paules, Thomas Mountague, and George Howe clerkes, Tristram Swadocke, and Richard Clunney Sumner, &c.

The same Munday at night being the 4. of Februarie, his keeper gave him an inkeling that he should be sent to Gloucester to suffer death, whereat he rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praising God that he saw it good to send him amongst the people over whom hee was pastor, there to confirme with his death the truth which he had before taught them: not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to performe the same to his glorie: and immediately hee sent to his servants house for his bootes, spurres, and cloke, that he might be in a readinesse to ride when hee should be called.

The next daie following about foure of the clocke in the morning before day, the keeper with others came to him and searched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to see if he had written any thing: and then he was led by the sheriffes of London and other their officers forth of Newgate, to a place appointed not farre from S. Dunstons church in Fleetstreete, where sixe of the queenes gard were appointed to receive him, and to carie him to Gloucester, there to be delivered unto the sheriffe, who with the L. Shandoy^s, M. Wickes, and other commissioners, were appointed to see execution done. The which gard brought him to the Angell, where he brake his fast with them, eating his meate at that time more liberally than he had used to do a good while before. About the breake of the day he went to horse, and lept cheerfully on horsebacke without helpe, having a hood upon his head under his hat that he should not be knowne, and so tooke his journey joyfully towards Gloucester, and alwaies by the way the gard learned of him where he was accustomed to bait or lodge, and ever caried him to another inne.

Upon the Thursday following, he came to a towne in his diocess called Ciceter^s, fifteen miles from Gloucester, about eleven of the clocke, and there dyed at a womans house which had alwaies hated the truth and spoken all evill she could of M. Hooper. This woman perceiving the cause of his comming, shewed him all the friendship she could, and lamented his case with teares, confessing that she had before often reported, that if he were put to the triall, he would not stand to his doctrine.

^s L. Shandoy; Sir John Bridges, first lord Chandos of Sudeley

^s Ciceter; Cirencester

After dinner he rode forwardes, and came to Glocester about five of the clocke, and a mile without the towne was much people assembled which cried and lamented his estate : in so much that one of the gard rode post into the towne, to require ayde of the maior and sheriffs, fearing least hee should have beene taken from them. The officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keepe their houses, but there was no man that once gave any signification of any such rescue or violence. So was hee lodged at one Ingrams house in Glocester, and that night (as he had done al the way) he did eate his meate quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly, as it was reported by them of the gard and others. After his first sleepe he continued all that night in praier untill the morning, and then he desired that he might go into the next chamber (for the gard were also in the chamber where he laie) that there being solitarie, hee might pray and talke with God : so that all the day, saving a little at meat, and when hee talked at any time with such as the gard licenced to speake with him, he bestowed in prayer.

Amongst other that spake with him, sir Anthony Kingston knight, was one. Who seeming in times past his verie friend, was then appointed by the queenes letters, to be one of the commissioners, to see execution done upon him. Maister Kingston being brought into the chamber, found him at his prayers : and as soone as he saw M. Hooper, he burst forth in teares. Maister Hooper, at the first blush knew him not. Then said maister Kingston, "Why my lord, doe ye not knowe me an olde friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?"

"Yes, M. Kingston, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do prayse God for the same."

"But I am sorry to see you in this case : for as I understand you be come hither to die. But (alas) consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore seeing life may be had, desire to live : for life hereafter may do good."

"Indeed it is true M. Kingston, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gainsay the former truth that I have heeretofore taught amongst you in this diocesse, and else where ; and I thank you for your friendly counsaile, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is master Kingston that death is bitter, and life is sweete : but (alas) consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life

to come is more sweet. Therefore for thy desire and love I have to the one, and the terror and feare of the other, I do not so much regarde this death, nor esteeme this life, but have settled my selfe

[settled my selfe.] He that was so settled for himself, in his own mind, well be entitled to address a word of exhortation and comfort to partners in suffering; as he has done, in very striking and beautiful terms, in a letter to certain prisoners, who had been seized in Bow-church yard, on New Year's Day, engaged in prayer and reading the Scriptures.

"O! glad may you be that ever you were born, to be apprehended and taken, while you were so virtuously occupied; blessed be they that suffer for righteousness sake. If God had suffered them that took your bodies, to have taken your lives also, then had you now been following the Lamb in perpetual joys, away from the company and assembly of wicked men. But the Lord will not so suddenly have you to depart, but reserveth you gloriously to speak, and to maintain the truth to the world. Be of good comfort: all the hairs of your head are numbered; and there is not one of them shall perish, except your heavenly Father suffer it. Now you be even in the field, and placed in the fore-front of Christ's battle. It is doubtless a singular grace of God, and a special love of him towards you, to give you this fore-ward and pre-eminence; and a sign, that he trusteth you above many other of his people.

"Remember, dear brethren and sisters, what lookers-on you have to see and behold you in this fight:—God, and all his holy angels, who be ready always to take you up, if you be slain in this fight. Consider also whom you have standing at your backs; all the faithful brethren, who shall take courage, strength, and desire to follow such valiant and noble Christians as you be. Be not afraid therefore of your adversaries. For He that is in you is stronger than he that is in them. Shrink not, although it seemeth to the flesh painful. Your pains shall not be now so grievous, as hereafter your joy shall be comfortable. Read the 5th and 9th chapters to the Romans; to the Hebrews the 11th and 12th, and upon your knees thank God that ever you were counted worthy to suffer any thing for his truth's sake. . . . So let us now who are called commit all things to Him that calleth us. He will take heed that all things shall be well. He will surely comfort the husband: He will doubtless help the wife: He will guide the servants: He will keep the house: yea, rather than any thing should be left undone, He will rock the cradle. Cast therefore your care upon God; for He doubtless careth for you. . . . God's Holy Spirit be with you now and evermore. Jan. 4, 1554." (1555, new style *Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. iii. no. 27 *Records*.)

We have another letter written about a fortnight after to some friends who, it should seem, had sought his directions and advice, in prospect of the perilous times which they saw were rapidly coming on. The parliament, we are to understand, had restored the pope's supremacy; and the ancient statutes of Henry IV and V against heresy, they had revived—so that all the same instruments of persecution, which had wrought such havoc in the hands of Arundel, Chicheley and Longlands, were now ready to be called into action by those, who had long ago given proofs abundant how impatient they were to be so furnished. "Now therefore," says the bishop, "is the time of trial,

through the strength of Gods holy spirit, patiently to passe through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, to see whether we fear God more, or man :” and he immediately proceeds, in compliance with their request, to debate for them the whole question of duty, in a few concise, but striking propositions, which, doubtless, he had often before revolved, for his own use, and was now willing to impart for the approaching necessities of his friends.

“ You must now,” says he, “ turn all your cogitations from the peril which you see, to mark by faith what *followeth* that peril ; namely, either victory in this world by your enemies ; or else, a surrender of this life, to inherit the everlasting kingdom. Beware then of looking too much on the felicity, or the misery of this world : for the consideration and earnest love or fear of either draweth from God.—Wherefore, think with yourselves, as touching the *felicity* of the world, it is good ; but yet none otherwise than as it standeth with the favour of God. It is to be kept, but yet so far forth only, as by keeping of it we lose not God. It is good, to abide and tarry still among our friends here ; but yet so that we tarry not therewithal in God’s displeasure, and hereafter have to dwell with the devils in fire everlasting. There is nothing under God but may be kept, if so be that God, being above all things we have, be not lost.—Of *adversity* judge the same.—Imprisonment is painful ; but yet liberty upon evil conditions is more painful. The prisons are noisome : but yet not so much so as sweet houses, where the fear and true honour of God lacketh.—I must be alone and solitary : it is better so to be, and to have God with me, than to be in company with the wicked.—Loss of goods is great : but loss of God’s grace and favour is greater.—I am a poor simple creature, and cannot tell how to answer before such a great sort of the noble, learned and wise : it is better to make answer before the pride and pomp of wicked men, than to stand naked in the sight of all heaven and earth, before the just God, at the latter day.—I shall die then by the hands of the cruel man : he is blessed, that loseth his life full of mortal miseries, and findeth the life full of eternal joys.—It is a grief to depart from goods and friends : but yet not so much as to depart from grace and heaven itself.—Wherefore, there is neither *felicity* nor *adversity* of this world, that can appear to be great, if it be weighed with the joys or pains in the world to come.—I can do no more but pray for you : do the same for me, for God’s sake.

“ For my part, I thank thee, heavenly Father, I have made my account, and appointed myself unto his will. As He will, so I will, by his grace.”—*Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 93, 4. edit. 1837.

I mentioned at the beginning of this note, the beauty of a tender and domestic character, of the extract from Hooper. I am tempted, under similar inducements, to annex another passage, of a like domestic nature and of kindred beauty, from another hand. It is from a letter of Laurence Saunders to his wife. After warning her not to appear so frequently at the grate of his prison, lest her own personal safety should be endangered, he goes on to show *what* his mind is still prepared to anticipate and to bear, for her, and for their only child, if need shall require. “ You shall, I think, shortly come *far enough* into danger, by keeping faith and a good conscience. Do this then, in earnest, and not leaving off. So if we two continue God’s children

rather than to deny the truth of his word, desiring you and others in the meane time, to commend me to Gods mercy in your prayers."

"Well my lord, then I perceive there is no remedie, and therefore I will take my leave of you: and I thank God that ever I knew you, for God did appoint you to call me being a lost childe: and by your good instructions, where before I was both an adulterer^a and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forsaking and detesting of the same."

grafted in Christ, the same God's blessing which we receive, shall also settle upon our Samuel. Though we should shortly depart hence, and leave the poor infant, to our seeming, at all adventures, yet shall he have our gracious God to be his God: for so hath he said, and he cannot lie: *I will be thy God* (saith he), *and the God of thy seed*. Yea, if you leave him in the wild wilderness destitute of all help, being called of God to do his will, whether to die for the confession of Christ, or for any work of obedience: that God which heard the cry of the little poor infant of Agar, Sarah's handmaiden, and did succour it, will do the like to the child of you or of any other fearing him, and putting your trust in him."—*Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 149.

^a *Both an adulterer.*] This passage is illustrated by an extract, published by bishop Burnet in his third volume, p. 209; from a letter written from Oxford by one John ab Ulmis, a Swiss, to Bullinger, Dec. 4th. 1552. "In the same letter (says the historian) he gives an instance of Hooper's impartial zeal in the discharge of his function in his diocese: that while he was censuring some inferior people, for their scandalous life, one said to him, 'we poor people must do penance for these things, while great and rich men, as guilty as we, are overlooked.' Upon that, he said, 'name any person, how great soever, that was guilty of adultery, so that it could be proved against him, and he would leave himself in their hands, to be used by them as they pleased, if he did not proceed equally against all.' So, in a few days, Sir Anthony Kingston, a great man in those parts, being accused of adultery, he cited him into his court. He, for some time, refused to appear. At last he came; and when the bishop was charging his sin severely upon him, he gave him very foul language, and at last fell to beat him. This was presently followed so severely, that he was fined in five hundred pounds, and forced to submit to do penance.

"This raised the bishop's character, as it contributed not a little to establish his authority in his diocese. He set himself to do his duty there with so much zeal, that his wife, who was a German, wrote to Bullinger, praying him to write to her husband, to take a little more care of himself, for he preached commonly thrice, sometimes four times in one day. The crowds of those who came constantly to hear him, made him look upon them, as persons that were hungry for the word of life. So she, apprehending that his zeal made him labour beyond his strength, studied to get others to put some stop to that, which, it seems, she could not prevail with him so far as to restrain "

“If you have had the grace so to do, I do highly prayse God for it : and if you have not, I pray God ye may have, and that you may continually live in his feare.” After these and manie other words, the one tooke leave of the other, M. Kingston with bitter teares, M. Hooper with teares also trickling downe his cheekes. At which departure M. Hooper told him, that all the troubles he had sustained in prison, had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

The same day in the after noone, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the gard, obtained licence to be brought unto M. Hoopers speech. The same boy not long afore had suffered imprisonment at Glocester for confessing of the truth. Maister Hooper after he had examined him of his faith, and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him stedfastly, and (the water appearing in his eyes) sayde unto him : “Ah poore boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what consideration hee best knoweth ; but hee hath given thee an other sight much more precious : for he hath endued thy soule with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace⁹ continually to pray unto him, that thou lose not that sight, for then shouldest thou bee blinde both in bodie and soule.”

After that another came to him, whom he knew to be a very papist and a wicked man, which appeared to bee sory for maister Hoopers trouble, saying : “Sir, I am sorry to see you thus.” “To see me ? Why,” said he, “art thou sory ?” “To see you,” saith the other, “in this case. For I heare say you are come hither to die, for the which I am sory.” “Be sory for thy selfe man,” sayd M. Hooper, “and lament thine owne wickednesse : for I am well, I thank God, and death to me for Christs sake is welcome.”

The same night he was committed by the gard, their commission being then expired, unto the custodie of the sheriffes of Gloucester. The name of the one was Jenkins, the other Bond, who with the maior and aldermen repaired to maister Hoopers lodging, and at the first meeting saluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto whome Hooper spake on this manner. “Maister maior,

⁹ *God give thee grace.*] The bishop's prayer was granted. For this poor blind boy, whose name was Thomas Drowry, was afterwards himself a martyr. He was burnt at Gloucester, chiefly for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, about the fifth of May, 1556. His story is given in Fox's *Acts*, p. 1735.

I give most heartie thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take mee a prisoner and a condemned man by the hand: whereby, to my rejoycing, it is some deale apparent that your olde love and frindship towards me is not altogether extinguished: and I trust also that all the things I have taught you in times past, are not utterly forgotten, when I was here by the godly king that dead is, appointed to bee your bishop and pastor. For the which most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresie, as many other men doe, I am sent hither (as I am sure you knowe) by the queenes commandement, to die; and am come where I taught it, to confirme it with my bloud. And now maister sheriffes, I understand by these good men, and my verie friends," (meaning the gard) "at whose hands I have found so much favour and gentlenesse by the way hitherward, as a prisoner could reasonably require (for the which also I most heartily thanke them) that I am committed to your custodie, as unto them that must see mee brought to morrow to the place of execution. My request therefore to you shall be onely, that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end, and in the meane time I will bee as obedient unto you, as your selves would wish. If you thinke I doe amisse in anie thing, holde up your finger, and I have done. For I am not come hither as one inforced or compelled to die, for it is well knowen, I might have had my life with worldly gaine: but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than to consent to the wicked papisticall religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to Gods high displeasure and dishonour: and I trust by Gods grace to morrow to die a faithfull servant of God, and a true obedient subjecte to the queene."

These and such like words in effecte used M. Hooper to the maior, sheriffes and aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding, the two sheriffes went aside to consult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common gaole of the towne called Northgate, if the gard had not made earnest intercession for him: who declared at large how quietly, mildly, and patiently hee had behaved himselfe in the way, adding thereto, that any child might keepe him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take paines to watch with him, than that hee should be sent to the common prison. So it was determined at the length he should still remaine in Robert

Ingram's house, and the sheriffes and the sergeants and other officers did appoint to watch with him that night themselves. His desire was that he might goe to bed that night betimes, saying, that he had many things to remember: and so did at five of the clocke, and slept one sleepe soundly, and bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he gate up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be solitarie till the houre of execution.

About eight of the clock came Sir John Bridges, L. Shandoys, with a great band of men, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir Edmund Bridges, and other commissioners appointed to see execution done. At nine of the clocke M. Hooper was willed to prepare himselfe to be in a readinesse, for the time was at hand. Immediately hee was brought downe from his chamber by the sheriffs, who were accompanied with bils, gleives, and weapons. When he sawe the multitude of weapons, he spake to the sheriffes on this wise: "Maister sheriffes," (sayd he) "I am no traytor"¹⁰,

¹⁰ *I am no traytor.*] It may be presumed that in this and a similar expression above, Hooper has reference to a very false and scandalous report which his enemies had propagated of his disloyalty, and that he had written a letter of encouragement to certain persons who had been committed to prison for cursing queen Mary. Against this calumny he vindicated himself in an Apology, which was afterwards, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, printed in London by John Tisdale. From this Apology it appears that the only foundation for the charge was that he had written a letter, not to the persons alleged, but to some other individuals, exhorting them to persevere in their prayers which they made together in the vulgar tongue. "There (says he) they gave God thanks for that they had receaved at his handes, and asked of him the thinges that they lacked, and prayed also for the queene and the magistrates. . . . Nowe doo the wicked papistes fayne matter, and chaunge prayer, wherein I requyred them to persevere for the quene, in to cursing the quene." Hooper's *Apology*, Signat. A. 7. A.D. 1562. In the course of the same tract he boldly asserts his unimpeachable loyalty and fidelity, and appeals to the services which he had rendered to the queen when she stood in extreme need of them. "I have bene alwayes a true manne to al the estates of thys realme. I wyll stande with the lawe in that pointe and reprove myne accusers, whatsoever they be. As for my truthe and loyaltye to the quenes hyghnesse, the tyme of her moste dangerouse estate can testifie wythe me, that when there was both commandments and commissions out against her, whereby she was in the sighte of the worlde the more in daunger, and lesse lyke to come to the crowne; yet when she was at the worste, I rode myselfe from place to place (as it is well knowen) to wynn and stay the people for her party. And whereas another was proclaymed, I preferred her notwithstandinge the proclamations. And to helpe her as muche as I coulde,

neither needed you to have made such a businesse to bring me to the place where I must suffer: for if ye had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all. Afterwarde looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, being by estimation to the number of seven thousand (for it was market day, and many also came to see his behaviour towards death) he spake unto those that were about him, saying, "Alas, why bee these people assembled and come together! Peradventure they thinke to heare some thing of me now, as they have in times past, but alas speech is prohibited me¹. Notwithstanding the cause of my death is well knowne unto them. When I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine, and that out of the word of God. Because I wil not now account the same to be heresie and untruth, this kinde of death is prepared for me."

So he went forward led between the two sheriffes, (as it were a lambe to the place of slaughter) in a gowne of his hosts, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to stay himselfe withall. For the greefe of the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him something to halt. All the way, being straitlie charged not to speake, hee could not bee perceived once to open his mouth, but beholding the people all the way, which mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eies towards heaven, and looke verie cheerefullie upon such as hee knewe: and he was never knowne during the time of his being amongst

when her highnesse was in trouble, I sente horses out of both shyres, Gloucestershyre, and Worcestershyre to serve her in her great daunger, as Syr John Talbot knyghte, and William Iagon esquier can testify, the one dwellinge in the one shyre, and the other in the other." *Ibid* signat. A. 5.

¹ *Speech is prohibited me.* This is confirmed by a passage of the queen's own letter ordering the manner of Hooper's execution. "And forasmuche also" says her majesty, "as the said Hooper is, as heretiques be, a vain-glorious person, and delyteth in his tongue, and having liberty may use his sayd tongue to persuade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the miserable opinion that he hath sown among them; our pleasure is therefore, and we require you take order, that the said Hooper be neither at the tyme of his execution, nor in going to the place thereof, suffered to speak at large, but thither to be ledde quietly and in sylene, for eschuyng of further infection, and such inconvenience as may otherwise ensue in this parte." *Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat.*, vol. iii. p. 249. Appendix.

The same prohibition was very usual upon other similar occasions. See above in the *Life of Rogers*, p. 347. Also *Strype's Ecclesiast. Memor.* vol. iii. p. 155.

them, to looke with so cheerefull and ruddish a countenance as he did at that present. When he came to the place appointed where he should die, smilinglie he beheld the stake and preparation made for him, which was neere unto the great elme tree over against the colledge of priests, where he was woont to preach. The place round about the houses, and the boughes of the tree were replenished with people, and in the chamber over the colledge gate stood the priests of the colledge. Then kneeled hee downe (for as much as hee could not be suffered to speake unto the people) to praier, and beckned unto one sixe or seven times whom he knew well, to heare the saide praier, to make report thereof in time to come (powring teares upon his shoulders and in his bosome) who gave attentive eares unto the same: the which prayer he made upon the whole Creed, wherein he continued for the space of halfe an hour. Now after hee was somewhat entred into his prayer, a boxe was brought and laide before him upon a stoole, with his pardon² (or at the least wise it was fained to be his pardon) from the queene, if he would turne. At the sight wherof he cried: "If you love my soule away with it, if you love my soule away with it." The boxe being taken away, the lord Shandoys saide: "Seeing there is no remedie, dispatch quickly." Maister Hooper said; "Good my lord, I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an ende of my praiers."

Then said the lord Shandoys to Sir Edmund Bridges his sonne (which gave eare before to M. Hoopers prayer at his request :) "Edmund, take heede that he doe nothing else but pray: if he do, tell mee, and I shall quicklie dispatch him." Whiles this talke was, there stepped one or two in uncalled, which hearde him speake these wordes following.

"Lord," said he, "thou art a gracious God and a mercifull Redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me most miserable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine inestimable goodnesse. Thou art ascended into heaven, receive mee to be partaker of thy joyes, where thou sittist in equall glorie with thy father. For well knowst thou Lord, wherefore I

² *With his pardon.*] The constancy of these blessed martyrs was continually solicited by applications of this searching nature, when the last bitter hour of their trial drew nigh. Compare Fox's *Acts*, p. 1356. 1362. 1386. 1398. 1423. 1474. 1719. &c.

prepared himselfe to the stake, and put off his hosts gowne, and delivered it to the sheriffes, requiring them to see it restored unto the owner, and put off the rest of his geare, unto his doublet and his hose, wherein he would have burned. But the sheriffes would not permit that (such was their greedinesse); unto whose pleasures (good man) he very obedientlie submitted himselfe: and his doublet, hose, and peticote were taken off. Then being in his shirt, he tooke a point from his hose himselfe, and trussed his shirt betweene his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder⁴ in a bladder, and under each arme the like quantitie

“This proclamation, though it were very smart and quick, yet there was somewhat of more mercy in it, than in another which came out in the very same month, at the burning of seven persons in Smithfield, published both at Newgate, where they were imprisoned, and at the stake, where they were to suffer; whereby it was straightly charged and commanded, that no man should either pray for, or speak to them, or once say, God help them! A cruelty more odious than that of Domitian, or any of the greatest tyrants of the elder time, in hindering all intercourse of speech, upon some jealousie and distrusts of state, between man and man.

“Which proclamation notwithstanding, Bentham the minister of one of the London congregations, seeing the fire set to them, turning his eyes unto the people, cryed and said, ‘We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot chuse but wish well to them, and say, *God strengthen them;*’ and so boldly he said, ‘Almighty God, for Christ’s sake strengthen them.’ With that, all the people with one consent cryed, ‘Amen, Amen,’ the noise whereof was so great, and the cryers so many, that the officers knew not whom to seize on, or with whom they were to begin their accusation.—And though peradventure it may seem to have somewhat of a miracle in it, that the Protestants should have a congregation under Bonner’s nose; yet so it was, that the godly people of that time were so little terrified with the continual thoughts of that bloody butcher, that they maintained their constant meetings for religious offices even in London itself; in one of which congregations, that namely whereof Bentham was at this time minister, there assembled seldom under 40, many times 100, and sometimes 200, but more or less as it stood most with their conveniency and safety.

“By the encouragement and constant preaching of which pious men, the Protestant party did not only stand to their former principles, but were resolved to suffer whatsoever could be laid upon them, rather than forfeit a good conscience, or betray the cause. They had not all the opportunity of such holy meetings, but they met frequently enough in smaller companies, to animate and comfort one another in those great extremities.”

⁴ *A pound of gunpowder.*] There were not wanting those whose hearts were hard enough to grudge to the poor sufferers this last melancholy consolation, which the charity of friends, or of the superintendents of the execution occasionally administered. Dorman, afterwards one of bishop Jewel’s antagonists,

delivered him by the guard. So desiring the people to say the Lords praier with him, and to pray for him (who performed it with teares, during the time of his paines) he went up to the stake. Now when he was at the stake, three yrons made to binde him to the stake, were brought: one for his necke, another for his middle, and the third for his legges. But he refusing them said: "ye have no neede thus to trouble your selves. For I doubt not but God will give strength sufficient to abide the extremitie of the fire, without bands: notwithstanding, suspecting the frailtie and weakenesse of the flesh, but having assured confidence in Gods strength, I am content ye doe as yee shall thinke good."

So the hoope of yron prepared for his middle was brought, which being made somewhat too short (for his bellie was swoln by imprisonment) he shranke and put in his bellie with his hand, untill it was fastned; and when they offered to have bound his necke and legs with the other two hoopess of yron, he utterlie refused them, and would have none, saying; "I am well assured, I shall not trouble you."

Thus being readie, he looked upon the people, of whome hee might be well seene (for he was both tall, and stood also on an high stoole) and beheld round about him: and in every corner there was nothing to be seene but weeping and sorrowfull people. Then lifting up his eies and hands unto heaven, he praied to himselfe. By and by he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and did aske him forgivenessse. (Of whome he asked,

was present at the burning of Latimer and Ridley; and in his *Disproof of Nowell's Reproof*, fol. 19, A.D. 1565, he notices their having gunpowder given them, the sooner to rid them of their pains, "a kind of practice" (says he) "amongst Christs martyrs, never, I trow, heard of, the sooner to dispatch themselves; as with my own eyes I saw Ridley and Latimer burned." And in the margin he writes, "This agreeth not with the martyrdom of Polycarpus." To these reflexions, Dean Nowell in his *Confutation of Mr. Dorman*, p. 276. A.D. 1567, thus replies: "That Dorman might justly lament, that he did see that wicked cruelty executed most unworthily upon so worthy men of learning and virtue, and so reverend in age as the one," Latimer, "and in office and calling as they were both. But the more he might lament, that he reported that horrible wickedness and cruelty, without lamenting therefore; yea rather rejoycing highly therein." He added, "That Ignatius, that holy martyr, said he would provoke and anger the beasts, that they might the more speedily tear him in pieces, and greedily devour him. And why may not the heat of fire be provoked, as well as the heat and fury of beasts?" See Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 230.

why he should forgive him, saying, that he knew never any offence he had committed against him? "Oh sir" (said the man) "I am appointed to make the fire." "Therein" (said M. Hooper) "thou doest nothing offend me: God forgive thee thy sinnes, and doe thine office, I pray thee." Then the reedes were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his owne hands, imbraced them, kissed them, and put under either arme one of them, and shewed with his hand, how the rest should be bestowed, and pointed to the place where any did lacke.

Anon, commandement was given that the fire should be set to, and so it was. But because there were put to no fewer greene fagots then two horses could carry upon their backs, it kindled not by and by, and was a prety while also before it took the reeds upon the fagots. At length it burned about him, but the winde having full strength in that place (it was also a lowring and cold morning) it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner no more but touched by the fire.

Within a space after, a fewe drie fagots were brought, and a new fire kindled with fagots, (for there were no more reeds :) and that burned at the neather parts, but had small power above, because of the winde, saving that it did burne his haire, and scorch his skinne a little. In the time of which fire even as at the first flame, saying mildely and not very loude (but as one without paines :) "O Jesus the sonne of David have mercy upon me, and receive my soule." After the second fire was spent, he did wipe both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he said with an indifferent loude voice: "For Gods love (good people) let me have more fire." And all this while his neather parts did burne: for the fagots were so fewe, that the flame did not burne strongly at his upper parts.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreame than the other two: and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him small good, they were so placed, and the winde had such power. In the which fire he praied with somewhat a loude voice: "Lord Jesu have mercy upon me: Lord Jesu have mercy upon me: Lord Jesus receive my spirit." And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But when he was blacke in the mouth, and his tongue swolne, that he could not speake, yet his lippes went till they were shrunk to the gummes: and he knocked his breast with his hands, untill one of his armes fell off, and then knocked still with the other, what

time the fat, water, and bloud dropped out at his fingers ends, untill by renewing of the fire, his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast in knocking to the yron upon his breast. So immediately bowing forwards, he yeelded up his spirit.

Thus was he three quarters of an houre or more in the fire. Even as a lambe, patiently he aboad the extremitie therof, neither mooved forwards, backwards, or to any side: but having his neather parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, hee died as quietly as a childe in his bed: and he now reigneth as a blessed martyr, in the joyes of heaven prepared for the faithfull in Christ, before the foundations of the world: for whose constancie all Christians are bound to praise God.

DOCTOR ROWLAND TAYLOR.

Our weapons are faith, hope, charity, righteousness, truth, patience, prayer unto God; and our sworde wherewith we smite our enemies, we beate, and batter, and beare downe all falschoode, is the worde of God. With these weapons under the banner of the crosse of Christe we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand master, duke and captain, Christ. And then we reckon ourselves to triumph, and to win the crowne of everlasting blisse, when induring in this battaile, without any shrinking or yeelding to the enemies, after the example of our grand captaine Christ our master, after the example of his holy prophets, apostles and martyrs, when, I say, we are slain in our mortal bodies of our enemies, and are most cruelly, and without all mercy murdered.

BISHOP RIDLEY

DOCTOR ROWLAND TAYLOR.

THE towne of Hadley was one of the first that received the word of God in all England, at the preaching of maister Thomas Bilney : by whose industrie the gospel of Christ had such gracious successe, and tooke such roote there, that a great number in that parish became exceeding well learned in the holy scripture, as well women as men ; so that a man might have found among them many, that had often reade the whole bible through, and that could have said a great part of Saint Paules epistles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly learned sentence in any matter of controversie. Their children and servants wer also brought up and trained diligentlie in the right knowledge of Gods word, so that the whole towne seemed rather an universitie of the learned, then a towne of clothmaking or labouring people. And what most is to be commended, they were for the more part faithfull followers of Gods word in their living.

In this towne was doctor Rowland Tailor, doctour in both the civill and canon lawes, and a right perfect divine, parson. Who at his first entring¹ into his benefice, did not, as the common

¹ *His first entring.*] “ Here let me add this note of this reverend man, which Dr. Turner, dean of Wells, his countryman and spiritual father in Christ, wrote of him to Mr. Fox. ‘ Dr. Taylor, who was burnt at Hadley, was born in Northumberland, in the town of Rothbury, not far from Riddesdale. With this man I lived for many years in great familiarity, and often and earnestly admonished him to embrace the evangelical religion : and that he might the easier be brought to think as we did, I privately got him the booke called *Unio Dissidentium* ; by which, and the sermons of Latimer, he was taken and easily came over to our doctrine.’ ” Strype’s *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 183.

sort of beneficed men do, let out his benefice to a farmer, that should gather up the profits, and set in an ignorant unlearned priest to serve the cure, and, so they may have the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flocke. But contrarily he forsooke the archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, with whome he before was in houshold, and made his personall abode and dwelling in Hadley among the people committed to his charge. Where he was a good shepheard, abiding and dwelling among his sheepe; gave himselfe wholly to the study of holy Scriptures, most faithfully endeavoring himselfe to fulfill that charge, which the Lord gave unto Peter, saying; *Peter lovest thou me? Feed my lambes: Feed my sheepe: feed my sheepe.* This love of Christ so wrought in him, that no sunday nor holic day passed, nor other time when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, the doctrine of their salvation.

Not only was his word a preaching unto them, but all his life and conversation was an example of unfained Christian life and true holinesse. He was void of all pride, humble, and meeke as any childe: so that none were so poore, but they might boldlie, as unto their father, resort unto him; neither was his lowliness childish or fearefull, but as occasion, time and place required, he would be stout in rebuking the sinfull and evill doers; so that none was so rich but he would tell him plainly his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good curate and pastor. He was a man very milde, voide of al rancour, grudge, or evill will, ready to doe good to all men, readily forgiving his enemies, and never sought to doe evill to any.

To the poore that were blinde, lame, sick, bedrid, or that had many children, he was a very father, a carefull patron, and diligent provider, insonmuch that hee caused the parishioners to make a generall provision for them; and hee himselfe (beside the continuall relief that they alwaies found at his house) gave an honest portion yearlie to the common almes boxe. His wife also was an honest, discrete, and sober matrone; and his children well nurtured, brought up in the feare of God and good learning.

To conclude; he was a right and livelie image or patterne of all those vertuous qualities described by S. Paule in a true bishop, a good salt of the earth, savourily, biting the corrupt manners of evil men, a light in Gods house set upon a candlestick for all good men to imitate and follow.

Thus continued this good shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderness of this wicked world, all the daies of the most innocent and holy king of blessed memory, Edward the sixt. But after it pleased God to take king Edward from this vale of misery unto his most blessed rest, the papists, who ever sembled and dissembled, both with king Henry the eight, and king Edward his son, now seeing the time, convenient for their purpose, uttered their false hypocrisie, openlie refusing all good reformation made by the said two most godly kings; and contrary to that they had all these two kings daies preached, taught, written and sworn, they violently overthrew the true doctrine of the gospell, and persecuted with sword and fire all those that wold not agree to receive againe the Romaine bishop as supreame head of the universall church; and allow all the errors, superstitions and idolatries, that before by Gods word were disprooved and justly condemned, as though now they were good doctrine, vertuous, and true religion.

In the beginning of this rage of antichrist, a certaine petie gentleman after the sort of a lawyer, called Foster, being a steward and keeper of courts, a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecuter in those daies, with one John Clerke of Hadley, which Foster had ever beene a secret favourer of al Romish idolatrie, conspired with the said Clerke to bring in the pope and his maumetry againe into Hadley church. For as yet doctor Taylour, as a good shepherd had retained and kept in his church the godlie church service and reformation made by king Edward, and moste faithfully and earnestlie preached against the popish corruptions, which had infected the whole countrey round about.

Therefore the foresaid Foster and Clerke hired one John Averth, parson of Aldam, a very fit minister for their purpose, to come to Hadley, and there to give the onset to begin againe the popish masse.

To this purpose they builded up with all haste possible the altar, intending to bring in their masse againe, about the palme munday. But this their devise tooke none effect: for in the night the altar was beaten downe. Wherefore they built it up again, the second time, and laid diligent watch, least any should again break it downe.

On the day following came Foster and John Clerk, bringing with them their popish sacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garments, to play his popish pageant, whome

they and their men garded with swords and bucklers, least any man should disturbe him in his missall sacrifice.

When doctour Taylour, who, (according to his custome) sate at his book studying the word of God, heard the bells ring, he arose and went into the church, supposing some thing had bin there to be done, according to his pastorall office : and comming to the church, he found the church doores shut and fast barred, saving the chancell doore, which was onelie latched : where he entring in, and comming into the chancell, saw a popish sacrificer in his robes, with a broad new shaven crowne, readie to beginne his popish sacrifice, beset round about with drawne swords and bucklers, least any man should approche to disturbe him.

Then said doctour Tailour ; "Thou divell, who made thee so bold to enter into this church of Christ, to prophane and defile it with this abominable idolatrie !" With that start up Foster, and with an irefull and furious countenance, saide to D. Taylour : "thou traytour, what doest thou heere, to let and disturbe the queenes proceedings !" Doctor Taylour answered : "I am no traytour, but I am the shepheard that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this his flocke : wherefore I have good authority to be here : and I command thee thou popish wolf, in the name of God to avoid hence, and not to presume here with such popish idolatry, to poison Christs flocke."

Then said Foster, "wilt thou traitourly heretick make a commotion, and resist violently the queenes proceedings !"

Doctor Tailour answered, "I make no commotion, but it is you papists that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with Gods word, against your popish idolatries, which are against Gods word, the queenes honor, and tend to the utter subversion of this realme of England. And further thou dost against the law¹, which commandeth that no masse be saide but at a consecrate altar."

When the parson of Aldam heard that, he began to shrinke backe, and would have left his saying of masse : then start up

¹ *Against the law.*] "Ye hold still" (says Dr. William Turner, addressing himself to the bishops of England, "hallowing of churches and of vestmentes ; and that a priest may not say masse but in a hallowed place, without a superaltare ; and this ordayned Felix the first pope of that name" *Hunting and finding out the Romish Fox*, by Will. Wroughton. Signat. A. 7. imprinted at Henslyll, A.D. 1543.

John Clerke, and said ; “ M. Avert, be not afraid, ye have a superaltare³. Goe forth with your busines man.”

Then Foster, with his armed men, tooke doctor Tailor, and led him with strong hand out of the church⁴, and the popish prelate proceeded in his Romish idolatry. Doctor Tailors wife, who followed her husband into the church, when shee saw her husband thus violentlie thrust out of his church, she kneeled downe and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said ; “ I beseech God the righteous judge to avenge this injurie, that this popish idolator this day doth to the bloud of Christ.” Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the dores, for they feared that the people would have rent their sacrificer in peeces. Notwithstanding, one or two threw in great stones at the windowes, and missed very little the popish masser.

Thus you see how without consent of the people, the popish masse was againe set up, with battaile array, with swordes and bucklers, with violence and tyranny.

Within a day or two after, with all haste possible, this Foster and Clerke made a complaint of doctour Taylour, by a letter written to Steven Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellour.

When the bishop heard this, he sent a letter missive to doctour Tailor, commanding him within certaine daies, to come and to appeare before him upon his allegeance, to answere such complaints as were made against him.

When doctour Taylours friends heard of this, they were exceeding sorie and agreeved in minde : which then foreseeing to what end the same matter would come, seeing also all truth and justice were troden under foot, and falshood with cruel tyranny were set aloft and ruled all the whole route : his friends, I say, came to him, and earnestly counselled him to depart and flie, alledging and

³ *Ye have a superaltare.*] “ Superaltare is a stone consecrated by the bishops, commonly of a foote long, which the papists carry instead of an altar when they masse for money in gentlemens houses.” Fox in the margin. Compare also *Life of Cromwell*, p. 227. n. ³.

⁴ *Out of the church.*] Taylor, in a letter to his wife, written some time after, speaks thus, in reference to these circumstances, “ Though another have now the benefice, yet, as God knoweth, I cannot but be careful for my dear Hadley. And therefore as I could not but speak, after the first abominable mass began there, I being present, so I cannot but write now being absent, hearing of the wicked profanation of my late pulpit.” *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 496.

declaring unto him that he could neither be indifferently heard to speak his conscience and mind, nor yet looke for justice or favour at the said chancellors handes, who as it was well knowne was most fierce and cruell^a; but must needes (if he went up to him) wait for imprisonment and cruell death at his handa.

Then said D. Taylour to his friendes; "Deare friendes, I most hartily thank you, for that you have so tender a care over me. And although I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be looked for at my adversaries handa, but rather imprisonment and cruell death; yet know I my cause to bee so good and righteous, and the truth so strong uppon my side, that I will by Gods grace goe and appeare before them, and to their bearded resist their false doings."

Then said his friends: "M. Doctour, we thinke it not best so to doe. You have sufficientlie done your dutie, and testified the truth, both by your godlie sermona, and also in resisting the parson of Aldam, with other that came hither to bring in againe the popish masse. And forasmuch as our Saviour Christ willeth and biddeth us, that when they persecute us in one citie, we should flie into an other: we thinke in flying at this time ye should doe best, keeping yourselfe against another time, when the church shall have great neede of such diligent teachers, and godlie pastors."

"Oh" (quoth doctour Taylour) "what will yee have mee to do! I am now olde, and have already lived too long to see these terrible and most wicked daies. Flie you, and doe as your conscience leadeth you. I am fullie determined (with Gods grace) to goe to the bishop, and to his beard to tel him that he doth naught. God shall wel hereafter raise up teachers of his people, which shall with much more diligence and fruite teach them, than I have done. For God will not forsake his church, though now for a time bee trieth and correcteth us, and not without a just cause.

"As for me, I beleeve before God, I shall never be able to do God so good service, as I may doe now: nor I shall never have so glorious a calling, as I now have, nor so great merrie of God professed mee, as is now at this present. For what Christian man

^a *Fierce and cruell.*] "Howsoever ye diffame me of crueltie, I knowe it is not my faulte, and yet I am a synner, and have many other faultes" Gardiner's *Declaration of such true articles as George Joye hath given about to console as false* 1546 4to. fol. 14.

would not gladlie die against the pope and his adherents? I knowe that the papacie is the kingdome of antichrist, altogether full of lies, altogether full of falsehood, so that all their doctrine, even from Christs Crosse be my speed and Saint Nicholas ⁶ unto the end of their Apocalips, is nothing but idolatry, superstition, errours, hypocrisie and lies.

“ Wherefore I beseech you and all other my friends, to pray for me, and I doubt not but God will give me strength and his holie spirit, that all mine adversaries shall have shame of their doings.”

When his friends sawe him so constant, and fully determined to go, they with weeping eyes commended him unto God : and he within a day or two prepared himself to his journey, leaving his cure with a godlie olde priest, named Sir Richard Yeoman ⁷, who afterwards for Gods trueth was burnt at Norwich.

⁶ *And Saint Nicholas.*] See Myles Hoggard's *New A B C paraphrastically applied*. 1557. 4to.

“ When children first begin to learne
 Their letters for to knowe,
 Right their difference to discern
 Thei lerne their Christ crosse row :
Christ his crosse be my speede, saye they,
And good saint Nycholas :
 In our child-hode this did we pray.
 For so the custome was.”

A little below he proceeds,

“ The holy man saint Nicholas
 Our children call for ayde :
 I thinke most men knoweth not the case
 And why it was so sayde.
 Saint Nicholas a childe beinge
 His crosse right soone he bore ;
 For his body with mucche fastinge
 He punished full sore :
 To teach both children and old men
 Their crosse to take lykewise,
 And after Christ to heare it then
 With often exercise.
 And after this child-hode past,
 A bishop made was he ;
 All worldlynes from him he cast,
 And walkte in charitie.”——

⁷ *Sir Richard Yeoman.*] Yeoman's story is told at some length by Fox, p. 1855, and contains several exceedingly curious and affecting particulars.

There was also in Hadley one Alcocke, a verie godly man, well learned in the holy scriptures, who (after Sir Richard Yeoman was driven away) used dailie to reade a chapter, and to say the English letanie in Hadley church. But him they fetched up to London, and cast him in prison in Newgate: where after a yeares imprisonment he died.

But let us returne to doctor Taylor againe, who beeing accompanied with a servant of his owne, named John Hull, tooke his journey towards London. By the way, this John Hull laboured to counsell and perswade him very earnestlie to flic, and not to come to the bishop, and profered himselfe to go with him to serve him; and in all perils to venture his life for him and with him.

But in no wise would doctour Tailour consent or agree thereunto, but said: "Oh John, shall I give place to this thy counsell and worldlie perswasion, and leave my flocke in this danger? Remember the good shepheard Christ, which not alonely fed his flocke, but also died for his flocke. Him must I follow, and with Gods grace will doe. Therefore good John pray for me; and if thou seest me weak at any time, comfort mee, and discourage mee not in this my godlie enterprise, and purpose.

Thus they came up to London, and shortlie after doctour Tailour presented himselfe to the bishop of Winchester; Steven Gardiner, then lord chauncellor of England.

After his dismissal from his cure at Hadley by Newall, Dr. Taylor's successor, he wandered a long time from place to place in that neighbourhood, moving and exhorting all men to stand faithfully to God's word, to give themselves to prayer, and to bear the cross now laid upon them with patience and Christian hope. "But when hee perceived his adversaries to be in wait for him, he went into Kent, and with a little packet of laces, pinnos, and points, and such-like things, he travelled from village to village, selling such things, and by that poore shift gat himself somewhat to the sustaining of himselfe, his poore wife and children." After some time had elapsed "he came againe secretly to Hadley, and tarried with his poore wife, who kept him secretly in a chamber of the town-house, commonly called the Guildhall, more than a yeare. All the while he time the good old father abode in a chamber locked up all the day, and spent his time in devout prayer, and reading the scriptures, and in carding of wool which his wife did spin. His wife also did goe and beg bread and meate for her selfe and her children, and by such poore meanes sustained they themselves." In this hiding place he was discovered at length by Newall, hurried to prison to Bury, and burnt at Norwich. "The chief articles objected to him were his marriage, and the masse sacrifice."

Now when Gardiner sawe doctor Taylour, hee according to his common custome, all to reviled him, calling him knave, traytour, hereticke, with many other villainous reproches : which all doctor Taylor heard patiently, and at the last said unto him :

“ My lord,” quoth hee, “ I am neither traytour nor heretick, but a true subject, and a faithful Christian man ; and am come according to your commandement, to know what is the cause that your lordship hath sent for me.”

Then said the bishop, “ art thou come, thou villaine ? How darest thou look me in the face for shame ? Knowest thou not who I am ?”

“ Yes,” quoth D. Taylor, “ I know who you are. Ye are doctor Steven Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor, and yet but a mortal man I trowe. But if I should be afraid of your lordly lookes, why feare you not God, the lord of us all ? How dare ye for shame looke any christian man in the face, seeing ye have forsaken the trueth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your owne othe and writing ? With what countenance will ye appeare before the judgement seate of Christ, and answer to your othe made first unto that blessed k. Henry the eight, of famous memory, and afterward unto blessed king Edward the sixth his son ?”

The bishop answered : “ Tush, tush, that was Herodes othe^s,

^s *That was Herodes othe.*] In a conference between Dr. Martin and archbishop Cranmer, when Cranmer was in prison at Oxford, Martin alleges to the archbishop, “ You say that you have sworne once to king Henry the eighth against the pope’s jurisdiction, and therefore you may never forswear the same, and so ye make a great matter of conscience in the breach of the said othe. Heere will I aske you a question or two. Herod did sweare, whatsoever his harlot asked of him he would give her, and he gave her John Baptists head. Did he well in keeping his othe ?

“ *Cranmer.* I think not.” Fox’s *Acts*, p. 1702. And Bradford having pleaded to Gardiner that he had been six times sworn against the admission of any papal jurisdiction or authority in this realme of England, Gardiner says, “ Tush ! Herods othes a man should make no conscience at.”

“ *Bradford.* But, my lord, these were no Herods othes, no unlawful othes, but othes according to Gods word, as you yourself have well affirmed in your booke *De vera obedientia.*” Fox’s *Acts*, p. 1459. In the progress of our history we shall find the reformers continually reminding Gardiner of this book, Bonner of his preface prefixed to it, Tonstall of his sermon preached before Henry VIII. A.D. 1539, and several others of the bishops of like gross inconsistencies between their doctrines and practices in the two preceding and in the present reigns.

unlawfull, and therefore worthy to be broken. I have don well in breaking it: and, I thanke God, I am come home againe to our mother the catholick church of Rome, and so I would thou shouldest doe."

Doctor Taylor answered, "should I forsake the church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apostles and prophetes, to approve those lies, errours, superstitions and idolatries, that the popes and their company at this day so blasphemously do approve? Nay, God forbid.

"Let the pope and his returne to our Saviour Christ and his worde, and thrust out of the churches such abominable idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will Christian men turn unto him. You wrote truely against him, and were sworne against him."

"I tell thee," quoth the bishop of Winchester, "it was Herod's oth, unlawfull, and therefore ought to be broken and not kept: and our holy father the pope hath discharged me of it."

Then said D. Taylor: "but you shall not so be discharged before Christ, who doubtles will require it at your hands, as a lawfull oth made to your liege and soveraigne lord the king; from whose obedience no man can assoile you, neither the pope nor none of his."

"I see," quoth the bishop, "thou art an arrogant knave, and a very foole."

"My lord," quoth D. Taylor, "leave your unseemely rayling at me, which is not seemely for such a one in authoritie as you are. For I am a Christian man, and you know that *Hee that saith to his brother Racha, is in danger of a counsell; and he that saith thou foole, is in danger of hell fire.*"

The bishop answered, "Ye are false and lyars all the sort of you." "Nay," quoth Dr. Taylor, "we are true men, and know that it is written, *The mouth that lieth slaieth the soule.* And againe, *Lord God thou shalt destroy all that speak lies.* And therefore wee abide by the trueth of Gods worde, which ye, contrary to your own consciences, deny and forsake."

"Thou art married" (quoth the bishop)! "Yea," (quoth doctor Taylor) "that I thanke God I am, and have had nine children, and all in lawfull matrimony; and blessed be God that ordained matrimony, and commanded that every man that hath not the gift of continencie should marry a wife of his owne, and not live in adultery, or whoredome."

Then said the bishop : “ thou hast resisted the queenes proceedings, and wouldest not suffer the parson of Aldham, a very vertuous and devout priest, to say masse in Hadley.” Doctor Taylor answered, “ My lord I am parson of Hadley ; and it is against all right, conscience and lawes, that any man shall come into my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed unto me, with venome of the popish idolatrous masse.”

With that the bishop waxed very angry, and said : “ Thou art a blasphemous hereticke indeede, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament” (and put off his cappe) “ and speakest against the holy masse, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead⁹.” Doctor Taylour answered, “ Nay I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reverence it as a true Christian man ought to doe, and confesse that Christ ordained the holy communion in the remembrance of his death and passion, which when we keepe according to his ordinance, we (through faith) eat the body of Christ, and drinke his bloud, giving thanks for our redemption, and this is our sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give God thanks for his mercifull goodnes shewed to us, in that he gave his sonne Christ unto the death for us.”

“ Thou saiest well” (quoth the bishop). “ It is all that thou hast said, and more too ; for it is a propitiatorie sacrifice for the quicke and the dead.” Then answered doctor Taylour : “ Christ gave himself to die for our redemption upon the crosse, whose bodie there offered, was the propitiatorie sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation, for all them that beleeeve in him. And this sacrifice did our Saviour Christ offer in his owne person himselfe once for all, neither can any priest any more offer him, nor we neede no more propitiatorie sacrifice ; and therefore I say with Chrysostome, and all the doctors : Our sacrifice is only memorative, in the remembrance of Christes death and passion, a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and therefore the fathers call it *Eucharistia* : and other sacrifice hath the church of God none.”

“ It is true,” quoth the bishop, “ the sacrament is called *Eucharistia*, a thanksgiving, because we there give thanks for our redemption ; and it is also a sacrifice propitiatorie for the quicke and the dead, which thou shalt confesse ere thou and I have done. Then called the bishop his men, and said : “ have

⁹ *And the dead.*] See Art. XXXI. of the Church of England.

this fellowe hence and eary him to the kings bench, and charge the keeper hee be streitly kept."

Then kneeled doctor Taylour downe, and helde up both his hands, and said: "Good Lord I thanke thee; and from the tyranny¹⁰ of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us: and God be praysed for good king Edward." So they carried him to prison, to the kinges bench, where hee lay prisoner almost two yeares.

This is the summe of that first talke, as I saw it mentioned in a letter that doctor Taylor wrote to a friende of his, thanking God for his grace, that he had confessed his truth, and was found worthy for trueth to suffer prison and bands, beseeching his friends to pray for him, that hee might persevere constant unto the end.

Being in prison, doctor Taylour spent all his time in praier, reading the holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching, and exhorting the prisoners and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendement of life.

Within a fewe dayes after, were diverse other learned and godly men in sundrie countries¹ of England committed to prison

¹⁰ *From the tyranny.* In the English Latany, which was first permitted and published in the year 1544, and in the Primer of king Henry the eighth which came out in the following year, one of the petitions ran in the following words, "From all sedition and privy conspiracy, from *the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his abominable enormities*, from all false doctrine and heresy, from all hardnesse of hart, and contempt of thy word and commandements, Good Lord deliver us." In the two books of king Edward the petition remained, with the change of the word *detestable* for *abominable*. To this passage in the Latany no doubt Dr. Taylor had reference in the prayer which he offered up. Comp. Fox's *Acts*, p. 143s and p. 1443, where a similar use is made by two other confessors of the same petition. At the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, among some other conciliatory alterations which then took place, the words relating to the bishop of Rome, as of too controversial a nature for divine worship, were omitted, and the petition framed as it now stands.

¹ *In sundrie countries.* We have an important testimony of bishop Burnet, valuable as conveying his most mature and deliberate judgment of the cruelties and miseries of these unhappy times, but infinitely more valuable, as it is derived, not from the evidence of enemies to the queen and her proceedings, but, in fact, from the express records of her own ministers, and privy council. The extract I borrow from the *Introduction* to the third volume

for religion, so that almost all the prisons in England were become right Christian schooles and churches, so that there

of the *Hist. of the Reformation*, printed in 1715, six and thirty years after the publication of the first two volumes.

“ In queen Mary’s time, beside all that scene which I had formerly opened, of a perfidious breach of solemn promises, of the corrupting and packing of parliaments, and of that unrelenting cruelty, which was pursued to the end of that reign without intermission; I have had occasion to see much farther into the spirit which then prevailed. I have had the perusal of the original council book, that went from the beginning of her reign to the last day of the year 1557; in which such a spirit of cruelty and bigotry appears, through the whole course of that reign, that I was indeed amazed to find a poor harmless woman, weak though learned, guilty of nothing but what her religion infused in her, so carried to an indecency of barbarity, that it appears that Bonner himself was not cruel enough for her, or at least for her confessor. She believed herself with child, and when the time came in which she expected to be delivered, she continued looking for it every day above a month; then a conceit was put in her head, that she could not bear her child, as long as there was a heretick left in the kingdom.

“ It was a great part of the business of the council, to quicken the persecution every where. Letters were writ to the men of quality in the several counties, to assist at the execution of those who suffered for heresy, and to call on all their friends to attend on them: letters of thanks were writ to such officious persons, as expressed their zeal, ordering them to commit all to prison, who came not to the service, and to keep them in prison till the comfort of their amendment appeared. Directions were given to put such as would not discover others, to the torture; thanks were in a particular style sent to some gentlemen, who (as it is expressed) came so honestly, and of themselves to assist the sheriffs at those executions. Pretences of conspiracies were every where under examination, many were committed, and tried for words. Letters were writ to corporations, about the elections of mayors; and the lords had many letters, to look carefully to the elections of parliament men, and to engage the electors, to reserve their voices for such as they should name; sheriffs began to grow backward, and to delay executions, in hopes of reclaiming persons so condemned, but they were ordered to do so no more.

“ Letters were on one day wrote to the sheriffs of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Staffordshire, and to several mayors, to signifie what had moved them to stay the executions of such persons as had been delivered to them by the ordinaries, being condemned for heresy. One letter of a more singular strain was wrote to the lord mayor and the sheriffs of London, to give substantial orders, (I give the words in the council book) ‘that when any obstinate man, condemned by order of the law, shall be deliver’d to be punish’d for heresy, there be a good number of officers and other men appointed to be at the execution; who may be charged to see such as shall misuse themselves either by comforting, aiding, or praising the offenders; or otherwise use themselves to the ill example of others, to be apprehended and committed to

was no greater comforte for Christian heartes, than to come to the prisons, to behold their vertuous conversation, and to heare their prayers¹, preachinges, most godly exhortations, and consolations.

Now were placed in churches, blinde and ignorant mass-mongers with their Latine babblings and apish ceremonies: who like cruell wolves spared not to murther all such, as any thing at all, but once whispered against their poperie. As for the godly preachers which were in king Edwardes time, they were either fledde the realme, or else, as the prophets did in king Achabs dayes, they were privily kept in corners. As for as many as the papistes could lay holde on, they were sent into prison, there as lambs waiting when the butchers would call them to the slaughter.

When doctor Taylor was come into the prison called the Kings Bench, he found therein the vertuous and vigilant preacher of Gods word, M. Bradford: which man for his innocent and godly living, his devout and vertuous preaching, was worthily counted a myracle of our time, as even his adversaries must needes confesse. Finding this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith, strength, and patience, and to persever constant unto the end. M.

ward; and besides, to give commandment that no householder suffer any of his apprentices, or other servants to be abroad, other than such as their masters will answer for; and that this order be always observed in like cases hereafter.' Such pains were taken to extinguish all the impressions of humanity, or at least to punish every expression of it, and this was so constantly pursued, that three men and two women were burnt at Canterbury on the 10th of November, a week before her death, for she died on the 17th." *Introduction to Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. iii. 1743, f. 1 p. iv—v.

¹ *To heare their prayers*. "After that" says George Marsh, the martyr, in an account which he left behind him of his troubles, "they threatened and rebuked mee, for my preaching to the people out of the prison, and for my praying and reading so loud, that the people in the streets might hear.—The truth is, I and my prison fellow Warborton, every day kneeling on our knees did read morning and evening prayer, with the English Litany every day twice, both before noon and after, with other prayers more, and also read every day certaine chapters of the Bible from day to wards night. And we read also these things with so high and loud a voice, that the people without in the streets might heare us, at low and oftentimes, namely in the evenings, come and sit downe in our sightes under the windows and heare us read wherewith others being offended complained." *Fox's Acts*, p. 1421.

Bradford hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him such a comfortable prison fellow ; and so they both together lauded God, and continued in praier, reading, and exhorting one the other : insomuch that D. Taylor tolde his friendes that came to visite him, that God had most graciously provided for him, to send him to that prison where he found such an angell of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

After that doctor Taylor had lien in prison a while, hee was cited to appeare in the arches at Bow church, to answer unto such matter, as there shuld be objected against him. At the day appointed he was led thither, his keeper waiting upon him. Where, when he came, he stoutly and strongly defended his marriage, affirming by the scriptures of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by both lawes civill and canon, that it is lawfull for priestes to marry ; and that such as have not the gift of continencie, are bound in pain of damnation to marrie. This did he so plainely proove, that the judge could give no sentence of divorce against him, but gave sentence he should be deprived of his benefice because he was married.

“ You do me wrong then” (quoth doctor Taylor) and alledged many lawes and constitutions for himselfe, but all prevailed not. For he was againe carried into prison, and his livings taken away, and given to other. As for Hadley benefice, it was given or solde, I wote not whether to one maister Newealle, whose great vertues were altogether unlike to doctour Taylor his predecessour, as the poore parishioners full well have proved.

After a yeare and three quarters, or thereabout, in the which time the papists got certaine olde tyrannous lawes, which were put downe by king Henry the eight, and by king Edward, to bee againe revived by parliament, so that now they might *ex officio*, cite whom they would, upon their owne suspition, and charge him with what articles they lusted, and except they in all things agreed to their purpose, burne them : when these lawes³ were

³ *When these lawes.*] See *Life of Rogers*, p. 324, note².

“ Yea, have they not already gotten that auctorite by renewing the wicked act, *ex officio* that they may call any man before them, upon suspicion, and keepe him forty daies in their prisons, although no man have accusid him, and examine him privily in his, or their houses or places? and so condempne him to lose both goods, lands, and life too, except he recant?” *Supplication to the queen’s majesty*, fol. 19, said to be imprinted by John Cawood.

be translated into English, which booke was not of his owne making : yet hee set it forth in his owne name, and truely that booke for the time did much good. But there was after that set forth by the most innocent king Edward (for whom, God bee praised everlastingly) the whole church service, with great deliberation, and the advise of the best learned men of the realme, and authorised by the whole parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realme : which booke was never reformed but once, and yet by that one reformation it was so fully perfited, according to the rules of our Christian religion in every behalfe, that no Christian conscience could bee offended with any thing therein contained : I meane of that booke reformed⁵.”

Then my lord chancellor said : “ Diddest thou never reade the booke that I set fort⁶ of the sacrament ? ”

I answered that I had read it.

Then hee saide : “ How likest thou that booke ? ” With that, one of the councill (whose name I knowe not) sayde : “ My lorde, that is a good question : for I am sure, that booke stoppeth all their mouthes.” Then saide I : “ My lorde, I thinke many things be farre wide from the trueth of Gods worde in that booke.”

Then my lord said : “ Thou art a very varlet.” To that I answered : “ that is as ill as racha or fatue.” Then my lord saide : “ Thou art an ignorant beetill brow.”

To that I answered : “ I have read over and over again the

⁵ *That booke reformed.*] The Book of Common Prayer was first published in the year 1549. The revised copy, here appealed to by Taylor, was printed A.D. 1552. Of the History of the English Liturgy, and of the alterations which took place at this, and other times, see *Wheatly on the Common Prayer*, Sparrow, Shepherd, &c. &c.

⁶ *That I set fort.*] Gardiner printed not less than three works upon this subject. The first in 1546, intituled *Detection of the Devils Sophistrie* ; the second, *An explication and assertion of the true catholick faith*, in 1551, against Abp. Cranmer (these two in English); and the third, as we are told by Strype and Tanner, in 1552, (and if so, certainly again also in 1554) intituled *Confutatio cavillationum, quibus sacrosanctum Eucharistiæ sacramentum ab impiis Capharnaitis impeti solet*. This, I apprehend, is the book here inquired of by Gardiner. It was aimed in part against Cranmer, but without the mention of his name. The archbishop had made considerable progress in an Answer to it at the time of his martyrdom : but his labour being thus frustrated, Peter Martyr took up the design, and thoroughly confuted Gardiner's performance in a very elaborate *Defence* of the ancient and apostolical doctrine, printed A.D. 1559, in folio.

holy Scriptures, and S. Augustines workes through: S. Cyprian. Eusebius, Origene, Gregory Nazianzen, with divers other books through once: therefore I thanke God I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my lord, I professed the civil lawes, as your lordship did, and I have read over the canon law also."

Then my lord said: "with a corrupt judgement thou readest all things. Touching my profession it is divinitie', in which I have written divers books." Then I said: "My lord, ye did write one booke, *De vera obedientia*: I would you had bene constant in that: for indeed you never did declare a good conscience that I heard of, but in that one booke."

Then my lord said, "tut, tut, tut, I wrot against Bucer on priests marriages: but such books please not such wretches as thou art, which has bene married many yeares."

To that I answered: "I am married indeed, and I have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank God, and this I am sure of, that your proceedings now at this present in this realme against priests marriages is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, against naturall lawe, civil lawe, canon lawe, general counceils, canons of the apostles, ancient doctors, and Gods lawes."

Then spake my lord of Duresm, saying: "You have professed the civil law, as you say. Then you know that *Justinian* writeth that priests should at their taking of orders swear, that they were never married: and he bringeth in, to prove that, *Canonum Apostolorum*."

To that I answered: "that I did not remember any such lawe of *Justinian*. But I am sure that *Justinian* writeth in *Titulus inchoata civitate*, in his Code' that if one would bequeath to his

It is divinitie—Notwithstanding what the lord chancellor says here, it is certain that his original profession was that of a civil lawyer, his degrees were in that science. There were times when this crafty politician knew how to express himself in a very different manner respecting his proficiency in theological studies. In a letter to his former superiors, master king Henry VIII he thus humbly boasts of his "theologicalis wisdom." The contrary would be of your grace can now prove, yet I will leave it in divinitie, as being any part of your graces province, and I trust without cause of offence to you. When I saw that I had written before the king's grace, after *Strype's Eccles. Memorials*, that Rowland Taylor was Cranmer's intimate, I have perceived some strange and unchristianlike partiality on his behalf. I have done my best to rectify it.

It is divinitie—The words are in the original, "It is divinitie, in which I have written divers books." The words are in the original, "It is divinitie, in which I have written divers books."

wife in his testament a legacie, under a condition that she should never marry againe, and take an oathe of her for accomplishing the same, yet she may marry againe if he die, notwithstanding the aforesaid conditions and othe taken and made against marriage : and an othe is another maner of obligation made to God, than is a papisticall vow made to man.

“ Moreover, in the Pandects⁹ it is contained, that if a man doth manumit his handmaid under a condition, that she shal never marry ; yet she may marry, and hir patrone shal lose *jus patronatus*, for adding the unnaturall and unlawfull condition against matrimony.”

Then my lord chancellour said ; “ thou saiest that priests may be married by Gods law. How proovest thou that ? ”

I answered : “ by the plaine words and sentences of S. Paule, both to Timothy and to Titus ; where he speakes most evidently of the marriage of priests, deacons, and bishops. And Chrysostome writing upon the epistle to Timothy saith : It is an heresie to say that a bishop may not be married.”

Then said my lord chancellour, “ thou lyeest of Chrysostome. But thou doest, as all thy companions doe, belie ever without shame, both the scriptures and the doctors. Didst thou not also say, that by the canon law priests may be married ? which is most untrue, and the contrarie is most true.”

I answered : “ We reade in the decrees, that the foure generall counsels, Nicene, Constantinopolitane, Ephesine, Chalcedone, have the same authoritie that the foure evangelists have. And wee read in the same decrees (which is one of the chiefe books of the canon law) that the council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, did allow priests and bishops marriages. Therefore by the best part of the canon law, priests may be married.”

Then my lord chancellour said : “ thou falsifiest the generall councill. For there is expresse mention in the said decree, that priestes should bee divorced from their wives, which bee married.”

Then said I, “ if those words be there, as you say, then am I content to lose this great head of mine. Let the book be fetched.”

Then spake my lord of Duresme : “ though they be not there,

⁹ *Pandects.*] ff. lib. xl.

yet they may be in *Ecclesiastica historia*, which Eusebius wrote, out of which booke the decree was taken."

To that said I: "it is not like that the pope would leave out any such sentence, having such authoritie, and making so much for his purpose."

Then my lord chancellour said: "Ciratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to snatch up such a patch as maketh for thy purpose." I answered, "my lord, I cannot but marvell that you do call one of the chiefe papistes that ever was, but a patcher."

Then my lord chancellour saide: "Nay I call thee a snatcher and a patcher. To make an end; wilt thou not returne again with us to the catholicke church?" and with that he rose.

And I saide, "By Gods grace I will never depart from Christs church." Then I required that I might have some of my friends to come to mee in prison: and my lord chancellor said: "thou shalt have judgment within this week:" and so was I delivered againe unto my keeper. My lord of Duresme woulde that I should beleve as my father and my mother did. I alledged S. Augustine, that we ought to preferre Gods word before all men.

After that doctor Taylor thus with great spirite¹ and courage

¹ *With great spirite.* We have some further particulars in Strype, taken apparently from the official records.

"This reverend man, on Jan. 29, was called before the said commissioners. Then bishop Gardiner, as he had done the others, exhorted him to be reconciled: but he stuffily persisted in his former judgment. Then did the bishop object two articles to him, as just matter to make him an heretic. The one was, that he asserted, believed, preached and defended, that in the Eucharist is not truly the true and natural body and blood of Christ, under the species of bread and wine; and that material bread and material wine are there only. These articles Taylor freely confessed, saying that so he still believed and was ready to defend; saying, moreover, *judicially*, that *transubstantiation* is a conjuring word, *concomitantia* another juggling word; and that the bishop of Rome is against God: and that he made by a juggling word, the body and blood of Christ of bread and wine: and that to worship it with honour due to God, is idolatry. Then the bishop assigned him to appear there again between three and four in the afternoon. What was then done appears not. But, Jan. 30, he appeared again. Then Winchester, beginning after his usual way, offered to receive him into favour, and the unity of the church: if with a penitent mind he would return. But he more stuffily persisting in his perverse opinions, I use the words of the Acts, brake out into very many blasphemies, saying, that there be but two sacraments, baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. And that after consecration, the

had answered for himselfe, and stoutly rebuked his adversaries for breaking their othe made before to king Henry and to king Edward his sonne, and for betraying the realme into the power of the Romaine bishop, they perceiving that in no case he could be stirred to their wils and purpose, that is, to turne with them from Christ to antichrist, committed him thereupon to prison againe, where he endured till the last of Januarie.

Upon which day and yeare aforesaid, D. Taylour and M. Bradford, and M. Sanders were againe called to appeare before the bishop of Winchester, the bishoppe of Norwich, of London, of Salisbury, and of Duresme, and there were charged again with heresie and schisme, and therefore a determinate answer was required ; whether they would submit themselves to the Romain bishop and abjure their errors, or else they would according to their lawes proceed to their condemnation.

When doctor Taylor and his fellowes, M. Bradford and M. Saunders heard this, they answered stoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in king Edwards daies, neither would they submit themselves to the Romish antichrist, but they thanked God for so great mercie, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his word and truth.

When the bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and unmoveably fixed in the trueth, they read the sentence of death upon them, which when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and stoutely said unto the bishops : We doubt not but God the righteous judge, will require our bloud at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving againe of antichrist, and your tyranny that ye now shew against the flocke of Christ.

So was doctor Taylor, now condemned, committed to the Clinke², and the keepers charged straitly to keepe him : “for ye

bread and wine remains. He denied transubstantiation ; and said, that the natural body of Christ is not here, but in heaven ; and that Christ's body could not be in two places at once.—After long disputations, the bishop asked him again, whether he would return to the unity of the Catholic church ? He answered, that he would not come to Antichrist's church.—Then the bishop read the sentence definitive against him, condemning him for an heretic and excommunicate : and so delivered him to the sheriff of London.—And thus they made a riddance of Dr. Taylor.” *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 182, 3.

² *The Clinke*.] In Southwark, belonging to the bishoprick of Winchester.

have now another maner of charge" (quoth the lord chancellor) "then ye had before : therefore looke ye take heed to it."

When the keeper brought him toward the prison, the people flocked about to gaze upon him : unto whom he saide : " God be praised (good people) I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirme the truth with my blood." So was hee bestowed in the Clinker till it was toward night, and then hee was removed to the Counter by the Poultry.

When doctor Taylor had lien in the said Counter in the Poultry a sevensnight or thereabouts prisoner, the fourth day of Februarie, anno 1555, Edmund Boner bishop of London², with

² *Boner bishop of London.*] *Bonner*, the reader is desired to observe,—not *Gardiner*,—as heretofore.

We saw above, in a note to this present account of Taylor, that Gardiner, some years before, denied the charge of cruelty with which he was commonly taxed. "I know" says he "it is not my fault." And it is certain, that when, in January 1556, he sat in judgment upon Bradford, with other commissioners of the queen, Bradford, with great spirit, having alleged, "I have been now a yeare and almost three quarters in prison, and all this time ye never questioned me of this matter, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly without perill. But now you have a lawe to hang up and put to death, if a man answer freely, and not to your appetite, and so now you come to demand this question. Ah, my lord, Christ used not this way to bring men to faith: no more did the prophets or apostles. Remember what Bernard writeth to pope Eugenius—*Apostoli leges et iusse judicandos, se hunc judicantes non leges*, that is, 'I read that the apostles stood to be judged, but I read not that they sat to judge,'—the lord chancellor publicly disclaimed that these methods of proceeding were his advice, and seems to have intimated that he did not think they would prove successful—for thus he proceeds:

"Here the lord chancellor was appalled, as it seemed, *and said most gently*, 'That he used not this manner.' It was not my doing, quoth he, 'although some there be that think this to be the best way.'"*How perillous a case!*

But it is more remarkable, that, having borne his part, and that undoubtedly the heaving and foremost part, in the trial of this sanguinary experiment, and having found that the expected result did not ensue, but rather, that the streams of blood only watered the fields of heresy to fresh fertility, he withdrew his hand, and resolutely persisted in refusing any further share in these dreadful proceedings. It may not be amiss to take the account of this matter from Fox.

After that Steven Gardiner being of the lawes, and the se other archbishops, as ye have heard, with the pover and authorite to raghe and rule as the lawe, and had brought those gentyll bishops and reverend prelaters at that tyme forth, namely the archbishop of Canterbury, doctor Kettilar, bishop of Exeter, master Legh, M. Hosper, bishop of Worcester, and the other master Ringers, master Sadlers, doctor Taylor, and master Bradford, which had been a presently condemned and some also burned.

others, came to the saide Counter to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments, as do appertaine to their massing mummerie. Now being come, hee called for the said doctor Taylor to be brought unto him (the bishop being then in the chamber, where the keeper of the Counter and his wife lay). So doctor Taylor was brought downe from the chamber above that, to the said Boner. And at his comming, the bishop said: "Maister doctor, I would you would remember your selfe, and turne to your mother holy church: so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon." Whereunto maister Taylor answered: "I would you and your fellowes would turn to Christ. As for me I will not turne to antichrist." "Well," quoth the bishop, "I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on these vestures." "No," quoth doctor Taylor, "I will not." "Wilt thou not?" said the bishop. "I shall make thee, ere I goe." Quoth doctor Taylor, "you shall not by the grace of God." Then he charged him upon his obedience to doe it, but hee would not doe it for him.

he supposed now all had beene cocke-sure, and that Christ had beene conquered for ever, so that the people being terrified with example of these great learned men condemned, never would ne durst once rout against their violent religion. But they were deceived. For within eight or nine daies after that S. Gardiner had given sentence against M. Hooper, M. Rogers, M. Saunders, D. Taylor, and M. Bradford, being the eighth of Februarie, six other good men were brought likewise before the bishops for the same cause of religion, to be examined, whose names were, W. Pigot butcher, Stephen Knight barber, Thomas Tomkins weaver, Thomas Hauks gentleman, John Laurence priest, William Hunter prentice.

"Stephen Gardiner seeing thus his device disappointed, and that crueltie in this case would not serve to his expectation, gave over the matter as utterly discouraged, and from that day meddled no more in such kind of condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to Bonner bishop of London; who supplied that part right doughtily, as in the further processe of this history will hereafter evidently, and too much appeare." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1389. The following story shows that he retained the same judgment near the time of his death. "At length Thomas Whittle being apprehended by one Edmund Alablaster, in hope of rewarde and promotion, which he misrablie gaped after, he was brought first as prisoner before the bishoppe of Winchester, who then was fallen latelie sicke of his disease, whereof not long after he died most strangely. But the apprehender, for his profered service, was highlie checked and rated of the bishop, asking if there were no man unto whome he might bring such rascals but to him. Hence, quoth he, out of my sight, thou varlet, what dost thou trouble me with such matters? The greedie cormorant being thus defeated of his desired prey, yet thinking to seek and to hunt further, carried his prisoner to the bishop of London." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1675.

The night after that he was degraded, his wife and his son Thomas resorted to him, and were by the gentlenesse of the keepers permitted to sup with him. For this difference was ever found betweene the keepers of the bishops prisons, and the keepers of the king's prisons, that the bishops keepers were ever cruell, blasphemous, and tyrannous, like their maisters: but the keepers of the kings prisons shewed for the most part, as much favour as they possibly might.

So came doctor Taylors wife, his son, and John Hull his servant, to sup with him: and at their comming in afore supper, they kneeled downe and praied, saying the Letany.

After supper walking up and downe, he gave God thanks for his grace, that had so called him and given him strength to abide by his holy worde: and turning to his sonne Thomas: "My deare sonne," said he, "almighty God blesse thee, and give thee his holy spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his trueth all thy life long. And my sonne, see that thou feare God alwaies. Flee from all sin, and wicked living: be vertuous: serve God with dayly praier, and apply thy book. In any wise see thou be obedient to thy mother, love her, and serve her: be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsell in all things. Beware of lewd company, of young men that feare not God, but followe their lewd lusts and vaine appetites. Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering, that I thy father doe die in the defence of holy marriage. An other day when God shall blesse thee, love and cherish the poore people, and count that thy chiefe riches is to be rich in almes: and when thy mother is waxed old, forsake her not, but provide for her to thy power, and see that she lacke nothing. For so will God blesse thee, and give thee long life upon earth and prosperitie: which I pray God to graunt him."

Then turning to his wife: "My deare wife," quoth hee, "continue stedfast in the feare and love of God, keepe your selfe undefiled from their popish idolatries, and superstitions. I have bin unto you a faithfull yokefellow, and so have you been unto mee; for the which I pray God to reward you, and doubt you not deare wife, but God will reward it.

"Now the time is come that I shall bee taken from you, and you discharged of the wedlocke bond towards mee: therefore I will give you my counsell, what I thinke most expedient for you. You are yet a childbearing woman, and therefore it will be most

convenient for you to marry. For doubtlesse you shal never be at a convenient stay for your self and our poore children, nor out of trouble, till you bee married. Therefore as soone as God will provide it, marry with some honest faithfull man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honest husband for you, and he will be a mercifull father to you and to my children; whom I pray you, bring up in the feare of God, and in learning, to the uttermost of your power, and keep them from this Romish idolatry." When he had thus said, they with weeping teares prayed together, and kissed one the other: and he gave to his wife a booke of the church service, set out by k. Edward, which in the time of his imprisonment he daily used. And unto his sonne Thomas he gave a Latine booke, containing the notable sayings of the old martyrs, gathered out of *Ecclesiastica historia*: and in the end of that booke he wrote his Testament and last *Vale*, as hereafter followeth.

The last Will and Testament of Dr. Rowland Taylor, Parson of Hadley.

"I say to my wife, and to my children: The Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from mee: blessed be the name of the Lord. I beleeve that they are blessed which die in the Lord. God careth for sparowes, and for the haires of our heads. I have ever found him, more faithfull and favourable, than is any father or husband. Trust ye therefore in him by the meanes of our deare Saviour Christes merites: beleeve, love, feare and obey him: pray to him, for he hath promised to helpe. Count mee not dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I goe before, and you shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert and Zachary. I have bequeathed you to the only omnipotent.

"I say to my deare friends of Hadley, and to all other which have heard mee preach, that I depart hence with a quiet conscience, as touching my doctrine: for the which I pray you thank God with me. For I have after my little talent declared to other, those lessons that I gathered out of Gods booke, the blessed bible. Therefore if I or an angell from heaven should preach to you any other gospell, than that ye have received, Gods great curse upon that preacher.

“Beware for Gods sake, that ye deny not God, neither decline from the worde of faith, least God decline from you, and so do ye everlastingly perish. For Gods sake beware of popery, for though it appeare to have in it unitie, yet the same is in vanitie and anti-christianitie, and not in Christes faith and veritie.

“Beware of the sinne against the holy Ghost, now after such a light opened so plainely and simply, truely, thoroughly and generally to all England.

“The Lord graunt all men his good and holy spirite, increase of his wisdom, contemning the wicked world, hearty desire to be with God and the heavenly company, through Jesus Christ, our only mediator, advocate, righteousness, life, sanctification, and hope, Amen, Amen. Pray, Pray.

“ROWLAND TAYLOUR departing hence in sure hope, without all doubting, of eternall salvation, I thank God my heavenly father, through Jesus Christ my certaine Saviour, Amen.

“The 5. of Februarie. Anno 1555.

“Psalm 27.

“The Lord is my light and my salvation: whom then shall I fear?

“Rom. 8.

“God is he that justifieth: who is he that can condemne?

“Psalm 30.

“In thee O Lord have I trusted, let me never be confounded.”

On the next morrow, after that doctour Taylour had supped with his wife in the Counter, as is before expressed, which was the fift day of February, the shiriffe of London, with his officers came to the Counter by two of the clocke in the morning, and so brought forth doctor Taylour, and without any light led him to the Woolsacke, an inne without Aldgate. Doctor Taylours wife suspecting that her husband should that night be caried away, watched all night within S. Butolphs church-porch beside Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth of thirteen yeares of age (whom being left without father or mother, doctor Taylor had brought up of almes from three yeares old) the other named Mary, doctor Tailors own daughter.

Now, when the shiriffe and his company came against S. Butolphes church, Elizabeth cried saying: “O my deare father:

mother, mother, here is my father led away." Then cried his wife: "Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?" for it was a verie darke morning, that the one could not see the other. Doctor Taylor answered: "Deare wife, I am here," and staied. The shiriffes men would have led him forth, but the shiriffe said: "Stay a little maisters, I pray you, and let him speake to his wife;" and so they staied.

Then came she to him, and hee tooke his daughter Mary in his armes; and he, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down and said the Lords praier. At which sight the shiriffe wept apase, and so did diuers others of the company. After they had praied, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shooke her by the hand, and said: "Farewell my deare wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children." And then he kissed his daughter Mary and said, "God blesse thee, and make thee his servant;" and kissing Elizabeth, hee said: "God blesse thee. I pray you all stand strong and stedfast unto Christ and his worde, and keepe you from idolatry." Then said his wife: "God be with thee dear Rowland. I wil with Gods grace meete thee at Hadley."

And so he set forth to the Woodsacke, and his wife followed him. As soone as they came to the Woodsacke, hee was put into a chamber, wherein hee was kept with foure yomen of the guard, and the shiriffes men. Doctor Taylor, as soone as he was come into the chamber, fell downe on his knees and gave himselfe wholly to praier. The shiriffe then seeing doctor Taylors wife there, would in no case graunt her to speake any more with her husband, but gently desired her to goe to his house and take it as her own, and promised her she should lack nothing, and sent two officers, to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding she desired to go to her mothers, whither the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came againe.

Thus remained doctor Taylor in the Woodsacke, kept by the shiriffe and his company, till eleven of the clocke. At which time the shiriffe of Essex was ready to receive him, and so they set him on horse backe within the gate, the gates being shut.

At the coming out of the gates John Hall before spoken of, stood at the gates with Thomas, doctor Taylors son. When doctor Taylor saw them, he called them saying: "Come hither my sonne Thomas." And John Hall lifted up his hand, and set him on the horse before his father, and doctor Taylor

put off his hatte and said to the people that stode there looking on him: "Good people this is mine owne sonne, begotten of my body in lawfull matrimony: and God bee blessed for lawfull matrimony." Then lifted he up his eyes towardes heaven, and praied for his sonne, laide his hande upon the childes head, and blessed him, and so delivered the childe to John Hull, whom he tooke by the hand, and said; "farewell John Hull, the faith-fullest servant that ever man had." And so they rode forth, the shiriffe of Essex with foure yeomen of the guard, and the shiriffes men leading him.

When they were come almost at Burntwood, one Arthur Faysie, a man of Hadley, who before time had beene doctor Taylors servant, met with them, and he supposing him to have been at libertie, said: "Maister doctor, I am glad to see you againe at libertie," and came to him, and took him by the hand. "Soft sir," quoth the shiriffe, "hee is a prisoner: what hast thou to doe with him?" "I cry you mercy," said Arthur, "I knew not so much, and I thought it none offence to talke to a true man. The shiriffe was very angry with this, and threatned to carry Arthur with him to prison; notwithstanding, hee bade him get him quickly away, and so they rode forth to Burntwood; where they caused to be made for doctor Taylor, a close hoode, with two holes for his eies to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breath at. This they did that no man should know him, nor hee speak to any man. Which practice they used also with others. Their owne consciences tolde them, that they ledde innocent lambes to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared, least if the people should have heard them speake, or have seene them, they might have beene much more strengthened by their godly exhortations, to stand stedfast in Gods word, and to fly the superstitions and idolatries of the papacie.

All the way doctor Taylor was joyfull and merry, as one that accounted himselfe going to a most pleasant banquet or bridall. He spake many notable things to the shiriffe, and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often mooved them to weep through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evill and wicked living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoyce, to see him so constant and stedfast, void of all feare, joifull in heart and glad to die. Of these yeomen of the guard, three used doctor Taylor friendly, but the fourth

(whose name was Homes) used him very homely, unkindly, and churlishly.

At Chelmesford met them the shiriffe of Suffolke, there to receive him, and carry him forth into Suffolke. And being at supper, the shiriffe of Essex very earnestly laboured him to returne to the popish religion, thinking with faire words to persuade him, and said, "Good maister doctor, wee are right sorry for you, considering what losse is of such one as ye might be if ye would. God hath given you great learning and wisdom, wherfore yee have been in great favour and reputation in times past with the counsell and highest of this realme. Besides this yee are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature like to live many yeares, and without doubt, ye should in time to come bee in as good reputation as ever ye were, or rather better. For ye are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for your learning: and mee thinke it were great pity you should cast away your selfe willingly, and so come to such a painefull and shamefull death. Ye should doe much better to revoke your opinions, and returne to the catholieke church at Rome, acknowledge the popes holinesse to be the supreme head of the universall church, and reconcile your selfe to him. You may do well yet, if you will: doubt ye not but ye shall find favour at the queenes hands. I and all these your friends will be suters for your pardon: which no doubt, ye shall obtaine. This counsell I give you, good M. doctor, of a good hart, and good will toward you: and thereupon I drinke to you." In like manner said all the yemen of the guard. "Upon that condition, good maister doctor, we will all drinke to you."

When they had all drunk to him, and the cup was come to him, he staied a little, as one studying what answer he might give. At the last thus he answered and said, "Maister shiriffe, and my maisters all, I hartily thanke you of your good will. I have harkened to your words and marked well your counsels. And to be plaine with you, I do perceive that I have ben deceived my selfe, and am like to deceive a great many of Hads. of their expectation." With that word they all rejoiced. "Ye a good maister doctor," quoth the shiriffe. "Gods blessing on your heart. hold you there still. It is the comfortabest word that we heard you speake yet. What should ye cast away your selfe in vaine? Play a wise mans part, and I dare warrant:

it yee shall finde favour." Thus they rejoiced very much at the word, and were very merry.

At the last: "Good M. doctor," quoth the shiriffe, "what meant ye by this, that ye said ye thinke ye have beene deceived your self, and think ye shall deceive many one in Hadley?" "Would you know my meaning plainly?" quoth he. "Yea," quoth the shiriffe, "good maister doctor tell it us plainly."

Then said doctor Taylor, "I will tell you how I have bin deceived, and as I thinke, I shall deceive a great many. I am as you see, a man that hath a very great carkase, which I thought should have beene buried in Hadley church yard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I should have done: but herein I see I was deceived; and there are a great number of wormes in Hadley churchyard, which should have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now we be deceived, both I and they: for this carkase must be burnt to ashes, and so shall they lose their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it."

When the shiriffe and his company heard him say so, they were amazed, and looked one on another, marvelling at the mans constant minde, that thus without all feare, made but a jest at the cruell torment, and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation cleane disappointed. And in this appeareth what was his meditation in his chiefest wealth and prosperitie; namely, that hee should shortly die and feede wormes in his grave: which meditation if all our bishops, and spirituall men had used, they had not for a little worldly glory forsaken the worde of God and trueth, which they in king Edwards daies had preached and set forth; nor yet to maintain the bishop of Romes authoritie, have committed so many to the fire as they did.

But let us returne to doctor Taylor: who at Chelmesforde was delivered to the shiriffe of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley, where hee suffered. When they were come to Lanham, the shiriffe staid there two daies: and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices upon great horses, which all were appointed to aid the sheriffe. These gentlemen laboured doctor Taylor very sore, to reduce him to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon, "which," said they, "wee have here for you." They promised him great promotions, yea a bishopricke if he would take it: but all their labour and flattering words were in vaine. For he had not built his house upon the

sand, in perill of falling at every puffle of winde, but upon the sure and unmoovable rocke, Christ. Wherefore hee abode constant and unmoovable unto the end.

After two daies, the shiriffe and his company led doctour Taylor towards Hadley, and comming within a two mile of Hadley, "Why maister doctor," quoth the shiriffe, "how doe you now?" He answered: "Well, God be praised, good master shiriffe. Never better: for now I know I am almost at home. I lacke not past two stiles to goe over, and I am even at my fathers house.—But maister shiriffe," said he, "shall not wee goe thorough Hadley?" "Yes," said the shiriffe, "you shall go thorough Hadley." Then said he: "O good Lord, I thanke thee. I shall yet once ere I die see my flocke, whom thou Lord knowest I have most heartily loved, and truely taught. Good Lord blesse them, and keep them stedfast in thy word and trueth."

When they were now come to Hadley, and came riding over the bridge, at the bridge foote waited a poore man with five small children; who when he saw doctor Taylor, he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said: "O deare father and good shepheard, doctor Taylor: God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me, and my poore children." Such witness had the servant of God of his vertuous and charitable almes given in his life time. For God would now the poore should testifie of his good deeds, to his singular comfort, to the example of others, and confusion of his persecutors and tyrannous adversaries. For the shiriffe and other that led him to death, were wonderfully astonied at this: and the shiriffe sore rebuked the poore man for so crying. The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way with men and women of the towne and countrey who waited to see him: whome when they beheld so led to death, with weeping eys and lamentable voices they cried, saying one to another: "Ah good Lord, there goeth our good shepheard from us, that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us. O mercifull God: what shall we poore scattered lambes doe? What shall come of this most wicked world? Good Lord strengthen him and comfort him" with such other most lamentable and pitious voices. Wherefore the people were sore rebuked by the shiriffe and catchpoles his men, that ledde him. And

doctour Taylor evermore sayd to the people : “ I have preached to you Gods word and truth, and am come this day to seale it with my bloud.”

Comming against the almes houses, which he well knew, he cast to the poore people mony, which remained of that good people had given him in the time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they tooke it from him at his first going to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable almes of good people that visited him.

Therefore the money that now remained, hee put in a glove readie for the same purpose, and (as is said) gave it to the poore almesmen standing at their doores to see him. And comming to the last of the almeshouses, and not seeing the poore that there dwelt ready in their doores, as the other were, he asked ; “ Is the blinde man and blinde woman, that dwelt here alive ? ” It was answered, “ Yea : they are there within.” Then threw he glove and all in at the window, and so rode forth.

Thus this good father and provider for the poore, now took his leave of those, for whom all his life hee had a singular care and studie. For this was his custome, once in a fortnight at the least, to call upon sir Henry Doyll, and others the rich cloth-makers, to goe with him to the almeshouses, and there to see how the poore lived : what they lacked in meat, drinke, clothing, bedding, or anie other necessaries. The like did he also to other poore men that had many children, or were sicke. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and where he found cause, rebuke the unruly, and what they lacked, that gave he after his power : and what he was not able, he caused the rich and wealthy men to minister unto them. Thus shewed he himselfe in all thinges an example to his flocke, worthy to be followed ; and taught by his deed, what a great treasure almes is to all such as cheerfully for Christs sake do it.

At the last, comming to Aldam common⁵, the place assigned

⁵ *Aldam common.*] “ In Aldham Common, not far from Hadley town, is a great stone, that assigns the place where he suffered, and on it are written these words, or to this effect,

*Doctor Taylor for maintaining what was good
In this place shed his blood.”*

Strype’s Life of Cranmer, p. 420.

In the same place Strype has recorded his epitaph, taken from a brass plate in the parish church of Hadley.

where he should suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he asked "what place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither?" It was answered: "It is Aldham common, the place where you must suffer: and the people are come to looke upon you." Then said he, "thanked be God, I am even at home:" and so light from his horse, and with both his hands, rent the hood from his head.

Now his head was notted evill favouredly, and clipped, much like as a man would clip a fooles head: which cost the good bishop Boner had bestowed upon him, when he disgraced him. But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping teares, and cried, saying: "God save thee good doctour Taylor: Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and helpe thee: The Holy Ghost comfort thee," with such other like godly wishes. Then would hee have spoken to the people: but the yomen of the gard were so busie about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tippe staffe into his mouth, and would in no wise permitte him to speak.

Then desired he licence of the shiriffe to speak: but the shiriffe denied it to him, and bad him remember his promise to the counsell.

"Well," quoth Doctor Taylor, "promise must be kept." What this promise was, it is unknown: but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned the counsell sent for them and threatened them they would cut their tongues out of their heads, except they would promise, that at their deaths they would keepe silence, and not speake to the people. Wherefore they desirous to have the use of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promised silence. For the papists feared much, least this mutation of religion, from truth to lies, from Christes ordinances to the popish traditions, should not so quietly have been received as it was, especially this burning of the preachers. But they measuring others mindes by their owne, feared lest any tumult or uprore might have been stirred, the

Letter to the people. When interests and passions were at stake, we are not to wonder that we should find many a man, and many a woman, who, in the name of religion, would have us to believe that the people are to be kept in silence, and that the people are to be kept from the knowledge of their own minds, and that the people are to be kept from the knowledge of their own hearts. If we thus proceed, we shall find that the people are to be kept in silence, and that the people are to be kept from the knowledge of their own minds, and that the people are to be kept from the knowledge of their own hearts.

people having so just a cause not to bee contented with their dooings ; or else (what they most feared) the people should more have bin confirmed by their godly exhortations to stand stedfast against their vaine popish doctrine and idolatrie. But thanks to God, which gave to his witnesses faith and patience, with stout and manly harts to despise all torments : nether was there so much as any one man that once shewed any signe of disobedience towards the magistrates. They shed their bloud gladly in the defence of the truth, so leaving example unto all men of true and perfect obedience : which is to obey God more then men : and if need require it, to shed their owne bloud rather than to depart from Gods truth.

Doctor Taylor perceiving that he could not be suffered to speake, sate downe, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him and sayd : “ Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my bootes and take them for thy labour. Thou hast long looked for them, now take them.” Then rose he up, and put off his clothes unto his shirte, and gave them away. Which done, hee said with a loud voice : “ Good people, I have taught you nothing but Gods holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of Gods blessed

this also we have seen. Another expedient with the same object, and with like success, Strype thus describes : “ Preachers, and they such as were thought of the best ability that way, were now studiously set up to preach the people into an ill opinion of the late proceedings, especially in religion.” Some of these were Feckenham, Weston, White, Watson, Harpsfield and Bourne. “ This last-named came up at Paule’s cross, August 13 (1553), where were present the lord mayor, and his brethren, and the lord Courteney, and a great auditory. This man did according to his instructions, fiercely lay about him, in accusing the doings of the former reign with such reflections upon things that were dear to the people, that it set them all into a hurly burly. And such an uproar began, such a shouting at the sermon, and casting up of caps, as that one who lived in those times, and kept a journal of matters that then fell out, writ, *it was as if the people were mad*, and that there might have been some great mischief done, had not the people been awed somewhat by the presence of the mayor and lord Courteney. In this confusion the young people and the women bore their part ; and so did some priests, and, namely, the minister of St. Ethelborough’s within Bishopsgate ; who, as we shall hear, smarted severely for it. And, which most of all shewed the popular displeasure against the preacher, a dagger was thrown at him : which broke up the assembly ; and the divine was conveyed away for fear of his life.” Strype’s *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 21. Compare p. 135, where is an account of a gun being discharged at Dr. Pendleton, while preaching the sermon at Paul’s cross, June 10, 1554. See also Hoggard’s *Displaying of Protestants*, fol. 92, 3. A.D. 1556.

booke, the holy bible : and I am come hither this day to seale it with my bloud." With that word, Homes, yeoman of the garde, aforesaid, who had used doctor Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head with a waster¹, and sayde : "Is that the keeping of thy promise, thou hereticke !" — Then hee seeing they would not permit him to speake, kneeled downe and praied, and a poore woman that was among the people, stepped in and prayed with him ; but hir they thrust away, and threatened to tread hir down with horses : notwithstanding she would not remoove, but abode and praied with him. When he hadde praied he went to the stake and kissed it², and set himselfe into a pitch barrell, which they had set for him to stand in, and so stood with his backe upright against the stake, with his handes foulded together, and his eies toward heaven, and so he continually prayed.

Then they bound him with chaines, and the sheriffe called one Richard Doningham, a butcher, and commanded him to set up fagots : but he refused to do it, and said : " I am lame sir, and not able to lift a fagot." The shiriffe threatned to send him to prison : notwithstanding, he would not do it.

Then appointed he one Mulleine of Carsey, a man for his vertues fit to be a hangman, and Soyce a very drunkard, and Warwike, who in the commotion time in king Edwards daies, lost one of his eares for his seditious talke, amongst whome was also one Robert King a deviser of enterludes, who albeit was there present and had doing there with the gunpowder ; what he meant and did therein (he himselfe saith he did it for the best, and for quick dis-

¹ *A waster.*] A cudgel. So Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* : " As they that play at wasters exercise themselves by a few cudgels to avoid an enemy's blows." P. 343. Nares' *Glossary* in v.

² *And kissed it.*] In like manner we saw above, p. 403, that Hooper kissed the bundles of reeds that were prepared for his burning ; and many other instances of the like action, some of which will fall in our way in the course of this history, are recorded in Fox. See *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1113. 1362. 1394. 1435. 1474. 1605. 1661. The practice, innocent as it was, could not escape the barbarous scoffs of Miles Hoggard, a vulgar and merciless persecutor. He is endeavouring to disparage our martyrs by comparing them with Joan Hucher, Van Paris, &c. who suffered for Arianism, &c. ; speaking of this latter he says, " and at the tyme of his death he was so frolicke, that he fared muche lyke our martyrs, in embracing the reedes, kysyng the poste, synnyng, and suche other toys " *Displaying of Protestants*, fol. 35. A. D. 1556. 12mo.

patch) the Lord knoweth which shall judge all : more of this I have not to say.

These foure were appointed to set up the fagots, and to make the fire, which they most diligently did : and this Warwike cruelly cast a fagot at him, which light upon his head, and brake his face, that the bloud ran down his visage. Then said doctor Tailor : “ Oh friend, I have harme inough, what needed that ? ”

Furthermore, sir John Shelton there standing by, as doctour Taylour was speaking and saying the Psalme *Miserere* in English, stroke him on the lippes : “ Ye knave,” said hee, “ speake Latine ; I will make thee.” At last they set to fire : and doctour Taylour, holding up both his handes, called uppon God, and said : “ Mercifull father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviours sake, receive my soule into thy handes.” So stood he still, without either crying or mooving, with his handes folded together, till Soyce with an halberd stroke him on the head that the brains fell out, and the dead corpes fell downe into the fire.

Thus rendered the man of God⁹ his blessed soule into the hands of his mercifull Father, and to his most deare and certaine Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.

⁹ *The man of God.*] Strype in his *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, p. 421, has preserved a considerable fragment of the heads of a sermon preached at Hadley, the day after Taylor's martyrdom, by Newall his successor in that benefice : “ a right popish sermon ” (says Strype) “ patched up of ignorance, malice, uncharitableness, lies and improbabilities.” “ It mooveth many minds,” (remarks the preacher,) “ to see an heretic constant, and to die. But it is not to be marvelled at : for the devil hath power over soul and body. For he causeth men to drown, and hang themselves, at their own wills. Much more he may cause a man to burn ; seeing he is tied, and cannot fly.—Sure he died in damnable case, if he did not otherwise repent in the hour of pain.—And I warrant you he said not one word at his death, more than desired the people to pray for him : which was no token of a Christian, but of stubbornness. But I am glad that ye were so quiet.” See the rest.

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BISHOP LATIMER.

We are now more near to God than ever we were. Yea, we are at the gates of heaven; and we are become a joyful spectacle, in *this our captivity*, to God, to the angels, and all his saints, who look that we should end our course with glory.

LATIMER.

Then they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid the same downe at doctor Ridley's feet. To whom master Latimer spake in this manner, Bee of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man: wee shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never bee putte out.

JOHN FOX.

BISHOP LATIMER.

HUGH LATIMER was the sonne¹ of one Hugh Latimer of Thurstaston in the countie of Leicester, a husbandman of right good estimation²; with whom also he was brought up, until he was of the age of foure yeares or thereabout. At which time his parents

¹ *Was the sonne.*] Mr. Gilpin, in his *Life of Latimer*, says, (I know not upon what authority) that he was born “about the year 1470.”—I incline however to think, that 1470 is too early a date by many years.

² *Right good estimation.*] In his first sermon before king Edward, preached in the year 1549, when, *if Gilpin be correct*, Latimer was seventy-nine years old, he gives the following pleasing description of his father and family.

“My father was a yeoman, and had no landes of his own, onely he had a farme of three or four pounds by yeare at the uttermost; and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walke for an hundred sheepe, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did finde the king an harness, with himselfe and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the kinges wages. I can remember” (it may be well assumed that Latimer means this expression to mean “one of the earliest things that I can remember is”) “that I buckled his harness, when he went to Blackheath felde (A.D. 1497). He kept me to schole, or else I had not been able to have preached before the kinges majesty now. He maryed my sisters with five pound or twenty nobles a piece, so that he brought them up in godliness, and feare of God. He kept hospitality for his poore neighbours; and some almes he gave to the poore: and all this did he of the said farme. Whereas, he that now hath it payeth sixteen pounds by the yeare or more, and is not able to doe anye thing for his prince, for himselfe, nor for his children, or give a cup of drinke to the poore.” Fol. 32. edit. 1584. In another sermon (the sixth) preached likewise before the king, we have some further circumstances communicated respecting his early years. “Men of Englande in times past, when they would exercise themselves (for we must needs have some recreation, our bodyes cannot endure without some exercise), they were wont to goe abroad in the fields of shooting. The art of shooting hath been in times past much esteemed in this realme: it is a gift of God

(having him then left for their onely son, with sixe daughters) seeing his ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to traine him up in erudition, and knowledge of good literature; wherein he so profited in his youth, at the common schooles of his owne countrey, that at the age of fourteene yeares, hee was sent to the universitie of Cambridge³. Where after some continuance of

that he hath given us to excell all other nations withall. It hath been Gods instrument whereby he hath given us manye victoryes agaynst our enemies. In my time, my poore father was as diligent to teach me to shoote, as to learne me any other thing; and so I thinke other men did their children. He taught me how to draw; how to lay my body in my bow, and not to drawe with strength of armes, as other nations doe, but with strength of the bodye. I had my bowes bought me, according to my age and strength: as I encreased in them, so my bowes were made bigger and bigger: for men shall never shoote well, except they be brought up in it. It is a goodly arte, a wholesome kinde of exercise, and much commended in physicke.” Fol. 69.

³ *Of Cambridge.*] He was elected a fellow of Clare Hall, in the year 1509, as appears by the following extract from the register of that college.

“Etiam circa festum Purificationis proxime sequens, eligebantur in socios istius collegii Dom. Joannes Pomel, et Dom. Willelmus Pyndar, in Artibus Baccalaurei; et Dom. Hugo Latimer, Quæstionista.”

⁴ *Continuance of exercises.*] We have an anecdote in the sermons which must reasonably be assigned to the earlier portion of his years at Cambridge.

“There was a merry monke in Cambridge in the college that I was in, and it chaunced a great company of us to be together, entending to make good cheare, and to be mery (as scholers will be mery when they are disposed): one of the company brought this sentence, ‘*Nil melius quam lætari, et facere bene.*’ There is nothing better than to be mery, and to doe well: ‘A vengeance of *bene*, (quoth the monke): I would that *bene* had been banished beyond the sea: and that *bene* were out, it were well: for I could *be mery*, and I could *doe*, but I love not to doe *well*. That *bene* marres all. I would *bene* were out,’ quoth the mery monke.” Fourth Sermon before king Edward. *Sermons*, fol. 52. edit. 1584.

⁵ *That age did suffer.*] What this state of things was may be well illustrated by an extract or two from William Tindal, who (equally with Latimer) had suffered under what he describes.

“In the universities they have ordeined that no man shall looke on the Scripture, until he be noseled in heathen learnyng eight or nyne yeares, and armed with false principles, with whiche he is cleane shut out of the understanding of the Scriptures . . . And when he taketh first degree, he is sworne that he shall holde none opinion condemned by the church; but *what* such opinions be, that he shall not know. And they when they be admitted to studye divinitye, because the Scripture is locked up with such false exposition, and with false principles of natural philosophy, that they cannot enter in, they go about the outside, and dispute all theyr lyves about words and vaine opinions, pertaining as much unto the healyng of a man’s heele, as health of his soule.” *Practise of Popish Prelates*, A.D. 1530. *Works*, p. 361.

exercises⁴ in other things, he gave himself to the study of such schoole divinitie, as the ignorance of that age did suffer⁴.

“Remember ye not how within this thirty yeares and farre lesse, and yet it dureth unto this day, the old barkyng cures, dunces, disciples, and lyke draffe called Scotistes, the children of darkenesse, raged in every pulpit agaynst Greke, Latin, and Hebrue; and what sorrow the scholemasters, that taught the true Latin tongue, had with them; some beatyng the pulpit with theyr fystes for madnesse, and roaryng out with open and foamyng mouth, that if there were but one Terence or Virgil in the world, and that same in their sleeves, and a fire before them, they would burne them therein, though it should cost them their lives; affirming that all good learnyng decayed, and was utterlye lost sence men gave them unto the Latin tongue? Yea, and I dare say that there be twenty thousand priests, curates this day in England, and not so few, that cannot geve you the right English unto this text in the Pater Noster; *Fiat voluntas tua sicut in cælo, et in terra*, and answeere thereto.” Ibid. p. 278. *Answer unto M. More’s first Book.* A.D. 1530.

“Remember ye not, how in our owne tyme, of all that taught grammar in England, not one understode the Latin tounge?—How came we then by the Latin tounge agayne? Not *by them*, though we learned certaine rules and principles of them, by which we were moved, and had an occasion to seke further; *but out of the old authors.*” Ibid. p. 268.

But the most striking and valuable passage is from the preface to his admirable work, *The Obedience of a Christian Man.* A.D. 1528.

An objector is supposed to begin, urging against the reformers, that they rested all on the mere doctrine of private judgment:

“By this meanes then, thou wilt that no man teach another, but every man take the scripture, and learne by himselfe.—Nay, verely, so say I not. Neverthelesse, seeing that ye wyll not teach, if any man thyrst for the truth, and read the Scripture by hymselfe, desiring God to open the dore of knowledge unto him, God for his truthe sake will, and must teach hym.—Howbeit my meaning is, that as a mayster teacheth his prentice to know all the poyntes of the mete-yard; first how many inches, how many feete, and the halfe yarde, the quarter, and the nayle; and then teacheth him to mete other thinges thereby; even so will I that ye teach the people Gods lawe, and what obedience God requireth of us unto father and mother, mayster, lord, king, and all superiours; and wyth what frendly love he commandeth one to love another.—And teach them to knowe that natural venome, and byrth poyson, which moveth the very hartes of us to rebell agaynst the ordinances and wyll of God, and proveth that no man is righteous in the sight of God, but that we are all damned by the lawe. And then, when thou hast meeked them and feared them wyth the lawe, teach them the testament and promises, which God hath made unto us in Christ. And teach them the principles and ground of the fayth; and what the sacramentes signifie; and then shall the spirite work with thy preaching, and make them feelee. So would it come to passe that as we knowe by natural wit, what followeth of a true principle of natural reason; even so, by the principles of the fayth, and by the plaine Scriptures, and by the circumstances of the text, should we judge all men’s exposition,

Zelous he was then^a in the popish religion, and therewith so scrupulous, as himselfe confessed, that being a priest, and using

and all mens doctrine; and should receave the best, and refuse the worst. I woulde have you to teach them also the properties and manner of speakinges of the Scripture, and how to expound proverbes and similitudes. And then, if they go abroad, and walke by the fieldes and medowes of all manner of doctours and philosophers they coulde catch no harme. They should discerne the poyson from the honey, and bring home nothing, but that which is holsoine.

But nowe do ye cleane contrary: ye drive them from Gods worde, and will let no man come thereto, until he have bene two yeres Maister of Art. - First they nose them in sophistry, and in *Benefundatum*. And there corrupt they their judgements with apparent argumentes, and wyth alleaging unto them textes of logike, of natural phylautia, of metaphysike and moral philosophy, and of all manner of bookes of Aristotle, and of all manner of doctours, which they yet never saw. Moreover, one holdeth this, another that, one is *real*, another *nominal*. What wonderful dreames have they of their predicamentes, universales, second intentions, quiddities, hanc scitises, and relatives? And whether *species fundata in chimera*, be *vera species*? And whether this proposition be true, *non ens est aliquid*? Whether *ens* be *equivocum* or *univocum*? *Ens* is a voyce only, say some. *Ens* is *univocum*, saith another, and descendeth into *ens creatum*, and into *ens increatum, per modum intrinsecos*. When they have in this wise brawled eight, ten, or twelve, or more years, and after that their judgements are utterly corrupt; then they beginne their divinitie. Not at the Scripture; but every man taketh a sundry doctour, who his doctours are as sundry, and as divers, the one contrary unto the other, as there are diverse fashions and monstrous shapes, none like another among our sectes of religion. Every religion, every universitie, and almost every man hath a sundry divinitie. Now, whatsoever opinions every man fyndeth wyth his doctour, that is his gospel, and that only is true wyth him; and that he holdeth he all his life long: and every man, to maintaine his doctour wythal, corrupteth the Scripture, and fashioneth it after his owne imagination, as a potter doth his claye. Of what text thou provest hell, will another prove purgatory, another *limbus patrum*, and another the assumption of our lady, and another shall prove of the same text that an ape hath a taylor. And of what text the grave tryer proveth that our lady was without original sinne, of the same shall the blacke tryer prove that she was conceived in original sinne. And all this do they wyth apparent reasons, with false similitudes and likenesses, and wyth arguments and persuasions of mans wisdom. There is no other division or heresy in the world: save mans wisdom, and when mans falshe wisdom interpreteth the Scripture. Mans wisdom scattereth, divideth, and maketh sectes: while the wisdom of one is, that a white coat is best to serve God in, and that a blacke, another a grey, another a brown. And while one saith that to pray, heare your prayer in this place, another saith in that place. And one saith this place is holier, and another that place is holier, and this more glorious, ever than that; and this saint is greater wyth God, than that, and an hundred thousand like thinges. Mans wisdom is plaine idolatry, neither is there

to say masse, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that hee thought hee had never sufficiently mingled his masse wine⁷ with water: and moreover, that he should never be

any other idolatry, than to imagine of God after mans wisdom. God is not man's imagination, but that onely, which He saith of himselfe. God is nothyng but his law, and his promises; that is to say, that which he biddeth thee *to do*, and that which he biddeth thee *beleve and hope*." *Works*, p. 103, 4.

⁶ *Zelous he was then.*] See *Life of Bilney*, p. 29, and Latimer's *Sermons*, fol. 294. edit. 1584. "All the papistes thinke themselves to be saved by the law: and I myself have bene of that daungerous, perilous, and damnable opinion, *till I was thirty years of age*: so long had I walked in darkness, and in the shadowe of death."

⁷ *Mingled his masse wine.*] "*Vinum tuum mixtum est aqua*:—It had been good for our missal priests to have dwelled in that cuntrye, for they might have been sure to have had their wine well mingled with water.—I remember how scrupulous I was in my time of blindnesse and ignorance; when I should say masse, I have put in water twice or thrice for fayling, in so much, when I have been at my *memento*, I have had a grudge in my conscience, for fearyng that I had not put in water enough."—Latimer's *Sermons*, fol. 45. In the Catechism of the Council of Trent, the mixing of a portion of water with the wine in the Eucharist is declared to be an *apostolical tradition*; and, it is added, that, though its absence is not fatal to the efficacy and essence of the sacrament, yet it cannot be omitted *without mortal sin*, "*eum sine mortali peccato prætermittere non licet*."—*Catechism. ad Paroch. De Eucharistiæ Sacramento*, § 17.

It is a favourite subject with Luther to enlarge upon his own servile fear, and the superstitious reverence with which he was addicted to the several observances and ceremonies of his profession, whilst he continued a monk. See also *Life of Bilney*, p. 25, 6. A writer, in the reign of Edward the sixth, gives incidentally the following picture of his religion, before his conversion to the protestant faith.

"It fared then with them" (the Jews) "as it dyd with me, whan I was a holy papist; at what tyme I was at thys point wyth God, that if I had hearde masse both Sondaye and holye day, and sayde our Lady mattins, or our Ladyes psalter, kissed and licked devoutly saintes feet (for so called they their images), and besprinkled myself well favouredly wyth conjured water, and had done the superstitious penance enjoyned to me by my *ghostly*, shall I say *enemye*, or *father*?—then, I say, I was at such poynte wyth God, I thought t, and assuredly beleved, that I had done my full duty unto hym, though I never once called to remembrance the benefite of Christes death in satisfying and pacifying for all the trespases and synnes of my former evill life, and wighty conversation.

"Yea, besides all this popysh and devillishe presumption, I thought farther, that if I had done the sayd vayne workes, and such other no better, that is no more beholden unto God, than he was to me; neither gave I him, thanks for pardonyng me of my synnes, than one marchaunt man th to another for the obtaynyng a peny worthe for a penie. [" But

danned, if he were once a professed friar; with divers such superstitious fantasies. And in this blind zeale hee was a very enemy to the professors of Christes gospel: as both his oration made when hee proceeded bachelour of divinitie, against Philip Melanethon, and also his other workes did plainly declare. But especiallie his popish zeale could in no case abide in those daies good master Stafford, reader of the divinitie lectures in Cambridge, most spitefully railing against him*, and willing the youth of Cambridge, in no wise to beleewe him.

" But thanks be unto the Lorde who of hys mere clemency, delivered me out of thys blynde popyshe heresyce '" W. Salisbury's *Baterie of the pope's Botereulx*. Signat. F. 1. v. b. 1550

Latimer's particular fears are illustrated by superstitions of a similar nature, mentioned by Tindal: and which appear to have been of various kinds, and of frequent occurrence. " If any of these blinde guides happen to swallow his spittle, or any of the water wherewith he washeth his mouth, ere he goe to masse: or if he touch the sacrament with his nose, or if the masse forget to breathe on him, or happen to handle it with any of his fingers which are not anointed: or if he say *Alleluia* instead of *Laus Tibi, Domine*, or *Ite, missa est*, instead of *Benedicamus Domino*, or *pour too much wine in the chalice*, or read the Gospel without light; or make not his crosses aright.—How trembleth he! How feareth he! What an horrible sin is committed! I cry God mercy—saith he, and you, my ghostly father."—*Words*, p. 141. Again, " Who dare handle the chalice, touch the altar stone, or put his hand in the fount, or his finger into the holy oyle?—What reverence gave we unto holy water, holy fyre, holy bread, holy salt, hallowed bellis, holy waxe, holy bowes, holy candles, and holy ashes?—And last of all, unto the holy sacrament we our soules at our last departing."—*Ibid* p. 144.

* *Writing against him*.—" It pleased Almighty God," says Ralph, Master, secretary to archbishop Grantham, see p. 127, " that our Hugh Latimer, not the knowledge of the truth of God's holy word, by the goodly lectures of divinity read by Mr. George Stafford, in the University school of Cambridge, and of a Soul made then a very Paul. For therein, at the days of his youth, he had bestowed his time in the labyrinth study of the school doctors, as in Duns, Dordel, Thomas of Aquino, Hugo de Victor, and such like.—It was much that being mightily affected that way, he of purpose, perceiving the youth of the university inclined to the reading of the Scriptures, leaving of these tedious authors, used that kind of study, being a late learner of letters, and for his gravity and years, preferred to the keeping of the university, as one who had no man had to do withall, but such students as in sayntury life exercised other, came into the S. James hall, among the youth there gathered together of daily custom to keep their sayntury, and to be instructed, and there most constantly made for the same end, the same study, and to be instructed in the same far greater kind of study of the Scriptures, and to be better persons than at the study of the school doctors. When he was thus engaged, where that he was so earnestly called to the contrary. And as he felt by this his divine vocation

Notwithstanding, such was the goodnesse and merciful purpose of God, that when he saw his good time, by the which way Latimer thought to have utterly defaced the professors of the gospel, and true church of Christ, he was at length himselfe by a member of the same, pretily caught in the blessed net of Gods word. For M. Thomas Bilney (whose storie is before described) being at that time a trier out of Sathans subtleties, and a secret overthrower of antichristes kingdome, seeing maister Latimer to have a zeale in his waies (although without knowledge) was stricken with a brotherly pitie towards him, and bethought by what meanes hee might best winne this zealous ignorant brother to the true knowledge of Christ. Wherefore, after a short time, he came to M. Latymers study, and desired him to heare him make his confession. Which thing he willingly granted : by hearing whereof, he was (through the good spirit of God) so touched, that hereupon he forsook his former studying of the schoole doctors, and other such fopperies, and became an earnest student of true divinitie ; as he himselfe, as well in his conference with M. Ridley, as also in his first sermon⁹ made upon the *pater noster*, doth confesse.— So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him, changing his olde manner of cavilling and railing, into a diligent kinde of conferring both with maister Bilney and others, and came also to maister Stafford before hee died, and desired him to forgive him.

After this his winning to Christ, hee was not satisfied with his own conversion only, but like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritane, pitied the misery of others ; and therefore became both a publike preacher, and also a private instructor to the rest of his brethren within the universitie, by the space of three

tion, that all his other study little profited him, but was rather a stumbling block unto him, then intending to preach to the world the sincere doctrine of the gospel, so he mightily, tracting no time, preached daily in the university of Cambridge, both in English, and *ad clerum*, to the great admiration of all men, that aforetime had known him of a contrary severe opinion.”—Strype’s *Ecclesiast. Memor.* vol. iii. p. 233. “ Master Latimer being yet a fervent and a zealous papist, standing in the schooles when master Stafford read, bade the scholars not to heare him : and also preaching against him, exhorted the people, not to beleve him : and yet the said Latimer confessed himselfe, that he gave thanks to God, that he asked him forgiveness before he departed.” Fox’s *Acts*, p. 524.

⁹ *In his first sermon.*] Folio 124. edit. 1584.

yeares, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongst the simple people in his naturall and vulgar language.

Howbeit, as satan never sleepeth when he seeth his kingdome to begin to decay, so likewise now seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd shaker thereof, he raised up his impious impes to molest and trouble him.

Amongst these there was an augustine frier, who tooke occasion upon certaine sermons that maister Latymer made about christenmas 1529, as well in the church of S. Edward, as also in S. Augustines, within the universitie of Cambridge, to invey against him, for that M. Latymer in the said sermons (alluding to the common usage of the season) gave the people certain cardes out of the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of S. Mathew, wherupon they might, not onely then, but alwaies els occupy their time. For the chiefe *triumph* in the cards he limited the heart, as the principal thing that they should serve God withall: whereby hee quite overthrew all hypocriticall and externall ceremonies, not tending to the necessarie furtherance of Gods holy worde and sacraments.—For the better attaining hereof, he wished the scriptures to be in English, whereby the common people might the better learne their duties, as well to God, as their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was so apt for the time, and so pleasantly applied of him, that not onely it declared a singular towardnesse of wit in the preacher, but also wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popish superstition, and setting up of perfect religion.

This was upon the sunday before christenmasse day: on which day comming to the church, and causing the bell to be tolled to a sermon, hee entered into the pulpit, taking for his text the wordes of the gospel aforesaid, read in the church that day: *Tu quis es?* &c. (John i. 19.) In delivering the which cards¹⁰ (as is above-

¹⁰ Which cards.] "This blunt preaching," (says Fuller, in his *History of the University of Cambridge*, "was in those dark daies admirably effectual, which would justly be ridiculous in our age. I remember in my time a country minister preached at St. Maries; his text, Rom. xii. 3. 'As God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith.' In a fond imitation of Latimer's caril-sermon, he prosecuted the metaphor of *dealing*; that men should play above board, that is, avoid all dissembling; not pocket cards, but improve their gifts and graces; follow suit, wear the surplice, and conform in ceremonies, &c. All produced nothing but laughter in the audience" P. 103.

said) he made the heart to be *triumph*, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: adding moreover to the praise of that *triumph*, that though it were never so small, yet it would take up the best *coate card* beside in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs; meaning thereby, how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicitie of the heart and veritie, wherein consisteth true Christian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glistering shew of mans traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vowes, devotions, voluntarie workes, and workes of supererogation, foundations, oblations, the popes supreamacie, &c. so that all these either were needlesse, where the other is present; or els were of small estimation, in comparison of the other.

It would aske a long discourse to declare what a stirre there was in Cambridge, upon this preaching of M. Latimer.—Belike Sathan began to feele himselfe and his kingdome to be touched too neare, and therefore thought it time to looke about him, and to make out his men of armes.

First, came out the prior of the blacke friers called Buckneham, otherwise surnamed *Domine labia*¹, who thinking to make a great hand against M. Latimer, about the same time of christenmas, when M. Latimer brought forth his cardes, to deface belike the doings of the other, brought out his christenmas dice, casting there to his audience *cinque* and *quater*: meaning by the *cinque* five places in the New Testament, and the foure doctors² by the *quater*, by which his *cinque quater*, hee would proove that it was not expedient the scripture to be in English, least the ignorant and vulgar sort thorough the occasion thereof, might happilie be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or else to runne into some inconvenience; as for example:

The plowman when he heareth this in the gospell: *No man that layeth his hand on the plough, and looketh back, is meete for the kingdome of God*, might peradventure hearing this, cease from his plough. Likewise the baker when he heareth that *a little leaven*

¹ *Domine labia.*] This is evidently a sarcasm on his personal defects, taken from the expression in Ps. l. 17 of the Vulgate (or li. 15 of the English version).

² *The foure doctors.*] I. e. the four great fathers of the western church; Augustin, Jerome, Ambrose, and Gregory. Comp. *Life of Wickliffe*, p. 255. vol. i.

corrupteth a whole lump of doves, may percase leave our bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also the simple man when he heareth in the gospel: *If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee*, maie make himselfe blinde, and so fill the world full of beggers.—These with other mo this clarklie frier brought out, to the number of five, to proove his purpose.

M. Latimer hearing this frierlie sermon of doctor Buckneham, commeth againe the afternoone, or shortlie after to the church, to answer the frier; where resorted to him a great multitude, as well of the universitie, as of the towne, both doctours and other graduates, with greate expectation to heare what he could say: among whom also, directlie in the face of Latimer underneath the pulpit, sate Buckneham the foresaid frier, prior of the black friers, with his blacke friers coule about his shoulders.

Then master Latimer first repeating the frierlie reasons of doctour Buckneham, whereby he would prove it a dangerous thing for the vulgar people, to have the scripture in the vulgar tongue, so refuted the frier, so answered to his objections, so dallied with his bald reasons of the plowman looking back, and of the baker leaving his breade unleavened, that the vanitie of the frier might to all men appeare: wel proving and declaring to the people, how there was no such feare nor danger for the scriptures to be in English, as the frier pretended: at least this requiring, that the scripture might be so long in the English tongue, till English men were so mad, that neither ploughman durst looke backe, and the baker wold leave his bread unleavened. And proceeding moreover in his sermon he began to discourse of the mysticall speeches, and figurative phrases of the scripture: which phrases he saide were not so diffuse and difficult¹, as they were common in the scripture, and in the Hebrew tongue most commonlie used and knowne; and not onelie in the Hebrew tongue, but also everie speech (saith he) hath his metaphors and like figurative significations, so common and vulgar to all men, that the very painters doe painte them on walles and on houses.

"As for example," (saith he) looking towards the frier that sate over against him, "when they paint a fox preaching out of a

¹ *Diffuse and difficult.*] Compare above, *Life of Wolsey*, vol. i. p. 524, and p. 452 of this volume. Also Harlowe's *Dialogue concerning the Lutheran sects*, signat. l. 2 — "it is above my capacity, and I dare not meddle with so diffuse matters."

friers coule, none is so mad to take this to be a foxe that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is to paint out unto us, what hypocrisie, craft and subtile dissimulation lieth hid many times in these friers coules, willing us thereby to beware of them.”—In fine, frier Buckneham with this sermon was so dashed, that never after durst he peep out of the pulpit against M. Latimer.

Besides this Buckneham, there was also another rayling frier, not of the same coate, but of the same note and faction, a *gray* frier and a doctour, an outlandishman called doctour *Venetus*⁴, who likewise in his brawling sermons, railed and raged against master Latimer, calling him a mad and brainelesse man, and willing the people not to beleewe him. To whom master Latimer answering again, taketh for his ground the words of our Saviour Christ, Matthew the fifth, *Thou shalt not kill, &c. But I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his neighbour shall be in danger of judgment; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour Racha, (or any other like wordes of rebuking, as brainelesse) shall be in danger of counsell: and whosoever shall say to his neighbour, foole, shall bee in danger of hell fire.*

In discussing of which place first he divideth the offence of killing into three branches. One to be with hand, the other with hart, the third with word. With hand when wee use anie weapon drawne, to spill the life of our neighbour. With heart when we be angry with him. With word, when in word or countenance we disdainefullie rebuke our neighbour, or despitefullie revile him. Words of rebuking are when we speak any opprobrious and unseemelie thing, whereby the patience of our neighbour is mooved, as when we call him *mad* (said hee) or *brainelesse*, or such like, which are guiltie of counsaile. Words of spite or reviling, are, when we call him *foole*: which Christ saith is guiltie of hell fire.

Thus M. Latimer in handling and trimming this matter, after that with the weight of Christes wordes, and the explaning of the same, hee had sufficientlie borne the frier cleane downe, then he turned to the fift chapter of the booke of Wisdom. Out of the which chapter he declared to the audience, how the true servants and preachers of God in this worlde commonlie are scorned and

⁴ *Doctour Venetus.*] This Venetian doctor is not improbably “the maister doctor Nicholas the Italian frier,” mentioned in the *Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 126 of this volume.

reviled of the proud enemies of Gods word, which count them here as mad men, fooles, brainlesse, and drunken : so did they (said hee) in the scripture call them which most purelie preached and set forth the glory of Gods word. But (said hee) what will be the end of these jollie fellows, or what will they say in the end ? *Nos insensati, nos insensati, &c. We madd men, wee madd fooles, wee, wee, our selves, &c.* And that will be their end, except they repent.—And thus ending his sermon, he so confounded the poore frier, that he drave him not onlie out of countenance, but also cleane out of the universitie.

But what should I heere stand deciphring the names of his adversaries, when whole swarmes of friers and doctors flockt against him on everie side, almost through the whole universitie, preaching likewise and barking against him. Amongst whom was doctor Watson master of Christs colledge, whose schollar Latimer had been afore ; doctor Notaries master of Clarchall, doctor Philo master of Michael house, doctour Metcalf^a, master of Saint Johns, doctor Blithe^b of the Kings hall, doctour Bullocke master of the Queenes colledge, doctor Cliffe of Clement house, doctor Donnes of Jesus colledge, doctor Palmes master of Saint Nicholas hostel ; Bain, Rud, and Greenwood bachelors of divinity, all three of S. Johns colledge : also Brikenden bachelor of divinitie of the same house, and scholler sometime to the said Latimer. Briefly, almost as many as were Heads there of houses, so many impugnors did this worthy standerdbearer of Christs gospel sustaine.

Then came at last doctor West, bishop of Ely, who preaching against master Latimer at Barnwell^c abbey, forbade him within the churches of that universitie to preache anie more. Notwithstanding so the Lord provided that doctor Barnes prior of the Augustine friers, did licence^d master Latimer to preache in his

^a *Doctor Metcalf.*] Nicholas Metcalf, who was rector of Henley and archdeacon of Rochester : a long and good character of him is in Ascham's *School-master*, p. 165. He was a considerable benefactor to St. John's

^b *Doctor Blithe*] Geoffrey Blithe, afterwards dean of York and bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

^c *Barnwell.*] Or, *De fonte puerorum*, near Cambridge. The register book is preserved in the British Museum, Harl. MS. 3601.

^d *Did licence*] His priory, like most other religious houses, being by the pope's dispensation, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, to the great injury of ecclesiastical discipline.—Bishop West died April 24, 1533. *Le Neve's Fasti*, p. 70.

church of the Augustines, and hee himselfe preached at the church by, called S. Edwards church.

This M. Latimer (as you have heard) being bayted by the friers, doctors, and masters, of that universitie, about the yeare⁹ aforesaide, 1529, notwithstanding and maugre the malice of these malignant adversaries, continued yet in Cambridge¹ preaching the space of three yeares together, with such favour and applause of the godlie, also with such admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the bishop himselfe² coming in, and hearing his gift, wished himselfe to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the same.

⁹ *About the yeare.*] This date is confirmed by two documents, printed from the library of Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. in Dr. Lamb's *Collection of Letters, Statutes, &c.* 1838. 8vo. p. 14—18, dated severally, Jan. 24 and Jan. 29, 1529. i. e. 1529-30.

¹ *Continued yet in Cambridge.*] For a general description of the character and subjects of his preaching at this period, see Becon's *Jewel of Joy*. Works, vol. ii. fol. 9, 10, and Turner's *Preservative against the poison of Pelagius*, A.D. 1551, Dedication to Latimer. Comp. *Strype's Cranmer*, p. 369. It became soon after a common saying, which continued to prevail in the reign of king Edward, that "When Master Stafforde read, and Master Latimer preached, then was Cambryge blessed." Becon, fol. 10.

"I myself have known some," (says Becon) "which through persuasion of their friends went to his sermons, swelling blown full, like Esop's frogs, with envy and malice against him; but when they returned, his sermon being done, and demanded how they liked him and his doctrine, they answered, with the bishops' and pharisees' servants, *There was never man spake like unto this man.*" Ibid.

² *The bishop himselfe.*] "West, then bishop of Ely" (as we are told by Morice, archbishop Cranmer's secretary) "hearing of Mr. Latimer's conversion, determined with himself to come and hear him preach, but that it should be suddain and withouten any intelligence to be given to Latymer. And so it came to pass, that on a time when Mr. Latymer had prepared to preach in the university a sermon *ad Clerum*, in Latin, the bishop hearing thereof, came secretly and suddainly from Ely, and entered into the university church, accompanied with certain men of worship (Latimer then being well entered into his sermon): whose approach being honourable, Latymer gave place and surceased from further speaking, until the bishop and his retinue were quietly placed. That done, after a good pause, Latymer beginneth to speak to his auditory, after this sort. 'It is of congruence meet,' (quoth he,) 'that a new auditory, namely being more honorable, requireth a new theme, being a new argument to intreat of. Therefore, it behoveth me now to divert from mine intended purpose, and somewhat to intreat of the honourable estate of a bishop. Therefore, let this be the theme, quoth he, *Christus existens pontifex futurorum bonorum*, &c.' This text he so fruitfully handled, expounding every word, and setting forth the

So M. Latimer with M. Bilney, after this continued yet in Cambridge a certaine space; where hee with the saide Bilney used much to conferre and companie together, insomuch that the place where they most used to walke in the fieldes, was called long after, the heretikes Hill².

The societie of these two, as it was much noted of many in that universitie, so it was full of many good examples, to all such as would follow their doings, both in visiting the prisoners, relieving the needie, in feeding the hungrey; whereof somewhat is before mentioned in the historie of master Bilney.

In a place of his sermons, M. Latimer maketh mention of a certaine history which hapned about this time in Cambridge betweene them two, and a certaine woman then prisoner in the castle or tower of Cambridge, which I thoght here not unworthy to be remembered. The historie is this: It so chanced that

office of Christ so sincerely, as the true and perfect pattern unto all other bishops, that should succede him in his church, that the bishop then present might well think of himself that he, nor none of his fellows, were of that race of bishops, which Christ meant to have succede in his church after him: but rather of the fellowship of Caiaphas and Annas.

"This notwithstanding, the bishop, being a very wise and politique worldly man, after the sermon finished, called to him Mr. Latimer, and said, 'Mr. Latimer, I heartily thank you for your good sermon, assuring you, that if you will do one thing at my request, I will kneel down and kiss your foot, for the good admonition that I have received of your sermon; assuring you, that I never heard mine office so well and substantially declared, before this time.' 'What is youre lordships pleasure that I should do for you,' quoth Mr. Latimer? 'Mary,' quoth the bishop, 'that you will preach me in this place one sermon against Martin Luther and his doctrine.' Said then Mr. Latimer again, 'My lord, I am not acquainted with the doctrine of Luther, nor are we permitted here to read his works. And therefore it were but a vain thing for me to refute his doctrine, not understanding what he hath written, nor what opinions he holdeth. Sure I am,' quoth Latimer, 'that I have preached before you this day no mans doctrine, but only the doctrine of God out of the Scriptures. And if Luther do none otherwise than I have done, there needeth no confutation of his doctrine. Otherwise, when I understand he doth teach against the Scripture, I will be ready with all my heart to confound his doctrine, as much as lieth in me.' 'Well, well, Mr. Latimer, I perceive that you somewhat smell of the pan. You will repent this gear one day.' And so the bishop, never a whit amended by the sermon, practised with Mr. Latimer's foes from that day forwards to put him to silence." *Strype's Eccles. Memor.,* vol. iii. p. [233.]

² *Heretikes Hill*! "My enquiry can discover no foundation thereof, on which side of the town it lay." *Fuller's History of the University of Cambridge,* p. 103.

after M. Latimer had beene so acquainted with the aforesaid master Bilney, he went with him to visite the prisoners in the tower in Cambridge; and being there, among other prisoners there was a woman which was accused that she had killed her own childe, which act she plainlie and stedfastlie denied. Whereby it gave them occasion to search for the matter, and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore sought all meanes he could to make her away. The matter was thus:

A childe of hers had beene sicke a whole yeare, and at length died in harvest time, as it were in a consumption. Which when it was gone, she went to have her neighbours to help her to the buriall, but all were in harvest abroad: whereby she was enforced with heavinesse of heart, alone to prepare the childe to the buriall. Her husband coming home, and not loving her, accused her of murthuring the childe. This was the cause of her trouble, and master Latimer by earnest inquisition, of conscience thought the woman not guiltie. Then immediately after, was he called to preach before king Henrie the eight, at Windsore: where after his sermon the kings majestie sent for him, and talked with him familiarlie. At which time M. Latimer finding opportunity, kneeled downe, opened this whole matter to the king, and begged her pardon, which the kinge most graciouslie granted, and gave it him at his returne homeward. In the meane time the woman was delivered of a childe in the prison, whose godfather was M. Latimer, mistris Cheeke⁴ godmother. But all that while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her tell the truth of the matter. At length the time came when she looked to suffer, and master Latimer came as he was wont to instruct her: unto whome shee made great lamentation and mone, to be purified before her suffering, for she thought to be damned if she should suffer without purification.

Then master Bilney being with master Latimer, both told her that that lawe was made to the Jewes, and not to us, and how women bee as well in the favour of God before they bee purified,

⁴ *Mistress Cheeke.*] This probably was the mother of Sir John Cheeke. He was born at Cambridge, his father having settled there on marrying "a gentlewoman of that country." "She was," says Strype, "a grave, wise, and good woman. Ascham in one of his epistles stiles her *venerandam illam fæminam*." She had a daughter married to Cecil, afterwards the great lord Burghley. Strype's *Life of Cheeke*, p. 3.

as after: and rather it was appointed for a civill and politike law, for naturall, honestic sake, than that they should anie thing the more be purified from sinne thereby.—So thus they travelled with this woman, till they had brought her to a good trade, and then at length shewed her the kings pardon, and let her goe^a.

This good act among manie other at this time hapned in Cambridge by M. Latimer, and M. Bilney. But this was not alone, for many moe like matters were wrought by them, if all were knowne, whereof partlie some are touched before, such especially as concerne M. Bilney.

But as it is commonlie scene in the natural course of things, that as the fire beginneth more to kindle, so the more smoke ariseth withall; in much like sort it hapned with M. Latimer, whose towardnesse the more it beganne to spring, his virtues to be scene, and his doings to be knowne, the more his adversaries began to spurne and kindle against him^b. Concerning these

^a *Let her goe.*] *Sermons*, fol. 124, 5, edit. 1584.

^b *Kindle against him.*] The following anecdote, which is told incidentally by Bishop Bonner, in the process of the examinations of the martyr Philpot, is characteristic of the kind of humour in which Latimer was fond of indulging himself; and belongs to this period. "The varlet Latimer at Cambridge, when the vice-chancellor sent for him (who intended to have excommunicated him for some of his heresies), and was coming to his chamber, he hearing that the chancellour was coming, made answer that he was sick of the plague, and so deluded the chancellour." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1655. Latimer, no doubt, meant that he was sick of the plague of heresy, which at that time, and in that place, was very catching.

I shall avail myself of this place to insert a story which he tells of himself, in one of his sermons, which is characteristic of the ignorance and superstition of the times. It probably belongs to a date a little earlier than the preceding. He is remonstrating against the belief, still remaining among many, even amid the light of the preaching of the gospel, of the efficacy of holy water, holy bells, wax tapers, &c. against the agency of evil spirits. "I was once called to one of my kins-folke. It was at that tyme when I had taken degree at Cambridge, and was made maister of art. I was called, I say, to one of my kins-folke, which was very sicke, and dyed immediately after my commyng. Now there was an old cousin of myne, whiche after the man was dead, gave me a waxe candle in my hand, and commanded me to make certain crosses over him that was dead: for she thought the devill should runne away by and by. Now, I tooke the candle, but I could not crosse him as she would have me to doe; for I had never seen it afore. Now she perceiving that I could not do it, withe a great anger tooke the candle out of my hand, saying, *It is pitie that thy father spendeth so much money upon thee*. And so she tooke the candle, and crossed and blessed him; so that he was

adversaries, and such as did molest him, partly their names be above expressed. Among the rest of this number was doctor Redman⁷, a man savouring at that time somewhat more of superstition, than of true religion, after the zeale of the pharises, yet not so malignant or harmefull, but of a civill and quiet disposition, and also so liberall in well doing that few poore schollers were in that universitie, which fared not better by his purse. This D. Redman being of no little authoritie in Cambridge, perceiving and understanding the bold enterprise of M. Latimer, in setting abroad the word and doctrine of the gospel, at this time or much about the same, writeth to him, seeking by perswasion to revoke the saide Latimer from that kinde and maner of teaching: to whom M. Latimer maketh answere againe in few words. The summe and effect of both their letters translated out of Latine, heere follow to be seene.

The Summe of the Epistle written by D. Redman to M. Latimer.

“Grace be with you, and true peace in Christ Jesu. I beseech you heartilie, and require most earnestly, even for charities sake that you will not stand in your own conceit with a minde so indurate, nor preferre your own singular judgment in matters of religion and controversies before so many learned men, and that more is, before the whole catholike church, especially considering that you neither have anie thing at all in the word of God to make for you, nor yet the testimony of any authentically writer.

sure enough.—No doubt she thought that the devill would have no power against him.” Latimer’s *Sermons*, fol. 198. edit. 1584.

I subjoin, also, as bearing upon these superstitions, a noble sentence or two, from Tindal’s *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, near the beginning.

“Also remember that His Son’s blood is stronger than all the sins and wickedness of the whole world: and therewith quiet thyself, and thereunto commit thyself and bless thyself in all temptation (namely at the hour of death) with that *holy candle*. Or else perishest thou, though thou hast a thousand *holy candles* about thee, a hundred ton of *holy water*, a ship full of *pardons*, a cloth-sack full of *friers’ coats*, and all the ceremonies in the world, and all the good works, deservings, and merits of all the men in the world, be they, or were they, never so holy. God’s word only lasted for ever; and that which he hath sworn doth abide when all other things perish.”

⁷ *Doctor Redman.*] John Redman, the first master of Trinity college, afterwards dean of Westminster: see his character in Strype’s *Memorials*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 530. Oxford edition.

Nay, nay: I beseech you rather consider that you are a man, and that lying and vanity may quickly blear your eye, which dooth sometime transforme it selfe into an angell of light.

“ Judge not so rashlie of us, as that wicked spirit hath tickled you in the eare. Wit you wel that we are careful for you, and that we wish you to bee saved, and that we are carefull also for our owne salvation. Lay downe your stomacke I pray you, and humble your spirit; and suffer not the church to take offence at the hardnesse of your heart, nor that her unitie and Christes coat without seame as (much as lyeth in you) should be torne asunder. Consider what the saying of the wine man is, and be obedient thereunto: *Trust not in your owne wisdoms.* The Lord Jesus Christ, &c.”

The Summe of M. Latimer's Answers to D. Redman.

“ Reverend M. Redman, it is even enough for me, that Christs sheepe heare no mans voice but Christs: and as for you, you have no voice of Christs against me; whereas for my part, I have a heart that is readie to harken to anie voice of Christ that you can bring me.—Thus fare you wel, and trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God.”

After M. Latimer had thus travailed in preaching and teaching in the universitie of Cambridge, about the space of three yeares, at length he was called up to the cardinall for heresie, by the procurement of certain of the said universitie, where he was content to subscribe* and grant to such articles, as then they propounded unto him.

* *Content to subscribe.* I am not apprized of any other authority in confirmation of this alleged submission of Latimer. It is certain that Morice, afterwards secretary to Cranmer, and even at this time a friend and favourer of Latimer, gives an account of the result of this citation, which is much more favourable to the memory of Wolsey. Fox's mistake, if it be such, may have arisen from his mixing together, and confounding the history of Latimer's summons before the cardinal with his troubles, a few years afterwards in convocation (A. D. 1531-2).—Morice's narrative will, I hope, be not unacceptable to my readers.

“ Grievous complaint was made of Latimer by divers papists of the university, whereupon the cardinal sent for him to York Place. And there attending upon the cardinal's pleasure, he was called before him into his inner

After that, he returned to the universitie again, where shortly after, by the meanes of D. Buts, the kings physition, a singular

chamber, by the sound of a little bell, which the cardinal used to ring, when any person should come or approach unto him. When Mr. Latymer was before hym, he well advised him, and said, 'Is your name Latymer?' 'Yea, forsooth,' quoth Latymer. 'You seem,' quoth the cardinal, 'that you are of good years, nor no babe, but one that should wisely and soberly use yourself in all your doings. And yet it is reported to me of you, that you are much infected with this new fantastical doctrine of Luther, and such like heretics: and that you do very much harm among the youth, and other light heads, with your doctrine.' Said Mr. Latymer again, 'Your grace is misinformed: for I ought to have some more knowledge, than to be so simply reported of: by reason that I have studied, in my time, both of the ancient doctors of the church, and also of the school doctors.' 'Marie, that is well said,' quoth the cardinal: 'I am glad to hear that of you. And therefore,' quoth the cardinal, 'you Mr. doctor Capon, and you Mr. doctor Marshal,' (both being there present) 'say you somewhat to Mr. Latymer touching some question in Duns.' Whereupon Dr. Capon propounded a question to Mr. Latymer. Mr. Latymer being fresh then of memory, and not discontinued from study, as those two doctors had been, answered very roundly, some-while helping them to cite their own allegations rightly, where they had not perfectly nor truly alleged them.

"The cardinal, perceiving the ripe and ready answering of Latimer, said, 'What mean you, my masters, to bring such a man before me into accusation? I had thought that he had been some light-headed fellow, that never studied such kind of doctrine, as the school-authors are. I pray thee, Latymer, tell me the cause, why the bishop of Ely and other do mislike thy preachings. Tell me the truth, and I will bear with thee, upon amendment.' Quoth Latymer, 'your grace must understand, that the bishop of Ely cannot favour me, for that not long ago I preached before him in Cambridge a sermon of this text *Christus existens pontifex*, &c., wherein I described the office of a bishop so uprightly as I might, according to the text, that never after he could abide me; but hath not only forbidden me to preach in his diocese, but also found the means to inhibit me from preaching in the university.' 'I pray you tell me,' quoth the cardinal, 'what time didst thou preach before him from that text.' Mr. Latymer plainly and simply (committing his cause unto Almighty God, who is the director of princes hearts) declared unto the cardinal the whole effect of his sermon preached before the bishop of Ely. The cardinal, nothing at all misliking the doctrine of the word of God, that Latymer had preached, said unto him, 'Did you not preach any other doctrine than you have rehearsed?' 'No surely,' said Latymer. And examining thoroughly with the doctors, what else would be objected against him, the cardinal said unto Mr. Latimer, 'if the bishop of Ely cannot abide such doctrine, as you have here repeated, you shall have *my* licence, and shall preach it unto his beard, let him say what he will.' And thereupon, after a gentle monition given unto Mr. Latimer, the cardinal discharged him with his

good man, and a special favorer of good proceedings, he was in the number of them which labored in the cause of the kinges supremacy.

Here followeth a letter of M. Latimer, written to k. Henry the eighth, upon this occasion. Two sundry proclamations were set out by the bishops in the time of k. Henry. In the which proclamations⁹ being authorized by the kings name, were inhibited all English books either containing or tending to any matter of the scripture. Now M. Latimer growing in some favour with the king, and seeing the great decay of Christs religion by reason of these proclamations, and touched therefore with the zeale of conscience, directeth unto king Henry this letter hereunder ensuing thereby intending by all meanes possible to persuade the kings mind to set open again the freedome of Gods holy word amongst his subjects. The copy and tenor of his letter heere followeth.

licence home to preach throughout England." Strype's *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 234.

⁹ *Which proclamations.*] See Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 737, 8; and p. 740—2. The latter of these proclamations came forth soon after May in the year 1530, being founded upon the proceedings of the convention of bishops and learned men in that month, which condemned Tindal's translations from the Scripture, together with "divers heretical and erroneous opinions" extracted from several tracts by him and other advocates of the reformation. (Of this convention Latimer himself was one of those deputed by the vice-chancellor from Cambridge. The conclusions then agreed upon are affirmed by the king's proclamation, to have been "with great leisure and long deliberation by *all* their free assents, consents, and arguments concluded, resolved, and determined." And that, "by them *all* it is thought, that it is not necessary the said Scripture to be in the English tongue," &c. Wilkins, p. 740, 1. If these assertions were to be understood as true of the parties *individually*, the change in Latimer's sentiments upon this last subject must have taken place between May and December 1, 1530, the date of this letter to the king.—We shall see below, however, that Latimer tells the king, "there were three or four, that would have had the Scripture to go forth in English: yet it happened there as it is evermore seen, that the most part overcometh the better."—Of these "three or four," probably he himself was one. And with respect to the word "*all*"—"by them *all* it is thought," I need hardly remark, that in these cases "*all*" are held to be comprehended and concluded in and by the majority.

The Letter of M. Latimer written to k. Henry for the restoring again of the free libertie of reading the holy scriptures.

To the most mightie prince k. of England, Henry the eighth, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ.

“ The holy doctour Saint Augustine in an epistle which hee wrote to Casulanus, sayth, that hee which for feare of any power hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him : for he feareth men more than God. And according to the same, the holy man Saint John Chrysostome saith ; that he is not alonely a traytour to the truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lie, but he also which doth not freely pronounce and shewe the truth that he knoweth.—These sentences (most redoubted king) when I read now of late, and marked them earnestly in the inward parts of mine hart, they made me sore afrayd, troubled, and vexed mee grievously in my conscience, and at the last drave me to this streyt, that either I must shewe forth such things as I have read and learned in Scripture, or els to bee of that sort that provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traytors unto the trueth : the which thing than it should happen, I had rather suffer extreame punishment.

“ For what other thing is it to be a traytour unto the trueth, than to be a traytour and a Judas unto Christ, which is the very truth and cause of all truth ? the which saieth¹⁰, *that whosoever denyeth him heere before men, he will deny him before his Father in heaven.* The which denying ought more to bee feared and dread, then the losse of all temporall goods, honour, promotion, fame, prison, slander, hurts, banishmentes, and all manner of torments, and cruelties, yea, and death it selfe, be it never so shamefull and painefull. But alas, how little doe men regard those sharpe sayings of these two holy men ? and how little do they feare the terrible judgement of almighty God ? and speciallie they which boast themselves to be guides and captaines unto other, and chalenging unto themselves the knowledge of holy Scripture, yet will neither shewe the trueth themselves (as they be bound) neither suffer them that would : so that unto them may be sayd that which our saviour Christ said to the Pharisies, (Math. 23.) *Wo be it*

¹⁰ *The which saieth.] Matt. x. 33.*

unto you Scribes and Pharisees, which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and neither will you enter in your selves, neither suffer them that would, to enter in. And they will as much as in them lyeth, debarre, not onely the worde of God, which David calleth a light to direct and shew every man how to order his affections and lustes, according to the commandementes of God; but also by their subtle wylinesse they instruct, moove, and provoke, in a manner, all kings in Christendome, to ayde, succour, and helpe them in this their mischiefe: and especially in this your realme, they have sore blinded your liege people, and subjectes with their lawes, customes, ceremonies, and Banbery gloses, and punished them with cursinges, excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections I would say) and now at the last when they see that they cannot prevayle against the open truth (which the more it is persecuted, the more increaseth" by their tyrannie) they have made it treason to your noble grace to have the scripture in English.

"Heere I beseech your grace to pardon me awhile, and patiently to heare me a word or two: yea and though it bee so that as concerning your high majesty and regall power, whereunto almighty God hath called your grace, there is as great difference betweene you and me, as betweene God and man. For you be heere to me and to all your subjects, in Gods stead, to defend, aide, and succour us in our right: and so I should tremble and quake to speake to your grace.—But againe, as concerning that you bee a mortall man, in daunger of sinne, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in the which all we be both conceived and borne, so have you no lesse neede of the merites of Christes passion for your salvation, than I and other of your subjects have, which be all members of the mysticall body of Christ. And though you be an higher member, yet you must not disdain the lower. For as saint Paul sayeth": *Those members that be taken most vilest and had in least reputation, be as necessary as the other, for the preservation and keeping of the body.*

"*The more increaseth*." Six bishop of Norwich, in a letter written in the month of May this year: 1530, to Warham archbishop of Canterbury, complains of some who boasted that they would "dy in the quarrell, that their opinions be true; and trusted, by Michaelmas day, there shall be more that shall beleve of their opinion, than they that believeth the contrary." *Strype's Crammer*, p. 15. Appendix.

"*As saint Paul sayeth.*" 1 Cor. xii. 22, 23.

This, most gracious king, when I considered, and also your favourable and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and simple letter unto your grace, trusting that you will accept my true and faithfull minde, even as it is.

“First, and before all thinges, I will exhort your grace to marke the life and processe of our saviour Christ and his apostles in preaching and setting forth of the gospel; and to note also the words of our maister Christ, which he had to his disciples when he sent them forth to preach his gospell: and to these have ever in your minde the golden rule of our maister Christ¹; *The tree is knowne by the fruite.* For by the diligent marking of these, your grace shall clearly knowe and perceive who be the true followers of Christ, and teachers of his gospel, and who be not.

“And concerning the first; all scripture sheweth plainly that our saviour Jesus Christes life was very poore. Begin at his birth, and I beseech you, who ever heard of a poorer or so poor as hee was! It were too long to write how poore Joseph and the blessed virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Bethlem, in the colde and frostie winter, having no body to wait upon them, but he both master and man, and she both mistres and maide. How vilely thinks your grace, were they intreated in the innes and lodgings by the waie? and in how vile and abject place was this poore maide, the mother of our saviour Jesus Christ, brought to bed in, without companie, light, or anie other thing necessarie for a woman in that plight?—Was not here a poore beginning, as concerning the world? Yes truelie. And according to this beginning was the processe and end of his life in this world; and yet he might by his godlie power have had al the goods and treasures of this world at his pleasure, when and where he would.

“But this hee did to shewe us that his followers and vicars should not regard nor set by the riches and treasures of this world; but after the saying of David wee ought to take them, which saith thus²: *If riches, promotions, and dignitie happen to a man, let him not set his affiance, pleasure, trust, and heart upon them.* So that it is not against the povertie in spirite which Christ praiseth in the gospel of Saint Matthew, chapter 5, to be

¹ *The golden rule of our maister Christ.*] Luke vi. 44.

² *Which saith thus.*] Ps. lxii. 10.

rich³, to be in dignitie, and in honour; so that their hearts be not fixed and set upon them so much, that they neither care for God nor good men. But they bee enemies to this povertie in spirit, have they never so little, that have greedie and desirous mindes to the goods of this world, onely because they would live after their own pleasure and lusts. And they also be privy enemies (and so much the worse) which have professed, as they saie, wilfull povertie, and will not bee called worldly men, and they have lords lands and kings riches; yea rather than they would lose one jote of that which they have, they will set debate between king and king, realme and realme, yea between the king and his subjectes, and cause rebellion against the temporall power, to the which our saviour Christ himself obeyed and paid tribute, as the gospell declareth: unto whom the holy apostle S. Paul teacheth every Christian man to obey. Yea and beside all this, they will curse and ban, as much as in them lieth, even into the deep pit of hell, all that gaine saie their appetite, whereby they thinke their goods, promotions, or dignities should decaie.

" Your grace maie see what meanes and craft the spiritualtie (as they will bee called) imagine, to breake and withstande the acten which were made⁴ in your graces last parliament against their superfluities. Wherefore they that thus doe, your grace maie know them not to bee true followers of Christ.—And although I named the spirituality to be corrupt with this unthrifte ambition; yet I meane not all to be faultie therein, for there bee some good of them. Neither will I that your grace should take awaie the goods due to the church, but take awaie all evill persons from the goods, and set better in their stead. I name nor appoint no person, nor persons, but remit your grace to the rule of our saviour Christ, as in Matthew the 7th chapter: *by their fruites ye shall know them.*

³ To be rich.] " I will not say but men may have riches; and many good men have had great riches; yet riches must be had *cum tremore*, with fear. It is a dangerous thing to have them. They be but burthens; they that have them be but hayliffes and stewards over them: they must make account for them. And therefore above all things rich men must have in fleshly memory this scripture; *when riches come upon you, set not your hartes upon them.*" *Sermons*, fol. 124. (On the Gospel on All Saints' Day.

⁴ Actes which were made.] These were against extortions for probates of wills; for regulating mortuaries; and against pluralities and non-residence. Fox's *Acts*, p. 917, 918. Burnet's *Reformat.*, vol. 1 p. 79, 80. Wake's *State of the Church*, p. 472—4.

“ As touching the words that our saviour Christ spake to his disciples when he sent them to preach his gospell, they be read in Matthew the 15th chapter, where he sheweth, *that here they shall bee hated and despised of all men worldly, and brought before kinges and rulers ; and that all evill should be said by them, for their preaching sake ;* but he exhorteth them to take patientlie such persecution by his own example, saying, *It becometh not the servant to be above the maister. And seeing they called me Belzebub, what marvel is it, if they call you divelish persons and heretickes ?* Read the 14th chapter of St. Matthews gospell, and there your grace shall see that hee promised to the true preachers no worldlie promotions or dignitie, but persecution and all kinds of punishment, and that they should be betrayed even by their own brethren and children. In John also he saith : *In the world ye shal have oppression, and the world shall hate you ; but in me you shall have peace.* And in the 10th chapter of St. Mathewes gospell saith our saviour Christ also : *Loe I send you forth as sheepe among wolves.* So that the true preachers go like sheepe harmlesse, and bee persecuted, and yet they revenge not their wrong, but remit all to God : so farre is it off that they will persecute any other, but with the worde of God only, which is their weapon.—And so this is the most evident token that our saviour Jesus Christ would that his gospel and the preachers of it should bee knowne by, that it should bee despised among those worldlie wise men, and that they shoulde repute it but foolishnesse and deceivable doctrine, and the true preachers should be persecuted and hated, and driven from towne to towne, yea and at the last lose both goods and life.

“ And yet they that did this persecution, should think that they did well, and a great pleasure to God. And the apostles remembring this lesson of our saviour Christ, were content to suffer such persecutions, as you maie read in the Actes of the Apostles and the Epistles. But we never read that they ever persecuted any man. The holy apostle S. Paul saith⁵, *that every man that will live godly in Christ Jesu, should suffer persecution.* And also he saith further in the epistle written to the Philipians in the first chapter : *that it is not only given to you to beleeve in the Lord, but also to suffer persecution for his sake.*

“ Wherefore take this for a sure conclusion, that there, where the word of God is truely preached, there is persecution, as wel

⁵ S. Paul saith.] 2 Tim. iii. 12.

of the hearers as of the teachers: and where as is quietnes and rest in worldly pleasure, there is not the trueth. For the world loveth all that are of the world, and hateth all things that are contrarie to it. And to be short, S. Paul calleth the gospell *the word of the crosse*, the word of punishment. And the holy Scripture doth promise nothing to the favourers and followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation, and persecution, which these worldly men cannot suffer, nor away withall.

“Therefore pleaseth it your good grace, to returne to this golden rule of our master and savior Jesus Christ, which is this: *by their fruits ye shall know them*. For where you see persecution, there is the gospell, and there is the truth; and they that do persecute, bee voide and without all trueth: not caring for the cleare light, which (as our saviour Jesus Christ saith in the third chapter of S. John’s gospell) *is come into the world, and which shal utter and shew forth every man’s workes*. And they, whose workes be naught, dare not come to this light, but go about to stop it and hinder it, letting as much as they may, that the holie scripture should not bee read in our mother tongue, saying that it would cause heresie and insurrection, and so they perswade, at the least waie they would faine perswade your grace to keepe it backe.—But here marke their shamelesse boldnesse, which bee not ashamed, contrarie to Christe’s doctrine, to gather figges of thornes, and grapes of bushes, and to call light darkenesse, and darknesse light, sweete sowre, and sowre sweete, good evill, and evill good, and to say, that that which teacheth all obedience, should cause disention and strife. But such is their bellie wisdome: therewith they judge and measure every thing, to hold and keep still this wicked mammon, the goods of this world, which is their god, and hath so blinded the eyes of their hearts, that they cannot see the cleare light of the sacred Scripture, though they babble never so much of it.

“But as concerning this matter, other men have shewed your grace their mindes, how necessarie it is to have the Scripture in English. The which thing, also your grace hath promised* by

* *Hath promised.*] The promise, however, is worded in such a manner, as to shew, that the person who drew the proclamation, was chiefly anxious to secure to his prince pretences for evading its fulfilment. “Albeit, yf it shall hereafter appear to the king’s highness, that his said people do utterly abandon and forsake all perverse, erroneous, and seditious opinions, with the New Testament and the Old corruptly translated into the English tongue, now

your last proclamation : the which promise I pray God that your gracious highnesse maie shortlie performe, even to daie before to morrowe. Nor let not the wickednesse of these worldlie men deteine you from your godlie purpose and promise. Remember the subtle worldly wise counsellors of Hammon the sonne of Naas, king of the Ammonites, which when David had sent his servants to comfort the yong king for the death of his father, by crafty imaginations counselled Hammon, not alonely not to receive them gentlie, but to entreate them most shamefully and cruelly, saying : *that they came not to comfort him, but to espie and search his land, so that afterward they bringing David word how every thing stood, David might come and conquer it.* (2 Sam. x. 3.) And they caused the young king to sheare their head, and to cut their coates by the points, and sent them away like fooles : whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have intreated them gently, and have given them great thanks and rewards. O wretched counsellors !—But see what followed of this carnall and worldlie wisdom. Truly nothing but destruction of all the whole realme, and also of all them which tooke their partes.

“Therefore good king, seeing that the right David, that is to say, our saviour Christ, hath sent his servants, that is to saie,

being in printe ; and that the same bokes, and all other bokes of heresie, as well in the French tonge, as in the Dutch tonge, be clearly exterminate, and exiled out of this realme of England forever ; his highness intendeth to provide, that the Holy Scripture shall be by great, learned, and catholique persons, translated into the Englishe tonge, *yf it shall then seem* to his grace convenient so to be.” Wilkins’s *Concil.*, vol. iii. p. 741. I believe we may truly say, that the following is by no means an uncandid representation of the motives and design of this promise. “When the clergy condemned Tindal’s translation of the new Testament, they declared they intended to set out a new translation of it, which many thought was truly never designed, but only pretended, that they might restrain the curiosity of seeing Tindal’s works, with the hopes of one that should be authorised.” Johnson’s *Historical Account*, p. 69, in bishop Watson’s *Theolog. Tracts*, vol. iii. For an account of the intrigues and contrivances of Gardiner and the popish party, when, a few years afterwards (1540), Henry renewed his promise, with a much more sincere purpose of fulfilling it, see the same work, p. 77, 8, or Lewis’s *History of Translations*, p. 144, &c. Also Turner’s *Hunting of the Romish Fox*, signat. D 8, &c. A.D. 1543.

The pretence for refusing licence to other versions was that the bishops would set forth a better ; “but this,” says Cranmer in a letter to Cromwell, in 1537, “I think will not be till a day after doomsday.” *Remains*, vol. i. p. 197.

his true preachers, and his owne worde also to comfort our weake and sicke soules, let not these worldlie men make your grace beleeve that they will cause insurrections and heresies, and such mischiefes as they imagine of their own mad brains, least that he be avenged upon you and your realme, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever beene avenged upon them which have obstinately withstand and gainesaid his word.

"But peradventure they wil lay this against me, and say that experience doth shew, how that such men as call themselves followers of the gospell, regardeth not your grace's commandement, neither set by your proclamation, and that was well proved by these persons which of late⁷ were punished in London for keeping of such bookes as your grace had prohibited by proclamation: and so like as they regarded not this, so they will not regard or esteeme other your grace's lawes, statutes and ordinances. But this is but a crafty perswasion. For your grace knoweth that there is no man living, specially that loveth worldly promotion, that is so foolish to set forth, promote, or inhaunce his enemies, whereby he should be let of his worldly pleasures and fleshly desires: but rather hee will seeke all the waies possible that he can, utterly to confound, destroy and put him out of the way. And so as concerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such bookes, the very true cause of it, and chiefe counsellors (as men say, and of likelihoode it should be) were they whose evill living and cloked hypocrisie these books uttered and disclosed. And howbeit that there were three or four that would have had the Scripture to go forth in English, yet it hapned there, as it is evermore scene, that the most part⁸ overcommeth the better: and

⁷ *Persons which of late.*] Probably he alludes to Tewksbury, Freese, &c. Fox's *Acts*, p. 931. The "head and captain" mentioned a little below, no doubt, was Wolsey.

⁸ *The most part.*] "If the children of this worlde be either more in number, or more prudent then the children of light, what then avayleth us to have this convocation? Had it not bene better we had not bene called together at all?" *Sermons*, fol. 10. Before the convocation of the clergy, A.D. 1534. "Ye have had many thinges in deliberation; but what one is put forth, whereby either Christ is more glorified, or els Christes people made more holy? I appeale to your own consciences: how chaunced this? how came this thus? Because there were no children of light, no children of God among you? I thinke not so: certaynely I thinke not so. God forbidde, that all you, which were gathered together under the pretence of light, should be children of the worlde. Then, why happened this? Why, I pray you"

so it might bee that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs set forth in your name, as they have done many times moe, which hath put this your realme in great hinderance and trouble, and brought it in great penurie, and more would have done if God had not mercifullie provided to bring your grace to knowledge of the falsehoode and privy treason, which their head and captain was about: and be ye sure not without adherents, if the matter be only searched.—For what marvel is it, that they being so nigh of your counsell, and so familiar with your lordes, should provoke both your grace and them to prohibite these bookes, which before by their owne authoritie⁹ have forbidden the New Testament under paine of everlasting damnation: for such is their manner, to send a thousand men to hel, ere they send one to God; and yet the New Testament (and so I thinke by the other) was meekely offered¹⁰ to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

“Moreover, I will aske them the cause of all insurrections, which have beene in this realme heretofore. And whence is it that there bee so manie extortioners, bribers, murtherers, and theeves, which dailie doe not breake onely your graces lawes, ordinaunces, and statutes, but also the lawes and commaundements of almightie God: I thinke they will not saie these bookes, but rather their pardons, which causeth many a man to sinne in trust of them. For as for those malefactors which I now rehearsed, you shall not find one amongst a hundreth, but that he will crie out both of these bookes, and also of them that have them, yea and will be glad to spend the good which he hath wrongfully gotten, upon fagots to burne both the bookes and them that have them.

“And as touching these men that were lately punished for these bookes, there is no man, I heare say, that can laie any word or deed against them that should sound to the breaking of Perchaunce, either because the children of the world, *were moe in number* in this your congregation, as *it oft happeneth*, or at the least, of more policy than the children of light in their generation. Whereby it might very soone be broughte to passe, that those were much stronger in gendering the evil, than these in producing the good.” Ibid. fol. 11.

⁹ *Their owne authoritie.*] See above, note on p. 466.

¹⁰ *Meekely offered.*] “When I had translated the New Testament, I added an epistle unto the latter ende, in which I desired them that were learned, to amend if aught were found amisse.” Tyndal’s *Works*, p. 1.

any of your graces lawes, this onely except, if it bee yours, and not rather theirs. And be it so that there be some that have these bookes, that be evil, unruly, and selfe willed persons, not regarding Gods lawes nor mans, yet these bookes bee not the cause thereof, no more than was the bodily presence of Christ and his words the cause that Judas fell, but their own froward minde and carnall wit, which should be amended by the vertuous example of living of their curates, and by the true exposition of the Scripture. If the lay people had such curates, that would thus do their office, these bookes nor the divell himselfe could not hurt them, nor make them to go out of frame; so that the lacke of good curates is the destruction and cause of all mischief.—Neither doe I write these things because that I will either excuse these men lately punished, or to affirme all to be true written in these bookes, which I have not all read, but to shew that there cannot such inconvenience follow of them, and specially of the Scripture, as they would make men beleve should follow.

“ And though it be so that your grace may by other bookes, and namely by the Scripture it selfe know and perceiv the hypocrite wolves clad in sheepes clothing, yet I thinke my selfe bound in conscience to utter unto your grace such thinges as God put in my minde to write. And this I doe (God so judge me) not for hate of any person or persons living; nor for that I thinke the word of God should goe forth without persecution. if your grace had commanded that every man within your realme should have it in his mothers tongue. For the gospell must needs have persecution unto the time that it bee preached throughout al the world, which is the last signe that Christ shewed to his disciples should come before the daie of judgement: so that if your grace had once commaunded that the Scripture should bee put forth, the divell would set forth some wile or other to persecute the truth. But my purpose is, for the love that I have to God principally, and the glory of his name, which is only knowne by his word, and for the true allegiance that I owe unto your grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart the talent given me of God, but to chaffer it forth to other, that it may increase to the pleasure of God, to exhorde your grace to avoid and beware of these mischievous flatterers and their abhominable waies and counsels.

“ And take heede whose counsels your grace doth take in this

matter : for there be some that for feare of losing of their worldly worship and honor, wil not leave their opinion, which rashly, and that to please men withall by whom they had great promotion, they tooke upon them to defend by writing ¹¹, so that now they thinke that all their felicitie which they put in this life, should be marred, and their wisdom not so greatly regarded, if that which they have so slanderously oppressed, should bee now put forth and allowed. But alas, let these men remember St. Paul, how fervent he was against the truth (and that of a good zeale ¹) before hee was called : he thought no shame to suffer punishment and great persecutions for that which he before despised and called heresie. And I am sure that their living is not more perfect then St. Paul was, as concerning the outward workes of the lawe, before he was converted.

“ Also the king and prophet David was not ashamed to forsake his good intent in building of the temple, after that the prophet Nathan had shewed him that it was not the pleasure of God that hee should build any house for him : and notwithstanding that Nathan had before allowed and praised the purpose of David, yet he was not ashamed to revoke and eate his wordes againe, when he knew that they were not according to God’s will and pleasure.

¹¹ *To defend by writing.*] I apprehend, that Latimer here alludes particularly to Sir Thomas More, lately made lord chancellor.—Fox, I see, makes the same conjecture. See the *Life of Sir Thomas More*, given above in this collection, p. 85.

¹ *A good zeale.*] “Counterfeit therefore nothing without the worde of God. . . . Beware of *thy good intent*, good mynde, good affection, or *zeale*, as they call it. Peter of a good minde, and of a good affection or zeale, chidde Christ (Matt. c. xvi), because he sayde he must go to Jerusalem, and there be slayne. But Christ called him Satan, for his labour; and sayde, that he perceaved not godly thinges, but worldly. Of *a good intent* and of a fervent affection to Christ, the sonnes of Zebedee would have had fire to come downe from heaven to consume the Samaritanes (Luke, c. ix.). But Christ rebuked them, saying, that they wiste not of what sprite they were : that is, that they understood not how that they were altogether worldly and fleshly mynded. . . . I beare them record (sayth Paule, speakyng of the Jewes), that they have a fervent mynde to godward, but not according to knowledge. It is another thing then to do of *a good minde*, and to do of *knowledge*. *Labour for knowledge*, that thou *mayest know Gods wyll*, and *what* he would have thee to do. Our mynde, intent, and affection or zeal, are blinde, and for that cause hath God made a testament between him and us, wherein is conteyned both what he would have us to *do*, and what he would have us to *aske* of him.” Tindal’s *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, A.D. 1527. Works, p. 87.

“ Wherefore they bee sore drowned in worldly wisdom, thinke it against their worship to knowlege their ignorance, whom I pray to God that your grace may espie, and take heed of their worldly wisdom, which is foolishnesse before God ; that you may do that that God commandeth, and not that seemeth good in your owne sight without the word of God, that your grace may be found acceptable in his sight and one of the members of his church : and according to the office that he hath called you to grace unto, you may be found a faithfull minister of his grace, and not a defender of his faith¹, for he will not have it defended by man or man's power, but by his word only, by the which he hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above power or reason, as al the stories of the bible maketh mention of.”

“ Wherefore, gracious king, remember your selfe ; have care upon your soule, and thinke that the daie is even at hand when you shall give accounts of your office, and of the blood that hath beene shed with your sword. In the which day that your grace may stand stedfastly, and be not ashamed, but to be cleared, readie in your reckoning, and to have (as they say) your *Quartus*², sealed with the blood of our saviour Christ, which shall serve you at that day, is my daily praier to him that suffered for our sins, which also praieth to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praise for ever. Amen.”

¹ *A defender of his faith.*] Latimer here touches the king upon a tender point : for Henry had been accustomed to pride himself very much upon this title, which he had gained from Pope Leo X. by his writings against Luther : “ in his præsertim promovendis operibus, quæ pro ecclesia catholica et fide Christiana militant : cujus nos defensionem suscepimus, quod modum ex cognomento nobis a summo pontifice nuper indito, tenemur.” says the king in his letters patent, prefixed to Bishop Fisher's *Answer to Lutherane Consulation* A.D. 1523. And the vicar of Croydon pretends that the king's grace would not lose that stile for all London, and twelve miles round about. Tindal's *Works*, p. 374. But perhaps Latimer was aware that the value of the title had by this time fallen somewhat in estimation.

² *Quartus est.*] *Quart*, freed, acquitted, is a word used by the clerk of the pipe and auditors in the exchequer, in their acquittances or discharges to accountants : usually concluding with an *abinde recessit quartus*, which is called a *Quartus est*, and mentioned in the act of General Pardon, 12 Charles I. cap. 11 and 14 (Charles II. cap. 21). A *Quartus est* granted to the sheriff discharged him of all accounts due to the king. 21 James I. cap. 5. Cowel's *Interpreter* in v.

The Spirit of God preserve your grace. *Anno Domini* 1530.
1^{mo} *die Decembris*."

In this letter of master Latimer to the king above prefixed, many things we have to consider. First, his good conscience to God, his good will to the king, the duetie of a right pastor unto trueth, his tender care to the common wealth, and specially to the church of Christ. Further, wee have to consider the abuse of princes courts, how kings many times be abused with flatterers and wicked counsellors about them, and specially we may note the subtle practises of prelates, in abusing the name and authoritie of kings to set forth their own malignant proceedings. We may see moreover, and rather marvell at in the said letter, the great boldnes and divine stoutnesse in this man, who, as yet being no bishop, so freely and plainly, without all feare of death, adventuring his owne life to discharge his conscience, durst so boldly, to so mighty a prince, in such a dangerous case, against the kings law and proclamation set out in such a terrible time, take upon him to write, and to admonish ⁴ that, which no counsellor durst once speake unto him, in defence of Christ's gospell. Whose example if the bishops and prelates of this realme, for their parts likewise in like cases of necessitie would follow (as in deed they should) so many things peradventure would not be so out of frame as they be, and all for lacke that the officers of God's word do not their dutie.

Finally, this moreover in the said letter is to be noted, how blessedly almighty God wrought with his faithfull servaunt, whose bold adventure, and wholesome counsell, though it did not prevaile through the iniquitie of the time; yet notwithstanding God so wrought with his servant in doing his duetie, that no daunger,

⁴ *And to admonish.*] And yet he had been prepared, no doubt, by an adept, with a very different lesson, on his beginning his noviciate in the purlieus of the royal palace. "You that be of the court, and especially yee sworne chaplaynes, beware of a lesson that a *great man* taught me at my first comming to the court. He told me for good wyll; he thought it well; he sayd unto me: you must beware howsoever ye doe, that ye *contrary not the king*. Let him have his sayings; follow him; goe with him. Marry, out with this counsell!—shall I say, as he sayth? *Say your conscience*, or els what a worme shall yee feele gnawing, what a remorse of conscience shall yee have, when ye remember how ye have slacked your duety." Seventh Serm. before king Edward; *Sermons*, fol. 84. b.

nor yet displeasure rose to him thereby, but rather thanks and good will of the prince.

Then went he to the court, where he remained a certaine time in doctor Buts chamber, preaching then in London, very often.— At last being weary of the court, having a benefice offered^a by the king, at the sute of lord Cromwell, and doctor Buts, he was glad thereof, seeking by that meanes to bee rid out of the court, wherewith in no case he could agree: and so having a grant of the benefice, contrary to the minde of doctor Buts, hee would needs depart, and be resident at the same.

This benefice was in Wiltshire, under the diocese of Sarum^b, the name of which town was called West Kington, where this good preacher did exercise himselfe with much diligence of teaching to instruct his flocke; and not onely to them his diligence extended, but also to all the country about. In fine, his diligence was so great, his preaching so mightie, the maner of his teaching so zealous, that there in like sorte hee could not escape without enemies. So true it is that St. Paul foretelleth us: *whosoever will live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution.*

It so chanced, that whereas hee, preaching uppon the blessed virgine Christ's mother (whome we call our Ladie), had thereupon declared his minde, referring and reducing all honour onely to

^a *A benefice offered.*] This was about the year 1529, if we may rely on bishop Godwin. *De Præsulib.*, p. 468. Yet in March 1530, we find him at Cambridge, favouring the king's views in the affair of his divorce from queen Catherine. Burnet, vol. i. p. 81. Records. And in Lent, in that year, he was at court preaching before the king. For so we learn from a letter written by the vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge, to Dr. Edmonde, master of St. Peter's college. "*Dominica secunda* at afternoon, I came to Wyndesore, and also to part of Mr. Latymer's sermon, and after the end of the same, I spake with Mr. Secretary. But by and by, he (the king) greatly praised Mr. Latimer's sermon, and in so praising said on this wise, 'This displeaseth greatly Mr. Vice-Chancellor yonder. Yon same,' said he unto the duke of Norfolk, 'is Mr. Vice-Chancellor, of Cambridge; and so pointed unto me.' And again, shortly after he had returned to Cambridge, 'Mr. Latimer still preacheth *quod a multi ejus graviter ferunt*.'" Burnet's *Hist. of Reformat.*, vol. iii. p. 23. Records. It seems probable that he went to reside at West Kington, not till the latter end of 1530, or the beginning of the following year.

^b *Diocese of Sarum*] The advowson of West Kington is the property of the bishop of Salisbury, but, as Campeggio who then filled the see was absent, probably the presentation lapsed to the crown. Campeggio was shortly after deprived for non-residence.

Christ our onelie saviour, certaine popish priests, being therewith offended, sought and wrought much trouble against him, drawing out articles and impositions which they untruely, unjustlie, falsly and uncharitably imputed unto him.

First, that he should preach against our Ladie; for that he reprooved in a sermon the superstitious rudenes of certaine blinde priests, which so held together upon that blessed virgine, as though shee never had any sinne, nor were saved by Christ the onely saviour of the whole world.

Item, that he should say, that saints were not to bee worshipped.

Item, that *Ave Maria*, was a salutation onely, and no praier.

Item, that there was no materiall fire in hell.

Item, that there was no purgatory; in saying, that he had lever be in purgatory then in Lollard's tower.

Touching the whole discourse of which articles, with his replie and answeere to the same, hereafter follows,

A Letter of M. Latimer to M. Morice.

"Right worshipfull, and mine owne good master Morice', *salutem in Christo Jesu*. And I thanke you for all heartie kindnesse, not onely heretofore shewed unto me, but also that now of late, you would vouchsafe to write unto me so poore a wretch, to my great comfort among all these my troubles. I trust and doubt nothing in it, but God will reward you for me, and supply abundantly mine unability.

"M. Morice, you would wonder to know how I have beene intreated at Bristowe, I meane of some of the priests, which first desire me, welcommed me, made me cheare, heard what I said, allowed my saying in all things whiles I was with them: when I was gone home to my benefice, perceiving that the people favored mee so greatlie, and that the maior had appointed mee to preach at Easter, privily they procured an inhibition for all them that had not the bishops licence, which they knewe well enough I had not, and so craftily defeated M. maior's appointment, pretending that they were sorry for it: procuring also certaine preachers to

⁷ *Good master Morice.*] This, as we have mentioned above, is he who was afterwards Cranmer's secretary. Strype's *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. i. p. 162

blatter against me, as Hubberdin and Powel, with other men whom when I had brought before the maior and the wise counsell of the town, to know what they could lay to my charge, wherefore they so declamed against me, they said they spake of information. howbeit no man could be brought forth that woulde abide by anie thing: so that they had place and time to belie me shamefully, but they had no place nor time to lay to my charge when I was present and readie to make them answere. God amend them, and swage their malice that they have against the truth and me, &c.

“ Our Lady was a sinner.

“ So they did belie me to have said, when I had said nothing so; but to reprove certaine both priestes and beneficed men, which doe give so much to our ladie, as though shee had not bene saved by Christ, a whole saviour both of her, and of all that be and shall be saved.—I did reason after this maner, that either she was a sinner, or no sinner: if a sinner, then she was delivered from sinne by Christ; so that he saved her, either by delivering or preserving her from sin: so that without him neither she, nor none other, neither he nor could be saved.—And to avoid all offence, I shewed how it might be answered, both to certain scriptures which maketh al generally sinners, and how it might be answered unto Chrysostome and Theophilact, which maketh her namely and specially a sinner. But all would not serve, their malice was so great: notwithstanding that five hundred honest men can and will beare record. When they cannot reprove that thing that I do say, then they will belie me, to say that they that they canne reprove: for they will needs appeare to be against me.

“ Saints are not to be worshipped.

“ So they lied, when I had shewed divers significations of the word (*Saints*) among the vulgar people. First, images of saints are called saints, and so they are not to be worshipped, take away shipping of them for praying to them, for they are neither mediators by way of redemption, nor yet by way of intercession. And yet they may be wel used, when they be applied to that use that they were ordained for, to be lay mens bookes for remembrance of heavenly things.

“ Take saints for inhabitants of heaven, and worshipping of them, for praying to them, I never denied, but that they might be worshipped, and be our mediators, though not by way of redemption (for so Christ alonely is a whole mediator, both for them and for us) yet by the way of intercession⁸.

“ *Pilgrimage.*

“ And I never denied pilgrimage.—And yet I have said that much scurfe must be pared away ere ever it can be wel don: superstition, idolatrie, false faith and trust in the image, unjust estimation of the thing, setting aside God’s ordinance for dooing of the thing: debts must bee paid, restitutions made, wife and children be provided for, duty to our poor neighbours discharged. And when it is at the best, *before it be vowed*, it need not to bee done; for it is neither under the bidding of God nor of man to be done. And wives must counsell with husbands, and husbands and wives with curates, before it be vowed to be done, &c.

“ *Ave Maria.*

“ As for the *Ave Maria*, who can thinke that I would deny it? —I said it was an heavenly greeting, or saluting of our blessed lady, wherein the angel Gabriell, sent from the Father of heaven, did annunciate and shew unto her the good will of God towards her, what he would with her, and to what he had chosen her. But I said, it was not properly a praier, as the *Pater noster*, which our saviour Christ himselfe made for a proper praier, and bad us say it for a praier, not adding that we should say ten or twenty *Ave Marias* withall: and I denied not but that we may wel say *Ave Maria* also, but not so that we shall thinke that the *Pater noster* is not good, a whole and perfect praier, nor cannot be wel said without *Ave Maria*: so that I did not speake against well saying of it, but against superstitious saying⁹ of it, and of the

⁸ *Way of intercession.*] “M. Latimer’s error in those daies.” Fox in margin.

⁹ *Superstitious saying.*] “But our shavelinges teach and command their shavelinges, that they be bound to over-run their service from the beginning

Pater noster too : and yet I put a difference betwixt that, and that which Christ made to be said for a praier.

“ *No Fire in Hell.* ”

“ Who ever could say or thinke so ?—Howbeit good authours doe put a difference betwixt a suffering in the fire with bodies and without bodies. The soule without the bodie is a spirituall substance, which they say cannot receive a corporall quality, and some make it a spirituall fire ; and some a corporall fire. And as it is called a fire, so it is called a worme ; and it is thought of some not to be a material worm, that is a living beast, but that it is a metaphor :—but that is neither to nor fro. For if it be a fire it is, a worme it is, paine it is, a torment it is, an anguish it is, a greefe, a miserie, a sorrow, a heaviness, inexplicable, intollerable, whose nature and condition in everie point who can tell, but hee that is of Gods privie counsell, saith St. Austen :—God give us grace rather to be diligent to keepe us out of it, than to be curious to discusse the propertie of it : for certainly we bee, that there is little ease, yea none at all, but weeping, wayling, and gnashing of teeth ; which be two effects of extreme paine : rather certain tokens *what* paine there is, than *what* manner paine there is.

“ *No Purgatorie.* ”

“ He that sheweth the state and condition of it, doth not deny it. But I had lever bee in it, than in Lollards tower, or in a bishops prison, for divers skils and causes.

“ First, in this I might die bodilie for lack of meate and drinke : in that I could not.

to the ende, and then good enough, where-soever the heart be. But if they lack but one verse onely unsayde, they have an exceeding grudge of conscience, and meane that all their labour is lost. For the which cause, I myselfe in my dayes, have sayd many tymes two hundred and fifty Aves to one Lave Psalter, because I would be sure to say enough. Forsooth this may well be called lip-labour.” *Complaint of Roderick Mors, sometime a Grey Friar.* signat. C. v.

“ Item, in this I might die ghostlie for feare of paine, or lacke of good counsell ; there I could not.

“ Item, in this I might bee in extreame necessity : in that I could not, if it be perill of perishing.

“ Item, in this I might lacke charity : there I could not.

“ Item, in this I might lose my patience : in that I could not.

“ Item, in this I might be in perill and danger of death : in that I could not.

“ Item, in this I might bee without surety of salvation : in that I could not.

“ Item, in this I might dishonour God : in that I could not.

“ Item, in this I might murmure and grudge against God : in that I could not.

“ Item, in this I might displease God : in that I could not.

“ Item, in this I might bee displeased with God : in that I could not.

“ Item, in this I might be judged to perpetuall prison as they call it : in that I could not.

“ Item, in this I might be craftily handled : in that I could not.

“ Item, in this I might be brought to beare a fagot : in that I could not.

“ Item, in this I might be discontented with God : in that I could not.

“ Item in this I might be separated and dissevered from Christ : in that I could not.

“ Item, in this I might be a member of the divell : in that I could not.

“ Item, in this I might be an inheritor of hell : in that I could not.

“ Item, in this I might pray out of charity, and in vaine : in that I could not.

“ Item, in this my lord and his chaplaines might manacle me by night : in that they could not.

“ Item, in this they might strangle mee, and say that I had hanged my selfe : in that they could not.

“ Item, in this they might have me to the Consistory, and judge me after their fashion : from thence they could not.

“ *Ergo*, I had leaver to be there then here. For though the fire bee called never so hot, yet and if the bishops two fingers can shake away a peece, a friers cowle an other part, and *scala*

*cœli*¹ altogether, I will never found abbey, colledge, nor chauntry², for that purpose.

“For seeing there is no pain that can break my charity, break my patience, cause me to dishonor God, to displease God, to be displeased with God, cause me not to joie in God, nor that can bring me to danger of death, or to danger of desperation, or from suretie of salvation, that can separate me from Christ, or Christ from me, I care the lesse for it.—John Chrysostome saith, that the greatest pain that damned soules have, is to be separate and cut off from Christ for ever: which paine he saith is greater than many helles: which paines, the soules in purgatorie neither have nor can have.

“Consider M. Morice, whether provision for purgatorie hath not brought thousands to hell. Debts have not bin payd: restitution of evill gotten lands and goods hath not bin made: Christian people (whose necessities we see, to whom whatsoever we do, Christ reputeth done to himselfe, to whom we are bounden under paine of damnation to do for, as we would be done for ourselles) are neglected and suffered to perish: last wils unfulfilled and broken: Gods ordinance set aside: and also for purgatory, foundations have bin taken for sufficient satisfaction: so we have trifled away the ordnance of God, and restitutions. Thus we have gone to hel, with masses, *diriges*, and ringing of many a bel.—And who can pul pilgrimages from idolatry, and purge purgatory from robbery, but he shall be in perill to come in suspicion

¹ *And scale cœli.*] “Hys fatherhode” (the pope) “sendeth them to heaven with *scale cœli*, that is, wyth a ladder to scale the walls. For, by the door Christ, will they not let them come in. That dore they have stopped up; and that because ye should buy ladders of them.” Tindal’s *Obedience of a Christian man*. Works, p. 139. But see also the note at p. 228 of this volume.

² *Abbey, colledge, nor chauntry.*] “All that they” (the monks, friars, &c.) “have, they have receaved in the name of purgatory, and of saints; and on that foundation be all their bishopricks, abbeyes, colleges, and cathedrall churches built.” Tindal’s *Answer to Sir Thomas More*. A.D. 1530. Works, p. 309.

Again: “All these lyve by purgatory. When others weepe for their frendes, they get frendes. The pope with all his pardons is grounded on purgatory. Priests, monkes, chanoines, friars, with all other swarmes of hypocrites do but empty purgatory and fill hell. Every masse, say they, delivereth one soule out of purgatory.” Tindal’s *Obedience of a Christian Man*. A.D. 1528. Works, p. 166, 7. Compare also above, Fox, in *Life of Cromwell*, p. 239, 40.

of heresie with them? so that they may pil with pilgrimage, and spoil with purgatory. And verily the abuse of them cannot be taken away, but great luker and vantage shall fall away from them, which had leaver have profite with abuse, than lack the same with use: and that is the waspe that doth sting them, and maketh them to swell. And if purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by setting aside restitution, and robbing of Christ, it would be but a poore purgatorie: so poore that it should not be able to feed so fat, and tricke up so many idle and slothful lubbers.

“I take God to witness I would hurt no man; but it grieveth me to see such abuse continue without remedy. I cannot understand what they meane by the popes pardoning of purgatorie, but by way of suffrage: and as for suffrage, unlesse he doe his duty, and seeke not his owne, but Christs glory, I had leaver have the suffrage of Jack of the skullery which in his calling doth exercise both faith and charity;—but for his masse. And that is as good of an other simple priest as of him. For authority of keies, is to loose from guiltinesse of sinne and eternal paine, due to the same, according to Christs word, and not to his own private will. And as for pilgrimage, you would wonder what juggling there is to get money withal. I dwell within a halfe mile of the fosseway, and you would wonder to see how they come by flocks out of the west country to many images, but chiefly to the blood of Hailes³. And they beleeve verily that it is the very bloud that was in Christs body, shedde upon the mount of Calverie for our salvation, and that the sight of it with their bodily eye, doth certifie them and putteth them out of doubt, that they bee in cleane life, and in state of salvation without spot of sinne, which doth bolden them to many things. For you would wonder, if you should common with them both comming and going, what faiths they have. For as for forgiving their enemies, and reconciling their Christian brethren, they cannot away withal: for the sight of that bloud doth quite them for the time.

“I read in Scripture of two certifications: one to the Romans: *Wee being justified by faith have peace with God.* If I see the bloud of Christ with the eye of my soule, that is, true faith that his bloud was shed for me, &c. Another in the epistle of John, *Wee know that wee are translated from death to life, because we love*

³ *Blood of Hailes.*] See p. 282.

the brethren. But I read not that I have peace with God, or that I am translated from death to life, because I see with my bodily eye the blood of Hailes. It is very probable that all the blood that was in the bodie of Christ, was united and knit to his divinitie, and then no part thereof shall return to his corruption. And I marvell that Christ shall have two resurrections. And if it were that they that did violently and injuriously pluck it out of his body when they scourged him and nailed him to the crosse, did see it with their bodily eie, yet they were not in cleane life. And we see the selfe same blood in forme of wine, when we have consecrate, and may both see it, feel it, and receive it to our damnation as touching bodily receiving. And many do see it at Hailes, without confession, as they say. God knoweth all, and the divell in our time is not dead.

"Christ hath left a doctrine behinde him, wherein we be taught how to beleeve, and what to beleeve. He doth suffer the divell to use his craftie fashion for our triall and probation. It were little thank-worthy to believe well and rightly, if nothing should move us to false faith and to believe superstitiously. It was not in vain that Christ when he had taught truly, by and by bade, beware of false prophets, which would bring in error shlie. But wee bee secure and uncarefull, as though false prophets could not meddle with us, and as though the warning of Christ were no more earnest and effectual, than is the warning of mothers when they trifle with their children, and bid them beware the bugge⁴.

"Lo sir, how I run at riot beyond measure. When I began, I was minded to have written but halfe a dosen lines: but thus I forget my selfe ever when I write to a trusty friend, which will take in worth my folly, and keep it from mine enemies.

"As for doctor Wilson, I wote not what I should say: but I pray God endue him with charity. Neither he, nor none of his countrey men did ever love me since I did inveie against their factions, and partialitie in Cambridge. Before that, who was more favoured of him then I? That is the boile that may not be touched.

⁴ *Beware the bugge*—Whence *bug-bean*, &c.—"A frightful object, generally now used for a false terror to frighten babes." Johnson's *Dictionary*. Another kindred word is "fray-bug."—"And be not afraid of fray-bugges by the way," says Lawrence Sanders, *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 107.—Viz. p. 151.

“ A certain friend shewed mee, that doctor Wilson is gone now into his country about Beverley in Holdernes, and from thence he wil go a progresse through Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and so from thence to Bristow. What he intendeth by this progresse God knoweth, and not I. If he come to Bristow I shall heare tell.

“ As for Hubberdin (no doubt) he is a man of no great learning, nor yet of stable wit. He is here *servus hominum*: for he will preach whatsoever the bishops will bid him preach. Verily in my minde they are more to be blamed than hee. Hee doth magnifie the pope more than enough. As for our saviour Christ and Christian kings they are little beholding to him. No doubt he did misse the cushion in many things. Howbeit they that did send him, men thinke, will defend him: I pray God amende him, and them both. They would faine make matter against mee, intending so either to deliver him by me, or else to ridde us both together, and so they would thinke him well bestowed.

“ As touching doctor Powell, how highly hee tooke upon him in Bristow, and how little hee regarded the sword which representeth the kings person, many can tell you. I think there is never an earle in this realme that knoweth his obedience, by Christs commandement, to his prince, and wotteth what the sword doth signifie, that would have taken upon him so stoutly. Howbeit M. Maior, as he is a profound wise man, did twitt him pretily. It were too long to write all. Our pilgrimages are not a little beholding to him, For to occasion the people to them, he alledged this text, *Whosoever leaveth father, house, wife, &c.* By that you may perceive his hot zeale and crooked judgement.

“ Because I am so helied, I could wish that it would please the kings grace to commaund me to preach before his highnesse⁵

⁵ *To preach before his highnesse.*] In Cranmer's *Remains*, vol. i. p. 123, is a letter by Cranmer, without superscription, but intended, as professor Jenkyns with good reason infers, for Latimer, in which he says, “These be to certify you of the king's pleasure, how that his grace is contented that ye shall be admitted to preach on all the Wednesdays of this next Lent before him.” The archbishop in the remainder of the letter gives Latimer some judicious advice how to conduct himself in the discharge of this duty; not to stand in defence of his own matters lately in controversy, but rather entirely to pass by the accusations and persecution to which he had been exposed; to avoid cautiously “all manner of speech, either apertly or suspiciously sounding against any *special* man's facts, acts, manners, or sayings.” Nevertheless, if apt occasion be given by the subject which he is upon, “let none offence

a whole yeare together every Sunday, that he himself might perceiue how they bely me, saying that I have neither learning nor utterance worthy thereunto. I pray you pardon me. I cannot make an end⁶."

*A briefe digression touching the rayling of Hubberdin against
M. Latimer.*

Forasmuch as mention hath bin made in this letter of Hubberdin, an old divine of Oxford, a right painted Pharisee, and a great straier abroad in all quarters of the realme to deface and impeach the springing of Gods holy gospel, something would be added more touching that man, whose doings and pageants, if they might be described at large, it were as good as any enterlude for the reader to behold. Who in all his life and in all his actions (in one word to describe him) seemeth nothing else but a right image or counterfait, setting out unto us in lively colours the pattern of perfect hypocrisie. But because the man is now gone, to spare therefore the dead, this shall be enough for examples sake, for all Christian men necessarily to observe, how the saide Hubberdin after his long rayling in all places against Luther, Melanethon, Zuinglius, John Frith, Tindall, Latimer, and all other like professors, riding in his long gowne downe to the horse heeles like a Pharisee, or rather like a shewe dirted up to the horse belly; after his forged tales and fables dialogues, dreams, dauncings, hoppings, and leapinges, with other like histrionieall toyes and gestures used in the pulpit, and all against heretickes, at last riding by a church side where the yeomen of the parish were dauncing in the churchyard, sodainly lighted from his horse, by the occasion of their dauncing, he came to the church, and there causing the bell to toll in the people's thought in stead of a fit of mirth, to give them a sermon of dauncing. In the which sermon after he had patched up some common texts out of the Scriptures, and then coming to the doctors, first to Augustine, then to Ambrose, so to Hierome

or superstition be unpreboded, specially if it be generally spoken, with affection. Furthermore, I would ye should so study to comprehend the matters, that in any condition ye stand no longer in the pulpit than as a man on a horse, and on a horse, at the most."

⁶ *Make an end.* This letter was written, probably, some time in the summer of the year 1541.

and Gregory, Chrysostome, and other doctors, had made them every one (after his dialogue manner) by name to answer to his call, and to sing after his tune for the probation of the sacrament of the altar against John Frith, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Luther, Tindall, Latimer, and other hereticks (as he called them); at last to shew a perfect harmony of all these doctors together, as he had made them before to sing after his tune, so now to make them dance also after his pipe, first he calleth out Christ and his apostles, then the doctors and ancient seniours of the church, as in a round ring all daunce together: with pipe up Hubberdin. Now daunce Peter, Paul; now daunce Augustine, Ambrose, Hierom: and thus old Hubberdin as he was dauncing with his doctours lustilie in the pulpit, against the hereticks, how he stampt and tooke on I cannot tell, but crash quoth the pulpit, downe cometh the dancer, and there lay Hubberdin not dancing, but sprawling in the midst of his audience: where altogether he brake not his necke, yet hee so brake his legge the same time and bruised his old boanes, that he never came in pulpit more, and dyed not long after the same. Whereupon when the churchwardens were called and charged for the pulpit being no stronger, they made answer again, excusing themselves that they had made their pulpit for preaching, and not for dancing.—But to spend no more paper about this idle matter⁷, now to our purpose againe.

The chief impugnors and molesters of M. Latimer, besides the country priests, were doctor Powel of Salisburie, Dr. Wilson, sometime of Cambridge, M. Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood. Of whome some preached against him, some also did write against him: in somuch that by their procurement he was cited up and called to appeare before William Warrham archbishop of Canturburie, and John Stokesly bishop of London, anno 1531⁸, Jan. 29.

⁷ *This idle matter.*] “This man once made an oration in the praise of thieves and thievery; which he did at the command of some highwaymen that robbed him. And they liking it so well, returned him his money again, and two shillings more to drink their health. The manuscript whereof is still extant, and was once sold at the auction of Mr. Smith’s books.” Strype’s *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. i. p. 160.

⁸ *Anno 1531.*] Fox in general uses the *historical* year, which begins on the first of January; but he has not always adhered to this practice; sometimes employing the *civil* or *ecclesiastical* year, which (until the year 1753) commenced on the 25th of March; from which neglect there is not unfre-

The Copy of a letter sent by M. Latimer, parson of Westkington in the county of Wilts, to Sir Edward Baynton^{} knight.*

“Salutem in Christo.

“Right worshipfull sir, I recommend me unto your maiester-ship with hearty thanks for your so friendly, so charitable and so mindful remembrance of me so poore a wretch.

“Whereas of late I received your letters by maister Bonnam, perceiving therein both who be greeved with me, wherefore, and what behooveth me to doe, in case I must needes come up; which your goodnesse towardes me, with all other such like, to recompense, whereas I my selfe am not able, I shall not cease to pray my Lord God, which both is able and also doth indeed reward all them that favour the favourers of his truth for his sake: for

quently (what is comon, for the same reason, in other historians: a perplexity in his chronology. This citation was issued in 1531, according to the then computation of the church of England, by which the year began on the twenty-fifth day of March: but this becomes 1532, reckoning the year from the first of January.—It may perhaps be of some use to mention that Burnet begins the year in his *History of the Reformation*, in January, using the *historical* year, and Strype in his *Works*, in March, using the *civil* year.

^{*} *Baynton.*] It may be interesting to know something of Latimer's correspondent. Sir Edward Baynton was the head of an ancient and honourable family in Wiltshire, which inherited the property of the Beauchamps, lords St. Amand. His chief property lay within a few miles of Latimer's parish. He was in great favour with Henry VIII., and was vice-chamberlain to three of his queens. In July 1528, when Henry VIII. was much displeased with Wolsey, one cause of vexation was that Wolsey had given away “the stewardship and the balyff off Sarum,” for Henry “covettyd moste those names for Mr. Baynton, as to hym ryght nyghe and commodiose.” *Bell's Letter to Wolsey*, in St. Paul 311. Amongst the Harl. MSS. no. 205 art. 62 is a letter to him from Dr. John Smith, a canon of St. Paul's, showing that whereas his majesty king Henry VIII. had desired to see a very rich cross kept in St. Paul's, among their other jewels, he had so wrought with his brethren, as that they would present it freely to his majesty. He also offers Sir Edward two years' rent of his prebend if he will favour him.

Being a near relative of cardinal Pole, Henry had engaged him to use his private friendship with that prelate to win him over to the king's views, but his endeavours had not the desired effect. It is a letter from this Sir Edward Baynton to the treasurer, Lord Surrey, existing in the Cotton MS. Otho. C. x. fol. 200, and printed by Sir Henry Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, 1st ser. vol. ii. p. 61, which states that Mark Smeeton was the only one who could be brought to confess any thing against queen Anne Boleyn.

the truth is a common thing, pertaining to every man, for the which every man shall answere another day. And I desire favour neither of your maistership, neither of any man els, but in truth, and for the truth, I take God to witnesse which knoweth all.

“ In very deed, maister chancellor did shew me that my lord bishop of London had sent letters to him for me; and I made answer that *he* was mine ordinarie; and that both he might and should reforme me as farre as I needed reformation, as well and as soon as my lord of London. And I would be verie loth (now this deep winter) being so weake and so feeble (not onelie exercised with my old disease in my head and side, but also with new, both the colick and the stone) to take such a journey: and though he might so doe, yet hee needed not, for he was not bound so to doe: notwithstanding I said, if he to doe my lord of London pleasure to my great displeasure, woulde needes command me to goe, I woulde obey his commandement; yea, though it should be never so great a greivance and painfull to me: with the which answere he was content, saying he would certifie my lord of London thereof, trusting his lordship to bee content with the same: but as yet I heare nothing from him. M. chancellor also said that my lord of London maketh as though he were greatly displeased with mee, for that I did contemne his authoritie, at my last being in London. Forsooth I preached in Abbechurch¹; not certaine then (as I remember) whether in his dioces or no, intending nothing lesse then to contemne his authoritie: and this I did not of mine own swinge, or by mine owne procuration, but at the request of honest merchant men (as they seemed to me) whose names I do not knowe, for they were not of mine acquaintance before. And I am glad thereof for their sakes, least if I knewe them, I should be compelled to utter them, and so their godly desire to heare godly preaching should returne to their trouble: for they required me very instantly, and to say the truth, even importunately. Whether they were of that parish or no, I was not certaine. But they shewed not onely themselves, but also many other, to be very desirous to heare mee, pretending great hunger, and thirst of the word of God and ghostly doctrine. And upon consideration, and to avoyd all inconveniences, I put

¹ *I preached in Abbechurch.*] Fox's *Acts*, p. 954. “He heard M. Hugh Latymer preach at S. Mary Abchurch, that men should leave going on pilgrimage abroad, and doe their pilgrimage to their poore neighbours.”

them off, and refused them twise or thrise ; till at the last they brought me word that the parson and curate were not onely content, but also desired mee : notwithstanding that they certified him both of my name plainly, and also that I had not the bishops scale to shew for mee, but onely a licence of the universitie : which curate did receive mee, welcommed me, and when I should go into the pulpit gave me the common benediction : so that I had not beene alonely uncharitable, but also churlishly uncharitable, if I would have sayd nay. Now all this supposed to be truth (as it is), I marvell greatly how my lord of London can alledge any contempt of him in me.

“ First, he did never inhibite me in my life : and if he did inhibite his curate to receive mee, what pertaineth that to mee, which neither did knowe thereof, nor yet made any suite to the curate deceitfully ; nor did it appeare to me very likelie that the curate would so little have regarded my lords inhibition, which he maintaineth so vigilantly, not knowing my lords minde before. Therefore I conjectured with my selfe, that either the curate was of such acquaintance with my lord, that he might admit whome he would, or els, (and rather) that it was a trayne and a trap layd before me, to the intent that my lord himselfe, or other pertaining to him was appointed to have beene there, and to have taken me if they could in my sermon : which conjecture both occasioned me somewhat to suspect those men which desired me, though they spake never so fayre and friendly, and also rather to go. For I preach nothing, but if it might be so, I would my lord himselfe might heare me every sermon I preach. So certaine I am that it is truth, that I take in hand to preach. If I had with power of my friends (the curate gainesaying and withstanding) presumed to have gone into the pulpit, there had beene something wherefore to pretend a contempt. I preached in Kent also, at the instant request of a curate : yet heare I not that his ordinary layeth any contempt to my charge, or yet doth trouble the curate. I marvell not a little, how my lord bishoppe of London, having so broad, wide, and large dioces committed unto his cure, and so peopled as it is, can have bysure, for preaching and teaching the word of God¹ *opportune, importune, tempestive, inopportune, procreatio, publice*, to his owne flocke, *instans, arguens, exhortans, monens, cum oratione benedicti et docti*, have bysure

(I say) either to trouble me, or to trouble himselfe with me, so poore a wretch, a stranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his cure, but as every man pertayneth to every mans cure ; so intermixing and intermeddling himselfe with another mans cure, as though he had nothing to doe in his owne. If I would do as some men seyn my lord doth, *gather up my joyse*, as we call it, warily and narrowly, and yet neither preach for it in mine owne cure, nor yet elsewhere, peradventure he would nothing deny me.

“ In very deede I did monish judges and ordinaryes to use charitable equitie in their judgements towards such as beene accused, namely of such accusers, which bene as like to heare and bewray, as other beene to say amisse ; and to take mens wordes in the meaning thereof, and not to wrast them in an other sense then they were spoken in : for all such accusers and witnesses, bee false before God, as Saint Hierome saith upon the twenty-sixth chapter of Matthew. Nor yet I do not accompt those judges well advised, which wittingly will give sentence after such witnesses, much lesse those which procure such witnesses against anie man : nor I thinke not judges now adayes so deeply confirmed in grace or so impeccable, but that it may behoove and become preachers to admonish them to do well, as well as other kinds of men, both great and small. And this I did, occasioned of the epistle which I declared, Romans vi. wherein is this sentence, *non estis sub lege, sed sub gratia*, ye Christen men that beleeve in Christ, are not under the law. What a saying is this (quoth I) if it bee not rightly understand, that is, as Saint Paule did understand it ? for the words sound as though he would goe about to occasion Christen men to breake the lawe, seeing they be not under the law : and what if the pseudapostles, adversaries to Saint Paule, would so have taken them, and accused Saint Paule of the same to my lord of London ? If my sayd lorde woulde have heard Saint Paule declare his owne minde, of his owne wordes, then hee should have escaped, and the false apostles put to rebuke. If he would have rigorously followed *utcunque allegata et probata*, and have given sentence after relation of the accusers, then good Saint Paule must have borne a fagot at Paules crosse, my lord of London being his judge. Oh, it had beene a goodly sight to have seene Saint Paule with a fagot on his backe, even at Paules crosse, my lord of London bishoppe of the same, sitting under the crosse. Nay verily I dare say, my lord should sooner

have burned him: for Saint Paule did not meane that Christen men might breake lawe, and doe whatsoever they would, because they were not under the law: but he did meane that Christen men might keepe the law and fulfill the lawe, if they would, because they were not under the law, but under Christ, by whome they were divided from the tyranny of the law, and above the law: that is to say, able to fulfill the law to pleasure of him that made the law, which they could never do of their owne strength, and without Christ: so that to be under the law, after Saint Pauls meaning, is to be weake to satisfie the lawe: and what could Saint Paule doe withall, though his adversaries would not so take it?

“ But my lord would say peradventure that men will not take the preachers wordes otherwise then they meane therein.—*Rom. cerba*; as though Saint Pauls words were not otherwise taken, as it appeareth in the third chapter to the Romaines, where he sayeth *quod injustitia nostra Dei justitiam commendat*, that is to say, our unrighteousness commendeth and maketh more excellent the righteousness of God, which soundeth to many as though they should be evill, that good should come of it, and by unrighteousnesse, to make the righteousness of God more excellent. So Saint Paule was reported to meane: yet hee did meane nothing so; but shewed the inestimable wisdom of God, which can use our naughtines to the manifestation of his unspeakable goodnes: not that we should do naughtily to that end and purpose. Now my lord will not thinke (I dare say) that Saint Paul was to blame that he spake no more circumspectly, more warily, or more plainly, to avoyde evill offence of the people: but rather he will blame the people, for that they tooke no better heed, and attendance to Pauls speaking, to the understanding of the same: yea, he will rather pittie the people which had been so long mazed in the doctrine of the Pharisees, and wallowed so long in darknes of mans traditions, superstitions, and trade of lying, that they were unapt to receive the bright lightnesse of the truth, and wholesome doctrine of God, uttered by Saint Paul. Nor I thinke not that my lord will require more circumspection, or more conveniency to avoyd offences of errors in me, than was in Saint Paule, when he did not escape malevolus corrections, and slanderous reports of them that were of perverse judgments, which reported him to say whatsoever hee appeared to them to say, or whatsoever seemed to them to followe of his say

ing.—But what followeth? *sic ajunt nos dicere, sic male loquuntur de nobis*; so they report us to say, sayth Saint Paule, so they speake evill of us; *sed quorum damnatio justa est*, but such, whose damnation is just sayth hee: and I thinke the damnation of all such that evill reporten preachers now adaies, likewise just: for it is untruth now, and then. Yea Christ himselfe was misreported, and falsely accused, both as touching his words, and also as concerning the meaning of his wordes. First he sayd *destruite*, that is to say, destroy you; they made it *possum destruere*, that is to say, I can destroy: he sayd *templum hoc*, this temple, they added *manu factum*, that is to say, made with hand, to bring it to a contrary sense. So they both inverted his wordes, and also added unto his wordes, to alter his sentence: for he did meane of the temple of his body, and they wrast it to Solomons temple.

“Now I report me whether it be a just fame raysed up, and dispersed after this manner.—Nay verely, for there bee three maner of persons which can make no credible information. First adversaries, enemies: second, ignorant, and without judgement: thirdly, *susurrone*s, that is to saye, whisperers, and blowers in mens eares, which will spew out in hudder mudder, more than they dare avow openly. The first will not, the second cannot, the third dare not: therefore relation of such is not credible, and therefore can make no fame lawfull, nor occasion any indifferent judge to make processe against any man.—Nor it maketh no little matter what they be themselves that report of any man, whether well or evill; for it is a great commendation to be evill spoken off, of them that be naught themselves, and to bee commended of the same, is many times no little reproch.—God send us once all grace to wish well one to another, and to speake well one upon another.

“Mee semes it were more comely for my lorde (if it were comely for mee to say so) to be a preacher himselfe, having so great a cure as hee hath, than to be a disquieter and a troubler of preachers, and to preach nothing at all himselfe. If it would please his lordship to take so great labour and paine at anie time, as to come to preach in my little bishopricke at Westkington, whether I were present or absent my selfe, I would thanke his lordshippe hartily, and thinke my selfe greatly bounden to him, that hee of his charitable goodnes would goe so farre to helpe to discharge me in my

cure, or else I were more unnaturall than a beast unreasonable: nor yet I would dispute, contende or demaund by what authoritie or where hee had authoritie so to do, as long as his predication were fruitfull, and to the edification of my parishioners. As for my lord, hee may do as it pleaseth his lordship. I pray God he do alwaies as well as I would wish him ever to do: but I am sure Saint Paule the true minister of God, and faithfull dispensor of Gods mysteries, and right exemplar of all true and very bishops, sayeth in the first chapter to the Phillippians, that in his time some preached Christ for envy of him, thinking thereby to grieve him withall, and as it were to obscure him, and to bring his authoritie into contempt; some of good will and love, thinking thereby to comfort him: notwithstanding (saith he) by all manner of ways, and after all fashions, whether it be of occasion or of truth, as ye would say for truthe sake,—so that Christ be preached, and shewed, I joy and will joy: so much he regarded more the glory of Christ, and promotion of Christ's doctrine, to the edification of Christen soules, than the maintenance of his owne authoritie, reputation and dignitie; considering right well, as hee sayd, that what authority so ever hee had, it was to edification, and not to destruction. Now I thinke it were no reproche to my lord but very commendable, rather to joy with Saint Paule, and be glad that Christ be preached *quocumque modo*, yea though it were for envy, that is to say, in disclaime, despite and contempt of his lordship (which thing no man well advised will enterprise or attempt), than, when the preaching can not be reproved justly, to demaund of the preacher austerely as the Pharisees did of Christ, *qua auctoritate hoc facis, aut quis dedit tibi istam auctoritatem?* As my authority is good enough, and as good as my lord can give me any, yet I would be glad to have his also, if it would please his lordship: be so good lord unto me. For the universitie of Cambridge hath authoritie apostolick to admit twelve yearly¹, of the which I am one: and the kinges highnes God save his grace, did decree that all admitted of universities, should preach throughout all his realmes as long as they preached well, without distraine of any man: my lord of Canturbury, my lord of Dursham, with such other as a few standing by, and hearing the decree, nothing gainsaying it but consenting to the same. Now to continue my lord of L.

¹ Twelve yearly. This privilege was granted to the university by Henry Julius II in the year 1534 and was afterwards confirmed by queen Elizabeth. It is still occasionally exercised.

dons authoritie were no little fault in me : so no lesse fault might appeare in my lord of London to contemne the kings authority and decree, yea so godly, so fruitfull, so commendable a decree, pertaining both to the edification of Christen soules, and also to the regard and defence of the popish grace, and authority apostolique. To have a booke, of the kinge not inhibited, is to obey the king ; and to inhibit a preacher of the king admitted, is it not to disobey the king ? Is it not one king that doth inhibit and admit, and hath he not as great authoritie to admit as to inhibit ? Hee that resisteth the power, whether admitting, or inhibiting, doth he not resist the ordinaunce of God ? We lowe subjects are bound to obey powers, and their ordinances : and are not the highest subjects also, who ought to give us ensample of such obedience ?—As for my preaching it selfe, I trust in God, my lord of London cannot rightfully blame it, nor justly reprove it, if it bee taken with the circumstances thereof, and as I spake it, or else it is not my preaching, but his that falsely reporteth it, as the poet Martiall sayd to one that depraved his booke :

‘ Quem recitas meus est, o Fidentine, libellus :
Sed male cum recitas, incipit esse tuus.’

“ But now I heare say, that my lord of London is informed, and upon the sayd information hath informed the king, that I go about to defend Bilney, and his cause, against his ordinaryes and judges, which I ensure you is not so : for I had nothing to do with Bilney, nor yet with his judges, except his judges did him wrong : for I did nothing else but monish all judges indifferently to do right, nor I am not altogether so foolish as to defende the thing which I knewe not. It might have become a preacher to say as I sayd, though Bilney had never beene borne. I have knowne Bilney a great while, I thinke, much better than ever did my lord of London : for I have beene his ghostly father many a time : and to tell you the truth, what I have thought always in him, I have knowne hitherto few such, so prompt and ready to doe everie man good after his power, both friends, and foe, noysome wittingly to no man, and towards his enemy so charitable, so seeking to reconcile them, as hee did, I have knowne yet not many ; and to be short, in a summe a very simple good soule, nothing fit nor meete for this wretched world, whose blindé fashion and miserable state (yea, farre from Christes doctrine) he could as evill bear, and would

sorrow, lament and bewayle it as much as any man that ever knewe : as for his singular learning, as well in holy Scripture, as in all other good letters, I will not speake of it. Notwithstanding if he either now of late, or at any time attempted any thing contrary to the obedience which a Christian man doth owe, either to his prince or to his bishoppe, I neither do nor will allow nor approve that, neither in him nor yet in any other man : we be all men, and ready to fall : wherefore he that standeth, let him beware he fall not. How he ordered or misordered himselfe in judgement I cannot tell, nor I will not meddle withall : God knoweth, whose judgements I will not judge. But I cannot but wonder, if a man living so mercifully, so charitably, so patiently, so continently, so studiously, and vertuously, and killing his olde Adam, that is to say, mortifying his evill affections, and blinde motions of his heart so diligently, should die an evill death. There is no more to be said, but *let him that standeth beware that he fall not* : for if such a man shall dye evill, what shall become of me, such a wretch as I am. But let this goe, as little to the purpose, and come to the point where we must rest upon.

“ Either my lord of London will judge my outward man only, as it is sayd, *Omnia cadunt quæ foris sunt*, or else he will be my God, and judge mine inward man, as it is said, *Deus autem intuetur cor*. If he will have to doe only with mine outward man, and meddle with mine outward conversation, how that I have ordered my selfe toward my Christen brethren, the kings liege people, I trust I shall please and content both my Lord God, and also my lord of London : for I have preached and taught but according to holy Scripture, holy fathers, and auncient interpretoours of the same, with the which I thinke, my lord of London will be pacified : for I have done nothing els in my preaching, but with all diligences moved my auditours to faith and charitie, to do their due to God, and that that is necessary to be done. As for thinges^a of private devotion, mane thinges, and voluntary thinges, I have reproveth the abuse, the superstition of them, without condemnation of the thinges themselves, as it becommeth preachers to do, which thing

^a *As for thinges*. For an excellent specimen of Latimer's preaching, and these arguments, see Fox's *Acts*, p. 140. It is the famous "Letter Sermon" and ought to be given in any new edition of Latimer's sermons and letters, as ought also his letters from Fox and elsewhere, not one of which appears in the collection, *The Letters of the Masters*. An extract from this sermon may be cited below.

if my lord of London will doe himselfe (as I would to God he would doe) hee should bee reported (no doubt) to condemne the use of such thinges, of covetous men which have dammage, and finde lesse in their boxes by condemnation of the abuse, which abuse they had rather should continue still, than their profite should not continue (so thornie be their hearts).—If my lord will needs coaste and invade my inwarde man, will I nill I, and breake violently into my heart, I feare me I shall either displease my lord of London, which I would be very loath, or els my Lord God, which I will be more loath : not for any infidelity, but for ignorance, for I beleeve as a Christen man ought to beleeve.—But peradventure my lord knoweth and will knowe manie things certainly, which (perchaunce) I am ignoraunt in ; with the which ignoraunce though my lord of London may, if he will, be discontent, yet I trust my Lord God will pardon it as long as I hurt no man withall, and say to him with diligent study, and dayly praier, *paratum cor meum Deus, paratum cor meum*, so studying, preaching, and tarying the pleasure and leysure of God : and in the meane season (Acts viii.) as Apollos did, when hee knewe nothing of Christ but *baptismum Johannis*, teach and preach mine even christen that, and no farther then, I knowe to be true. There be three creedes, one in my masse, an other in my mattyns, the thirde common to them that neither say masse nor mattyns, nor yet knowe what they say when they say the creede, and I beleeve all three, with all that God hath left in holy writ, for mee and all other to beleeve : yet I am ignoraunt in thinges which I trust heereafter to knowe, as I do now knowe thinges, in which I have beene ignoraunt heeretofore : ever learne and ever to be learned ; to profite with learning, with ignoraunce not to noy.

“ I have thought in times past, that the pope, Christes vicar, hadde been lord of all the world as Christ is, so that if he should have deprived the king of his crowne, or you of the lordshippe of Bromeham⁶, it had beene enough : for hee could do no wrong. Now I might be hyred to thinke otherwise : notwithstanding I

⁶ *Bromeham.*] Bromham, between Calne and Chippenham and Devizes, in Wiltshire, was anciently the seat of the Roches, and afterwards of the Beauchamps, lords of St. Amand. At the death of Richard, the last lord St. Amand, in 1508, it was inherited by his cousin John Bayntun, father of the Sir Edward to whom this letter is addressed. Bromham continued to be the seat of the family of Bayntun until the year 1652, when, at the defeat of Sir William Waller by lord Wilmot, their house, situated near the field of battle, was burnt, and they removed to Spye Park in the same neighbourhood.

have both scene and hearde Scripture drawen to that purpose.—I have thought in times past, that the popes dispensations of pluralities of benefices, and absence from the same, had discharged consciences before God: forasmuch as I had heard *ecce vobiscum sum, et qui vos audit, me audit*, bended to corroborate the same. Now I might bee easily intreated to thinke otherwise.—I have thought in times past that the pope could have spoyled purgatorie at his pleasure with a word of his mouth: now learning might perswade me otherwise; or els I would marvelle why hee would suffer so much mony^a to bee bestowed that waye, which so needfull is to bee bestowed otherwise; and to deprive us of so many patrones in heaven as hee might deliver out of purgatory.—I have thought in times past, that and if I had bene a fryer and in a cowle, I could not have bene damned nor afearde of death; and by occasion of the same I have bene minded manie times to have bene a fryer, namely when I was sore sicke and diseased. Now, I abhorre my superstitious foolishnesse.—I have thought in times past, that diverse images of saints could have holpen mee, and done me much good, and delivered me of my diseases; now I knowe that one can helpe as much as another. And it pityeth mine heart that my lord, and such as my lord is, can suffer the people to bee so craftily deceived.—It were too long to tell you what blindnes I have bene in, and how long it were ere I could forsake such folly, it was incorporate in me: but by continuall prayer, continuall study of Scripture, and oft communing with men of more right judgment, God hath delivered me. Yea, men thinketh that my lord himself hath thought in times past that by Gods lawe a man might marry his brothers wife, which now doth dare thinke and say^b

^a *So much mony* — "If the pope with his pardons, *for money*, may deliver one soul out of purgatory, he may deliver him as well *without money*. If he may deliver one, he may deliver a thousand — if he may deliver a thousand he may deliver them *all*, and so destroy purgatorie. And then he is a cruel tyrant without all charitie, if he keepe them there in prison and in pain: for men will give him money." *Lash's Supplication of Beggars* — 1548, A. 22, p. 92^b

^b *Dare thinke and say* — Stokely was particularly zealous and effective in promoting Henry's view in his great matter of the divorce. To him the king referred Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor, for satisfaction in that very important point, that his marriage with the widow of prince Arthur, being contrary against the law of nature, could in no wise by the church be dispensed with. *Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 54, edit. 1729. See also the life in the collection, p. 130

contrarie : and yet this his boldnes might have chaunced in pope Julius dayes, to stand him either in a fire, or else in a fagot. Which thing deeply considered, and pondered of my lorde, might something stirre him to charitable equitie, and to bee something remissable toward men, which labour to do good as their power serveth with knowledge, and do hurt to no man with their ignorancie : for there is no greater distaunce, than betweene Gods lawe, and not Gods lawe : nor it is not so, or so, because any man thinketh it so, or so : but because it is so or so indeede, therefore wee must thinke it so, or so, when God shall give us knowlege thereof ; for if it be indeede either so or not, it is so or not so, though all the world had thought otherwise these thousand yeares.

“ And finally as ye say, the matter is weighty and ought substantially to be looked upon ; even as weightie as my life is worth : but how to looke substantially upon it, otherwise know not I, than to pray my Lord God day and night, that as hee hath boldned me to preach his truth, so hee will strengthen me to suffer for it, to the edification of them which have taken by the working of him, fruite thereby ; and even so I desire you, and all other that favour mee for his sake, likewise to pray : for it is not I, (without his mightie helping hand). that can abide that brunt ; but I have trust that God will helpe mee in time of neede ; which if I had not, the ocean sea, I thinke, should have divided my lorde of London and mee by this day. For it is a rare thing for a preacher to have favour at his hand which is no preacher himselfe, and yet ought to bee. I pray God that both he and I may both discharge ourselves, he in his great cure, and I in my little, to Gods pleasure, and safety of our soules, amen.

“ I pray you pardon mee that I write no more distinctly, nor more truely : for my head is so out of frame, that it should bee too painefull for me to write it againe : and if I be not prevented, shortly I intende to make merry with my parishioners this Christmas, for all the sorrowe, least perchance I never returne to them againe : and I have heard say, that a doe is as good in winter, as a bucke in sommer.”

A Letter of Sir Edward Baynton knight, aunswering to the letter of maister Latimer sent to him before.

“ Maister Latimer, after heartie recommendations : I have communicated the effect of your letters to divers of my friendes,

such as for Christen charitie (as they say) rather desire in you a reformation, either in your opinion (if it swarve from the truth) or at the least in your manner and behaviour, in as much as it giveth occasion of slaunder and trouble, in let of your good purposes, than any other inconvenience to your person or good name. And for as much as your sayde letter misliked them in some part, and that I have such confidence in your Christen breast, as in my judgement yee will conformably and gladly, both heare that may bee reformed in you, and also (as it is worthis) so knowledge and confesse the same: I have therefore desired them to take the paine to note their mindes in this letter which I send to you, as an aggregate of their sayinges, and sent from mee your assured friende and favourer, in that that is the verie truth of Gods word: wherein neverthelesse, as I trust, yee your selfe will temper your owne judgement, and in a sobernesse affirme no truth of your selfe, which should divide the unitie of the congregation in Christ, and the received trueth agreed upon by holy fathers of the church, consonant to the scripture of God: even so whatsoever yee will do therein (as I thinke yee will not otherwise than ye should doe) I being unlearned, and not of the knowledge to give sentence in this alteration and contention, must rather of good congruence shewe myselfe, in that you disagree with them, readier to followe their doctrine in truth, than yours, unlesse it may please almightie God to inspire and confirme the hearts of such people to testifie the same in some honest number as ought to induce me to give credence unto them.

“ Onely God knoweth the certaine trueth, which is communicate unto us, as our capacitie may comprehend it by faith, but that is *per speculum in enigmate*. And there have bene *qui solum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam*.—Among which I repute not you, but to this purpose I write it, that to call this or that truth, it requireth a deepe and profound knowledge, considering that to mee unlearned, *that* I take for truth may be otherwise, not having *sensus exercitatos*, as Saint Paul sayeth, *ad discernendum bonum et malum*. And it is shewed mee, that an opinion or manner of teaching, which causeth disension in a Christian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of Saint John in his epistle, where he sayth: *Omnia qui confitentur Christum in carne, &c. ex Deo est*. And like as the word of God hath alwaies caused disension among men unchristened, wherupon

hath ensued and followed martyrdome to the preacher, so in Christes congregation, among them that professe Christes name, *In uno Domino, uno baptismo, et una fide*, they that preache and stirre rather contention, than charitie, though they can defend their saying, yet their teaching is not to bee taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chayne of Christen charitie, and maketh division in the people, congregate and called by God into an unitie of faith and baptisme. But for this point I would pray to God, that not onely in the truth may bee agreement, but also such sobernesse and uniforme behaviour used in teaching and preaching, as men may wholly expresse (as they may) the charitie of God tending onely to the union in love of us all, to the profit and salvation of our soules."

The aunswere of M. Latimer to the letter of Syr Edward Baynton above prefixed.

"Right worshipfull Syr, and my singular good maister, *salutem in Christo Jesu*, with due commendation and also thanks for your great goodnes towards mee, &c. And whereas you have communicate my last letters to certaine of your friendes, which rather desire this or that in me, &c. what I thinke therein I will not now say; not for that there could bee any perill or daunger in the said letters (well taken) as farre as I can judge, but for that they were rashly and unadvisedly scribled, as ye might well knowe both by my excuse, and by themselves also, though none excuse had beene made. And besides that, yee know right well, that where the bee gathereth honey, even there the spinner gathereth venome, not for any diversitie of the flower, but for divers natures in them that sucketh the flower. As in times past, and in the beginning, the verie truth, and one thing in it selfe was to some, offence, to some foolishnesse, to other otherwise disposed, the wisdom of God. Such diversitie was in the redresse of hearers thereof.

"But this notwithstanding, there is no more but either my writing is good, or bad: if it bee good, the communicating thereof to your friends cannot be hurtful to me: if it be otherwise, why should you not communicate it to them, which both could and would instruct you in the trueth, and reforme my errour? Let this passe, I will not contend: *had I wist* commeth ever out of season. Truly I were not well advised, if I would

not either be glad of your instruction, or yet refuse mine own reformation; but yet it is good for a man to looke ere he leapeth, and God forbid that ye should bee addict and sworne to me so wretched a foole; that you should not rather followe the doctrine of your friendes in truth, so great learned men as they appeare to be, than the opinions of mee, having never so Christen a breast.

"Wherefore doe as you will: for as I would not if I could, so I cannot if I would, bee noysome unto you. But yet I say, would my letters had been unwritten, if for none other cause, at least way, in asmuch as they cause me to more writing, an occupation nothing meete for my mad head. And as touching points which in my foresayde letters mislike your friendes, I have now little leysure to make an aunswere thereto for the great business that I have in my little cure, (I know not what other men have in their great cure) seeing that I am alone, without any priest to serve my cure, without any scholler to reade unto mee, without any booke necessarie to bee looked upon, without learned men to come and counsell withall; all which thinges other have at hand abundantly. But some thing must bee done, howsoever it bee. I pray you take it in good woorth, as long as I temper mine owne judgement, affirming nothing with prejudice of better.

"First ye mislike, that I say I am sure that I preach the truth, saying in reproofe of the same, that God knoweth certaine trueth. In deede alonely God knoweth all certaine truth, and alonely God knoweth it as of himselfe; and none knoweth certaine truth but God, and those which bee taught of God, as sayth Saint Paule: *Deus enim illis patefecit*: and Christ himselfe: *erunt omnes docti a Deo*. And your friendes deny not but that certain truth is communicate to us, as our capacitie may comprehend it by faith; which if it be truth, as it is, then there ought no more to bee required of any man, but according to his capacitie: now certain it is that every man hath not like capacitie, &c.

"But as to my presumption and arrogancie: either I am certaine or uncertaine that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may not I say so, to courage my hearers to receive the same more ardently, and ensue it more studiously? If I be uncertaine, why dare I be so bolde to preach it? And if your friendes in whom ye trust so greatlie, be preachers themselves, after their sermon I pray you aske them, whether they be certaine and

sure that they taught you the truth or no ; and send mee word what they say, that I may learne to speake after them. If they say they bee sure, ye know what followeth : if they say they be unsure, when shall you bee sure, that hath so doubtfull teachers and unsure ? And you your selfe, whether are you certaine or uncertaine, that Christ is your saviour ; and so foorth of other articles that ye be bounden to beleeve ; or whether be ye sure or unsure, that civile ordinances bee the good workes of God ; and that you do God service in doing of them, if ye do them for a good intent ? If ye be uncertaine, take heede hee be your sure friend that heareth you say so : and then with what conscience do you doubt ; *Cum quicquid non est ex fide, peccatum sit ?* But on the contrarie say you, alonely God knoweth certaine truth, and yee have it but *per speculum in ænigmate* : and there have beene, *qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam* : and to call this or that trueth, it requireth a deepe knowledge, considering that to you unlearned, that you take for truth may be otherwise, not having *sensus exercitatos* (as Paule saith) *ad discernendum bonum et malum*, as ye reason against me ; and so you doe best to knowe surely nothing for truth at all, but to wander meekely hither and thither, *omni vento doctrinæ, &c.*

“ Our knowledge heere, you say, is but *per speculum in ænigmate*. What then ? *Ergo*, it is not certaine and sure.

“ I deny your argument by your leave : yea if it be by faith, as ye say, it is much sure, *quia certitudo fidei est maxima certitudo*, as *Duns* and other schoole doctors say. There is a great discrepance⁸ betweene certaine knowledge, and cleare knowledge : for *that* may bee of things absent that appeare not, *this* requireth the presence of the object, I meane of the thing knowne ; so that I certainly and surely know the thing which I perfectly beleeve, though I doe not clearely and evidentlie know it. I know your schoole subtleties, as well as you, which dispute as though *enigmaticall* knowledge, that is to saye, darke and obscure knowledge might not be certaine and sure knowledge, because it is not clear, manifest and evident knowledge.

“ And yet there hath beene (they say) *qui zelum Dei habuerunt*,

⁸ *A great discrepance.*] This part of the letter may be compared with Hooker's Vindication of his Doctrine, preached at the Temple church, against an objection of Walter Travers, of which we shall find some account below in the *Life of Hooker*. See also his truly admirable *Answer to Mr. Travers's Supplication*.

sed non secundum scientiam, which have had a zeale, but not after knowledge.—Trueth it is, there hath beene such, and yet be too many to the great hinderance of Christ's glorie, which nothing doth more obscure, than an hote zeale accompanied with great authoritie without right judgement. There have beene also, *Qui scientiam habuerunt absque zelo Dei; qui veritatem Dei in injustitia detinentes plagis capulabunt multis, dum voluntatem Domini cognoscentes, nihil minus quam faciunt*, I meane not among Turkes and Saracens that be unchristened, but of them that be christened. And there have beene also that have lost *scientiam Dei, id est, spiritualem divini verbi sensum, quem prius habuerunt*, the spirituall knowledge of God's word which they had before, because they have not ensued after it, nor promoted the same, but rather with their mother wits have impugned the wisdom of the Father, and hindered the knowledge thereof, which therefore hath been taken away from them. And if to call this or that truth, requireth a deepe and profound knowledge, then either every man hath a deepe and profound knowledge, or else no man can call this or that truth. And it becometh every preacher to have so deepe and profound knowledge, that hee may call this or that truth, which this or that he taketh in hand to preach for the truth; and yet hee may be ignorant and uncertaine in many things, both this and that, as Apollo was; but which things whether this or that, he will not attempt to preach for the truth. And as for my selfe, I trust in God, I may have *sensus exercitatus* well enough, *ad discernendum bonum et malum*, senses exercised to discern good and evill in those things which, without deepe and profound knowledge in many things, I preach; yet there be many things in Scripture in which I cannot certainly discern *bonum et malum*, I mean *verum et falsum*, not with all the exercises that I have in Scripture, nor yet with the help of all interpreters that I have, to content my selfe and other in all scrupulosity that may arise; but in such I am wont to wade no further up the stream, than that I may either go over, or else returne backe againe, having ever respect, not to the ostentation of a little wit, but to the edification of them that heare me, as farre forth as I can, neither passing mine owne nor yet their capacity.

And such manner of arguments might well serve the devil, *contra parallelos*, to occasion them to wander and waver in the faith, and to be uncertaine in things in which they ought to be

certaine : or else it may appeare to make and serve against such preachers which will define great subtleties and high matters in the pulpit, which no man can bee certaine and sure of by Gods word to bee truth, *ne sensus quidem habens ad discernendum bonum et malum exercitatissimos* ; as whether, if Adam had not sinned, wee should have had stockfish out of Iseland ; how many larkes for a peny, if every starre in the element were a flickering hobby ; how many yeares a man shall lie in purgatorie for one sinne, if hee buy not plentie of the oyle that runneth over our lampes to slake the sinne withall, and so forget hell which cannot be slaked, to provide for purgatorie.

“ Such argumentation (I say) might appeare to make well against such preachers, not against mee, which simply and plainely utter true faith and the fruites of the same, which be the good workes of God, *which hee hath prepared for us to walke in*, every man to do the thing that pertaineth to his office and duetie in his degree and calling, as the worde of God appointeth, which thing a man may do with sobernesse, having *sensus ad discernendum bonum et malum, vel mediocriter exercitatos*. For it is but foolish humilitie, willingly to continue alwayes an infant still in Christ, and in infirmitie : in reproofe of which it was sayd ; *Facti estis opus habentes lacte non solido cibo*. For Saint Paul saith not : *Estote humiles, ut non capiatis*. For though he would not that we should thinke arrogantly of our selfe, and above that that it becommeth us to thinke of our selfe, but so to thinke of our selfe, *ut simus sobrii ac modesti*, yet he biddeth us so to thinke of our selfe, *as God hath distributed to everie one the measure of faith*. For he that may not with meekenesse think in himselfe what God hath done for him, and of himselfe as God hath done for him, how shall hee, or when shall hee, give due thanks to God for his gifts ? And if your friendes wil not allowe the same, I pray you enquire of them whether they may *cum sobrietate et modestia* bee sure they preach to you the truth ; and whether we may *cum sobrietate et modestia* follow S. Paules bidding, where he saith unto us all : *Bee not children in understanding, but in maliciousnesse be infants*.—God give us all grace to keepe the meane, and to thinke of our selfe neither too high nor too lowe, but so that wee may restore unto him, *qui peregre profectus est*, his gifts againe *cum usura*, that is to say, with good use of the same, so that *ædificemus invicem* with the same, *ad gloriam Dei*. Amen.

“ For my life, I trust in God, that I neither have, neither

(by Gods grace) shall I neither in sobernesse, nor yet in drunkennesse, affirme any truth of my selfe, therewith intending to divide that unitie of the congregation of Christ, and the received truth agreed upon by the holy fathers of the church consonant to the Scripture of God; though it be shewed you never so often, that an opinion or manner of teaching, which causeth dissention in a Christian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of Saint John in his epistle where hee sayeth; *Every one that confesseth Christ in the flesh, is of God.* First not everie thing whereupon followeth dissention, causeth dissention; as I would they that shewed you *that*, would also shew you, whether this opinion, that a man may not mary his brothers wife, be of God or of men. If it be of men, then as Gamaliell sayde, *dissolvetur*: if it be of God, as I thinke it is, and perchance your friends also, -- who can dissolve it, but shal seeme me to repugne against God? And yet there be many not heathens, but in Christendome, that dissenteth from the same, which could beare full evill to heare sayd unto them *ros ex putre diaboli estis*. So that such an opinion might seeme to some to make a dissention in a Christian congregation: saving that they may say perchance with more liberty than other, that an occasion is sometime *taken* and not *given*, which with their favour I might abuse for my defence, saying that *non manibz licet in hac temporum iniquitate*.

• The Galathians having for preachers and teachers the false apostles, by whose teaching they were degenerate from the sweet libertie of the gospel into the sowre bond of ceremonies, thought themselves peradventure a Christian congregation when Saint Paul did write his epistle unto them, and were in a great strait under the dominion of maisterly curates, so that the false apostles might have objected to Saint Paul that his apostleship was not of God, for as much as there was dissention in a Christian congregation by occasion thereof, while some would remove their opinions by occasion of the epistle -- some would *opinare*, as they were wont to do, and follow their great lords and maisters the false apostles, which were not heathen and unchristened, but christened, and her prelates of the professors of Christ. For your friends I knowe right wel what Erasmus hath said of a epistle set before the paraphrases of the first epistle to the Galathians, which Erasmus hath caused to be read dissention in his pen in a Christian congregation in as much as many have dissented from him not aboly in choysters, then he wrote the

christened men, of high perfection,) but also at Paules crosse, and S. Mary Spittle, besides many that with no small zeale have written against him, but not without aunswere.

“ And I woulde faine learne of your friendes, whether that Saint Hieromes writing were of God, which caused dissension in a Christian congregation, as it appeareth by his owne wordes in the prologue before the Canonickall Epistles, which be these : *Et tu virgo Christi Eustochium, dum a me impensius Scripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodammodo senectutem invidorum dentibus vel morsibus corrodendam apponis, qui me falsarium corruptoremque Scripturarum pronunciant ; sed ego in tali opere nec illorum invidentiam pertimesco, nec Scripturæ veritatem poscentibus denegabo.* I pray you, what were they that called S. Hierome *falsarium*, and corrupter of Scripture, and for envy would have bitten him with their teeth ? unchristen, or Christen ? What had the unchristen to do with Christian doctrine ? They were worshipful fathers of a Christian congregation, men of much more hotter stomackes than right judgement, of a greater authority than good charity ; but Saint Hierome would not cease to doe good for the evill speaking of them that were naught, giving in that an ensample to us of the same :—and if this dissension were in Saint Hieromes time, what may bee in our time ? *de malo in pejus scilicet.*

“ And I pray you what meaneth your friendes by a Christian congregation ? All those (trow ye) that have been christened ? But many of those beene in worse condition, and shal have greater damnation, than many unchristened. For it is not inough to a Christian congregation that is of God, to have been christened : but it is to be considered what we promise when we bee christened ; to renounce Sathan, his workes, his pompes : which thing if we busie not our selves to doe, let us not crake that we professe Christes name in a Christian congregation, *in uno baptismo*, in one baptisme.

“ And where they adde *in uno Domino*, in one Lord, I reade in Matth. 17, *Not everie one that saith Lord, Lord, &c.* And in Luke, the Lord himselfe complaineth and rebuketh such professours and confessours, saying to them : *Why call you me Lord, Lord, and do not that I bid you ?* even as though it were enough to a Christian man, or to a Christian congregation to say every day, *Domine Dominus noster*, and to salute Christ with a double *Domine*. But I would your friends would take the paines to

reade over Chrysostome *super Matthæum, hom. 49. cap. 24.* to know a Christian congregation, if it will please them to know him. And where they adde, *in una fide*, in one faith. S. Hierome sayth, boldly, *shew me thy faith by thy works.* And S. Hierome sayth, *Si tamen credimus, inquit, opere veritatem ostendimus.* And the scripture sayth, *qui credit Deo, attendit mandatis:* and the devil leeveth to their little comfort. I pray God to save you and your friendes from that beleeving congregation, and from that false company.

“ Therefore all this toucheth not them that be unchristened, but them that be christened, and answer not unto their calling. For S. Hierome sheweth how true preachers order themselves, when evill priests and false preachers, and the people that be by them deceived, should be angry with the preachers preaching the trueth (*Tom. 5. in Hieremiam, capit. 26.*) exhorting them to suffer death for the same of the evill priests and preachers and the people deceived of them, which evill priests and false preachers with the people deceived, be christened as well as other: and I feare me that S. Hierome might apply this to some Christen congregations, as they will be called, to write maliciously: to divide the unitie of a great honest number, confounding Christ in *uno baptismo, uno Domino, una fide*, saying, They which before were brought asleep by their maisters, must be brought to the mountaines: not such mountaines which smoke when they are touched, but to the mountaines of the old and new Testament, the prophets, apostles, and evangelists. And when you are occupied with reading in these mountaines, if then there be no instructors, (for the harvest is great and the workmen few) yet shall the diligent study of the people be blessed in the mountaines, and the slouthfulness of the maisters be rebuked.

“ I do marvell why our Christian congregation be so grieved that lay people would reade Scripture, seeing that S. Hierome alloweth and approveth the same, which compareth together the unchristened to the christened, but the lay people christened to their curates christened, under the which they have bene rocked and locked asleep in a subtil trade a great full season, though now of late they have bene wakened by their pains, at the least way to the pains of them that wakened them with the word of God: and it is properly to S. Hierome to call them maisters and not servants, meaning

servants teach not their own doctrine, but the doctrine of their maister Christ, to his glory: maisters teach not Christes doctrine, but their owne, to their owne glory: which maisterly curates cannot be quiet till they have brought the people asleepe againe: but Christ the verie true maister saith: *vigilate, et orate, ne intretis in tentationem. Non cogitationes meæ cogitationes vestræ, neque viæ meæ viæ vestræ, dicit Dominus*; and there have beene, *qui cogitaverunt consilia, quæ non potuerunt stabilire*, which have gone about counsels, which they could not establish. I pray God give our people grace so to wake, *ut studium illorum comprobetur*, and our maisters so to sleepe, *ut non desidia illorum coarguatur*. For who is so blinde that he seeth not how farre our Christian congregation doth gaynesay Saint Hierome, and speaketh after an other fashion? God amend that is amisse: for we bee something wide, I wis.

“But now your friends have learned of S. John, that, *Every one that confesseth Jesus Christ in flesh, is of God*. And I have learned of Saint Paule, that there have been, not among the heathen, but among the Christen, *qui ore confitentur, factis autem negant*, which confesse Christ with their mouth, and deny him with their actes: so that Saint Paule should appeare to expound Saint John; saving that I will not affirme any thing as of my selfe, but leave it to your friends to shew you *utrum qui factis negant Christum et vita, sint ex Deo necne per solam oris confessionem*: for your friendes knowe well enough by the same Saint John, *qui ex Deo est, non peccat*: and there both have beene and bee now too many, *qui ore tenus confitentur Christum venisse in carne*, which will not effectually heare the word of God by consenting to the same, notwithstanding that Saint John saith, *qui ex Deo est, verbum Dei audit; vos non auditis, quia ex Deo non estis*: and many shall heare *nunquam novi vos*, I never knew you, which shall not alonely be christened, but also shal *prophetare*, and do puissant things *in nomine Christi*: and Saint Paule said there should come *lupi graves qui non parcerent gregi*, ravening wolves which wil not spare the flocke, meaning it of them that should *confiteri Christum in carne* in their lips, and yet usurp by succession the office: which Christ calleth *false prophets*, and biddeth us beware of them, saying, they shall come in *sheepes cloathing*, and yet they may weare both satten, silke, and velvet, called afterwardes *servi nequam, non pascentes sed percutientes conservos, edentes et bibentes cum ebriis, habituri tandem portionem cum*

hypocritis. They are called *servaunts*. I trowe, *quod ore confitentur Christum in carne; nequam vero, quia factis negant eundem non dantes cibum in tempore, dominium exercentes in gregem.* And yet your friends reason as though there could none barke and bite at true preachers, but they that be unchristened, notwithstanding that Saint Augustine upon the same epistle of John calleth such confessours of Christ *qui ore confitentur, et factis negant, antichristos*; a strange name for a Christian congregation and though Saint Augustine could defend his saying, yet his saying might appeare not to be of God, to som mens judgement in that it breaketh the chayne of Christes charity, so to cause men to hate *antichristianismum, antichristes*; according to the doctrine of Saint Paule, *sitis odio persequentes quod malum est.* hate that is evill; and so making division, not between christened and unchristened, but between Christians and antichristians, when neither penne nor tongue can divide the antichristians from their blinde folly. And I would you would cause your friends to reade over Saint Augustine, upon the epistle of S. John, and tell you the meaning thereof, if they thinke it expedient for you to knowe it: as I remember, it is *Tractatus* is he? I am not sure nor certaine of that, because I did not see it since I was at Cambridge; and heere have I not Saint Augustines workes to looke for it; but well I wot, that there he teacheth us to knowe the Christians from the antichristians, which be unchristened, and both confesse *Jesus esse Christum*, if they be asked the question: and yet the one part denyeth it in very dedee: but to knowe whether, let us not stand upon our talles but attend to our doings and conversation of life, whether we not onely do not put our indeavour thereto, but also perswade ourselves as though it were not necessary for us to accomplish such things, &c. but that it is enough to beare rule and authority of them, and to bestow ourselves wholly upon secular matters, pleasures, and pompe of this world.

"And yet as long as they minister the word of God, the sacraments, or any thing that God hath ordained to the saving of mankind, wherewith God hath promised to be present, to worke with the ministration of the same to the ende of the world, they be to be loved, to be obeyed, to be honoured for Gods ordinance sake, which is effectual and fruitfull, whatsoever be

"B. And in effect, as in Art. XXVI. of the Church of England, concerning the use of the Manner which beareth out the effect of the Sacraments.

minister be, though he be a divel, and neither church nor member of the same, as Origene sayth, and Chrysostome, so that it is not all one to honour them, and trust in them, Saint Hierome sayth ; but there is required a judgement, to discern when they minister Gods word, and ordinaunces of the same, and their owne, least peradventure we take chalke for cheese, which will edge our teeth, and hinder digestion. For it is commonly sayde, the blinde eateth many a flye, as they did which were perswaded of the high priests, to aske Barrabas and to crucifie Jesus : and ye knowe that to follow blinde guides is to come into the pit with the same. And will you knowe, saith saint Augustine, how apertly they resist Christ, when men begin to blame them for their misliving, and intolerable secularity, and negligence ? They dare not for shame blaspheme Christ himselfe, but they will blaspheme the ministers and preachers of whome they be blamed.

“ Therefore, whereas yee will pray for agreement both in the truth, and in uttering of the truth ; when shal that be, as long as we will not heare the truth, but disquiet with crafty conveyance the preachers of the truth, because they reprove our evilnesse with the truth ? And to say truth, better it were to have a deformitie in preaching, so that some would preach the truth of God, and that which is to be preached, without cauponation and adulteration of the word, (as Lyranus ¹⁰ saith in his time few did ; what

¹⁰ *Lyranus.*] Nicholas de Lyra, whose Postills upon the Scriptures were up to the time of the Reformation of the greatest note. Luther studied them deeply. He says [*Comment. ad Genes. cap. i. v. 9*] “ Ego Lyranum ideo amo, et inter optimos pono : quod ubique diligenter retinet et persequitur historiam, quanquam auctoritate Patrum se vinci patitur, et nonnunquam eorum exemplo deflectit a proprietate sententiæ ad ineptas allegorias.” In fact, the Romish party charged Luther with drawing much of his knowledge from De Lyra, insinuating that Luther but danced to Lyra’s pipe :

“ Si Lyra non lyrasset
Lutherus non saltasset.”

This monkish doggrel was altered thus by Luther’s friends :

“ Si Lyra non lyrasset
Totus mundus delirasset ”

See Rosenmüller’s *Historia Interpretationis Vet. et Nov. Test.* tom. v. p. 282.

The *postills* are short commentaries on every passage or verse of the Scriptures. The name is as old as the eighth century, and originated in the following circumstances. The Scriptures were read in the churches to the people, or by masters to their scholars, and to each passage as read was added a short explanation of the text, taken often from the writings of some father.

they do now adayes, I report mee to them that can judge to have such an uniformitie, that the seely people sh^d thereby occasioned to continue still in their lamentable ignorant corrupt judgement, superstition and idolatry, and esteeme as they doe, all preposterously, doing that, that they need for to do, leaving undone that they ought to do, for lacke of knowing what is to be done, and so shew their love to God as God biddeth (which sayth: *Si diligitis me, precepta mea servate.* And againe: *Qui habet precepta mea et facit ea, qui diligit me*) but as they bid *qui quærunt quæ sua sunt quæ Jesu Christi*, which seeke their owne thinges, not (as though to tythe mynt, were more then judgement, for mercy.

“ And what is to live in state of curates, but that he which sayd, *Peter lovest thou me? fiede, fiede, fiede*: which set aside, as though to love were to do nothing els, but to rings, myters, and rochets, &c.? And when they erre in living, how can the people but erre in loving, and all of this fashion, to his dishonour that suffered his passion, and taught true kinde of loving which is now turned into piping, playing, curious singing¹, which will not be reformed (I trow) *monium Dei calidum.* And I have both S. Augustine, Thomas, with divers other, that *lex* is taken not alonely for monies, but also for morals, where it is sayd: *Non estis ex* though your friends reprove the same. But *they* can make division in a Christian congregation. And whereas both *ye* they would have a soberness in our preaching, I pray God unto us, whatsoever *ye* meane by it. For I see well who will be happy, and busie with *eo vobis*, he shall shortly after *coram nobis.*

“ And where your friends thinke that I made a he, said that I have thought in times past that the pope had lord of the world, though your friends be much better than I, yet am I sure that they know not what either I thinke have thought better than I, *pariter illud, non nocet quæ hominibus, &c.* as though better men then I have not thought

The text was read in sentences, and after them “*pariter illud*” &c. This became a technical term, which was afterwards used in a more general sense.

Curious singing. See Index, under Church Music.

Bonifacius (as I remember) Octavus², the great learned man John of the Burnt Tower³, presbyter cardinalis, in his booke where he proveth the pope to be above the Councell general and speciall, where he saith that the pope is *rex regum*, and *dominus dominantium*, the king of kings, and lord of lords, and that he is *verus dominus totius orbis, jure licet non facto*, the true lord of the whole world by good right, albeit in fact hee bee not so : and that Constantinus did but restore his owne unto him, when he gave unto him Rome, so that *in propria venit*, as S. John saith Christ did, *et sui eum non receperunt* : and yet I hear not that any of our Christian congregations hath reclaimed against him, until now of late dissention began.—Who be your friends I cannot tell : but I would you would desire them to be my good maisters, and if they will do me no good, at the least way do me no harme ; and though they can do you more good then I, yet I am sure I would be as loath to hurt you as they, either with mine opinions, maner of preaching or writing.

“And as for the popes high dominion over all, there is one Raphaell Maruphus⁴ in London, an Italian, and in times past a marchaunt of dispensations⁵, which I suppose would dye in the quarrell, as Gods true knight and true martyr.—As touching purgatory, and worshipping of saints, I shewed to you my minde before my ordinary : and yet I marvelled something, that after private communication had with him, ye would (as it were) abjure

² *Bonifacius Octavus.*] By whom in 1298 was promulgated the *Sextus liber Decretalium*. See the note at p. 129 of vol. i. of this collection.

³ *Burnt Tower.*] Latimer, or rather Fox, has here translated literally his author's name. The Spaniard, Juan de Torquemada, or in Latin *Joannes de Turcremata*, was one of the most celebrated theologians and canonists of the fifteenth century. Pope Eugenius IV. called him to Rome, invested him in 1431 with the dignity of master of the sacred palace, and appointed him his theologian at the council of Basle, where Torquemada delivered a long oration, *De Pontificis Maximi Conciliique Generalis Auctoritate*, in reply to the orator of the council. It is this to which Latimer alludes. An edition was printed at Louvain so lately as 1688. Torquemada was afterwards created priest-cardinal of San Sisto, and died in 1468. He must not be confounded with his namesake, Thomas de Torquemada, who has achieved an unhappy celebrity as founder of the Inquisition in Spain. They were members, however, of the same family, and lived at the same time.

⁴ *Maruphus.*] Or Marulphus. See Strype's *Memorials*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 247. Oxford edition.

⁵ *Marchaunt of dispensations.*] A retailer of the papal indulgences and dispensations. See Fuller's *Church History*, book v. sect. iii. p. 30—43.

me to open my minde before him, not giving me warning saving I cannot interpret evill your doinges towardes me yet neither mine ordinarie, nor you disallowed the thing said, and I looked not to escape better then doctor Crome when I have opened my minde never so much, yet I am reported to denie my preaching, of them that have hely preaching, as he was. *Sed opus est magna patientia ad sustinere calumnias malignantis ecclesie.*

"Sir, I have had more busines in my little cure since I came with you, what with sicke folkes, and what with matrinage, than I have had since I came to it, or that I would have thought a man should have in a great cure. I wonder how men can come quietly to bed which have great cures and many, and yet no venture are in none of them all. But I pray you tell me to your friendes that I said so foolishly, least I make a disservice to a Christian congregation, and divide a sweete and a restful cure. *or tot quot, with hinc requies mea in seculum seculi.*

"Syr, I had made an end of this scribbling, and was begun to write it againe more truly and more distinctlie, and to send it, but there came a man of my lord of Farleys', with a letter to appeare before my lord of London* in haste, to be punished for such excesses as I committed at my last being there. I could not performe my purpose. I doubt whether ye can see it, as it is. If ye can, well be it: if not, I pray you send it againe: and that you so doe, whether you can read it or no. Jesu mercy, what a world is this, that I shall bee put to so much labour and paines, besides great costes, above my power, for preaching of a poore simple sermon? But I trow, our Lord Christ said true: *Oportet pati, et sic intrare: tam periculosum est in Christo pie vivere, velle: yea in a Christian congregation, to make us all Christians, after the right fashion. Amen.*"

* *Then doctor Crome*—See Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 10. Also Appendix, p. 19. "There be some men that do saye, that I have abjur'd, and some saye that I am perjur'd; but the truth is, that I am not abjur'd, nor yett perjur'd."—See also the note at p. 372 of this volume.

† *Lord of Farleys*—This is not a title but a place: Farley Ham about six miles from Bath and fifteen from Latimer's parish. The Latimer family possessed a magnificent castle there, and the owner of it here alluded to by Latimer, was Sir Walter Hungerford, afterwards Lord Hungerford of Houghton. He was attainted, and suffered death by execution, early of Henry, 25th of July, 1440.—See note at p. 291 of this volume.

* *Lord of London*—Bishop Stokesley.

Against this citation, although M. Latimer did appeale to his own ordinarie⁹, requiring by him to be ordered, yet al that notwithstanding, he was had up to London before Warrham, the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of London, where he was greatlie molested, and detained a long space from his cure at home. There he being called thrise everie weeke before the said bishops, to make answere for his preaching, had certaine articles or propositions drawn out and laide to him, whereunto they required him to subscribe. At length he not onlie perceiving their practicall proceedings, but also much greeved with their troublesome unquietnes, which neither wold preach themselves nor yet suffer him to preach and to do his duty, writeth to the aforesaid archbishop partlie excusing his infirmitie, whereby hee could not appeare at their commandement, partlie expostulating with them for so troubling and detaining him from his dutie doing, and that for no just cause, but onely for preaching the truth against certaine vain abuses crept into religion, much needful to be spoken against. Which all may appeare by his epistle sent to a certaine bishop or archbishop, whose name is not expressed, the copie of which epistle is this :

The Copie¹ of the Epistle written by M. Latimer to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

“I cannot come to your palace, most reverend prelate, by reason of sickness ; not any new indisposition, but one of old standing, though lately increased by fresh aggravations.—As far as I can see, I say, and conjecture, it will not be in my power to come to you to-day, without great injury to myselfe. And that your lordship may not any longer in vain expect my arrival, lo, I send you this strange sheet, blotted by my own hand, which will be a satisfactory evidence to you of the truth of my excuse. In what I am now about to write, I wish I might be able (but the pressure of the time, and this pain in my head, both forbid it) to expostulate with you, in a manner that I have great reason to do ; for that you so long detaine me against my will, from the care of those souls which are under my charge : and particularly at this

⁹ *His own ordinarie.*] See above, p. 493.

¹ *The Copie.*] This letter is given by Fox only in the original Latin. I thought it too valuable to be omitted ; and have therefore translated it.

season² of the year, when there is most occasion for pastors to be present with their flocks.

“ And why should I not expostulate with you ! if indeed it may be permitted at all to me, so vile a slave, to plead with you so great a father. For if Peter thought it was fit, in respect of his office, that he should never cease, so long as he continued in this earthly tabernacle, to teach and admonish the people, and that so much the more urgently, the nearer he approached to death ; can it otherwise than appear very unjust, that there are, who neither teach themselves, even at this time of day (to say nothing of their not having taught in former times), nor permit those who wish to teach so to do, except only such persons as are ready to comply with their wishes through, and in every thing ?

“ In the *first* place then ; I had liberty indeed to present myself before your lordship, but to depart, and extricate myself again, seems no longer to be at my own disposal. And seeing that for this long time, one object is pretended in the beginning, and another always aimed at in the progress of my cause, I have much reason to doubt of what kind the issue will be. But the truth, as I hope, will in the end deliver me. The Lord, who is the guardian of truth, will deliver me for ever. And therefore may I never forget the words of Saint Jerome in this behalf : *Nothing can give me pain which I shall suffer in the defence of truth : for God lieth, and he will take care of me.*—*Secondly* I was summoned to appear only before the bishop of London ; and yet the whole process is carried on before you, my lord of Canterbury, occasionally surrounded by many other reverend fathers. My affair had some bounds and limits assigned it by him who sent for me up, but is now protracted by intricate and wily examinations, as if it would never find a period ; while sometimes one person, sometimes another, asks me questions, which do or do not relate to me, without measure or end. So, I say, it would seem to be, did not I myself (though perhaps somewhat uneasiously, yet I think not indiscreetly) impose some limit to their interrogatories, fearing, as I do, lest while singly I have to answer to so many, something, as it often happens, should ar-

¹ At this season.—From this passage we may presume that this letter was written in Lent.—The year was 1522.—His first citation (see above, p. 49) was in “deep winter” but some time had now elapsed since then.

advisedly fall from me, to injure a cause in other respects unimpeachable.

“ Let them be contented to profess, to assert, to defend their own propositions ; but why should the opinions of others be obtruded upon me, and I be compelled, I know not by what right, to make confession of them ? This hardship I think is unexampled ; and yet I am accounted untractable, for refusing to comply with what I deem unjust importunities. If any man has any fault to object against my preaching, as being obscure or incautiously uttered, I am ready to explain my doctrine by further discourse ; for I have never preached any thing contrary to the truth, nor contrary to the decrees of the fathers, nor, as far as I know, contrary to the catholic faith ; all which I can prove to be true by the testimonies of my enemies and calumniators. I have desired, I own, and do desire, a reformation in the judgement of the vulgar. I have desired, and still do, that they should distinguish between duties ; and that each should maintain among them its proper value, its place and time, its rank and degree. And so that all men should know, that there is a very great difference between those works which God hath prepared for each of us, zealously discharging the duties of our respective callings, to walk in, and those that are *voluntary*, which we undertake by our own strength and pleasure. It is lawful, I own, to make use of images ; it is lawful to go on pilgrimage ; it is lawful to pray to saints ; it is lawful to be mindful of souls abiding in purgatory ; but these things, which are voluntary³, are so to be moderated, that God’s

³ *Which are voluntary.*] Compare Art. XIV. of the Church of England. “ *Voluntary* works besides, over and above God’s commandments, which,” &c.

I here give the promised extract from the “ Card Sermon.”

“ Evermore bestow the greatest part of thy goods in works of mercy, and the lesse parte in *voluntary* workes.—Voluntary workes be called all manner of offerings in the church. Setting up candles, gilding and painting, building of churches, giving of ornaments, going on pilgrimages, making of highways, and such other, be called *voluntary* works ;—which works be, of themselves, marvellous good works, and convenient to be done.—*Necessary* works, and works of *mercy* are called the commandements, and such as longeth to the commandements ;—and workes of *mercie* consisteth in relieving and visiting thy poore neighbours.—Now then, if men will be so foolish of themselves, that they will bestowe the moste parte of their goodes in *voluntary* works, which they be not bound to keepe, but willinglie and by their devotion, and leave the *necessary* works undone, which they are bound to doe, they and all their voluntary works are like to goe unto everlasting damnation.

commandments of necessary obligation, which bring eternall life to those that keep them, and eternal death to those who break them, be not deprived of their just value, least from a misapprehension of love of God, and by a foolish devotion, we meet with a contrary from him, not of love, but rather of hatred. For this is to love God, that we diligently keep his commandments, according to those words of Christ, *He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me.* Let no one then so account of precepts which respect our calling in God, as to chuse rather to wander in his own inventions; seeing that in the end we shall be judged before the tribunall of Christ, according to those words, not these: as Christ says, *The word which I have spoken, it shall judge at the last day.* Who can recompence for a single commandment of God, by any inventions of his own, however ingenious or specious? Oh! that we were as zealous in the things of God, as we are busy and careful about our own fantasies. There are many works, which when done in a simple and honest manner, God does not condemn, yea rather, out of compliance with our infirmities, does in some degree approve, which, if he were before they were done, he would neither command, nor countenance as being things rather to be tolerated, when so done, than

And I promise you, if you build a hundred churches, give as much as you can make to giving of saints, and honouring of the church, and fast as many pilgrimages as thy body can well suffer, and offer as great sacrifices, if thou leave the *works of mercy* and the *commandments* unkept, no works shall nothing avail thee. No doubt the voluntary works be good, ought to be done: but yet they must be so done, that by them necessary works, and the works of *mercy* be not decayed and forgotten.

Again, if you list to give and praise Christ in your church, let them have best rents, see that before your eyes the poorer people be not of meat, drink, and clothing. Then do you deck the very true to God, and honour him in rich vestures, that will never be worn out, use yourselves according to the commandments, and then let them say your charity, and they will report what a glorious sight you have in your hearts, far more pleasing to see a *deaf man* and *deaf children*. Then let your pilgrimages, let your fasting, let your giving of alms, and they will then represent unto God, and test to what you have provided for the poor people, and how you have cared for them. But to care I say again, you have for the poor people, and for the poor people, that is the best way to please God, and to have his blessing, and to have his grace, and to have his love, and to have his peace, and to have his life, and to have his kingdom.

recommended to be done; lest haply by occasion of that commendation, those duties should come to be neglected, which are to be performed on peril of damnation. But what can be more unseemly, than to employ our preaching in that which God would neither command nor counsel, so long at least as those things thereby fall into neglect, which are commanded. I therefore hitherto stand fixed on the side of the commandments of God; so aiming, not at my own gain, but that of Christ; so seeking not my own glory, but that of God: and as long as life shall be permitted to me, I will not cease thus to continue, imitating herein all true preachers of the word, that have hitherto lived in the world.

“There are no doubt, and have long been some intolerable abuses amongst us. Why then should a preacher be called upon to recommend from the pulpit works, which, though they were seldomer performed (not to say never), I do not see that the Christian religion would suffer any loss: unless indeed we be so wretchedly blind as to think that religion consists in our own unworthy lucre, and not in the true worship of God. It cannot be, I own, that the blameable abuse of these observances can be duly censured, but that straightway the use of them shall become less frequent. And yet I had rather that some things were never done at all, than with that sort of confidence in them, which diminishes the regard to real duties. Some things, we know, are to be done, and others are not to be left undone: others again we are under no obligation of doing, and may leave undone.

“But now, is there one that does not see amongst us many manifest abuses? Who is there that sees and does not greatly lament them? Who shall lament and will not endeavour to remove them? And when can they be removed, if the use be ever extolled, and the abuse passed over in silence; nay verily it cannot be, but that the abuse must prevail, and bear the sway? It is one thing to tolerate that which may be permitted on fit occasions, and another to be always extolling it as a necessary matter, and to establish it by a law. *Go ye*, says Christ, *and teach all things*. All what things? *All*, says he, *which I have commanded you*. He does not say all which you yourselves may chuse to account necessary for preaching.—Well then, for God’s sake, let us so exert ourselves, as with one accord, to preach the

doctrines of God; lest we become as they who corrupt and make a traffick of preaching, rather than true ministers of the Gospel. Seeing especially, that men are very slow towards heavenly things; and so swift about their own, as to stand in need of the spur; being miserably deceived by false judgments, and innate superstition, contracted even from their youth; which we shall hardly be able to cure by any preaching, frequent, how vehement, how pure and sincere so ever. God therefore provide a remedy that, in these evil days, whose duty it is rather to preach themselves (for as Peter he gave us commandment to preach) do not hinder those who are willing and able to exhort, (contrary to those words, *not him who can do good*.) or else compel those to preach, who make traffick of the word, that they may so detain to destruction, the miserable commonalty, in superstitions, and confidence that cannot but fail them. Rather, O God! have mercy on us, that we may learn thy way in the earth, and not be like those, of whom it is said, *Your thoughts are not my thoughts: nor your ways as my ways, saith the Lord.*

For these reasons, I dare not, most reverend father, subscribe the bare propositions which you require of me, unwilling, as far as I may, to be the author of any continuance of the superstition of the people: and that I may not be also at the same time the author of my own damnation. Could I but be thought worthy, most venerable father, to say unto you one piece of counsel!—But I restrain myself, not hard to conjecture, how depraved and insufferable the nature of man is. But no man knows the things of a man, save the spirit of man that is in him. It is not any pride that withholds me from that subscription, which has been so often asked by your lordship to my great uneasiness. It cannot but be worthy, not to obey the fathers and leaders of the church, but it is their duty in the mean time to take care what, and to whom they give commandment, since there are occasions in which we must obey God rather than man. My head is so sore, and my whole body so weak, that I am neither able to come to you, nor to write over again, and correct this letter. Your lordship, however, I hope, will approve, if not the judgment, at least the affection with which it is written. Farewell.

In this epistle he said as ye heard he maketh mention

certaine articles or propositions, whereunto hee was required by the bishops to subscribe. The copie and effect of those articles be these.

Articles devised⁴ by the bishops, for M. Latimer to subscribe unto.

“ I beleeeve that there is a purgatorie to purge the soules of the dead after this life.

“ That the soules in purgatorie are holpen with the masses, prayers, and almes of the living.

“ That the saints do praie as mediatoours now for us in heaven.

“ That they are to be honoured of us in heaven.

“ That it is profitable for Christians to cal upon the saints, that they may pray as mediators for us unto God.

“ That pilgrimages and oblations done to the sepulchres, and reliques of saints are meritorious.

“ That they which have vowed perpetual chastity, may not marry, nor break their vow, without the dispensation of the pope.

“ That the keies of binding and loosing delivered to Peter, do still remaine with the bishops of Rome his successors, although they live wickedly; and are by no means, nor at anie time committed to lay men.

“ That men may merit and deserve at Gods hand by fasting, praier, and other good works of pietie.

“ That they which are forbidden of the bishop to preach, as suspect persons, ought to cease untill they have purged themselves before the said bishops, or their superiors, and be restored againe.

“ That the fast which is used in Lent, and other fasts prescribed by the canons, and by custome received of the Christians (except necessitie otherwise require) are to be observed and kept.

“ That God in every one of the seaven sacraments giveth grace to a man, rightly receiving the same.

⁴ *Articles devised.*] In reference to these articles, the curious reader may find it well worth his while to consult the large declaration of Latimer's friend Dr. Crome upon certain like propositions objected to him by the bishops, at this same time, March 11, 1530-1. Strype's *Eccles. Memor.*, Appendix, vol. iii. p. 19—27.

“That consecrations, sanctifyings, and blessings by use of custome received in the church, are laudable and profitable.

“That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable images of the crucifix and other saints should bee had in the churches in remembrance, and to the honor and worship of Jesus Christ and his saints.

“That it is laudable and profitable, to deck and to clothe the images, and set up burning lightes, before them, to the honor of the said saints.”

To these articles whether he did subscribe or no, it is uncertain¹. It appeareth by his epistle above written to the bishop

¹ *It is uncertaine.*] Latimer's biographers are by no means agreed as to the *fact*, and the *extent* of his recantation. It may not therefore be amiss to state briefly, how the matter appears to have stood. In the first place, the title of Stokeley's (not *Tonstall's*) register does not necessarily prove that he subscribed. For in the case of Dr. Crome, which was very similar to that of Latimer, (May 11, 1530,) we find a memorandum subjoined to the entry which it is said, that “he did acknowledge and confess his faith as following,”) to this effect, “*Nota*, that these were not subscribed, *but only recanted.*” Strype's *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 102.

Latimer's *first* trouble before the convocation was on the 3rd and 10th of March, 1530-1. Wilkins's *Concil.* vol. iii. p. 725. But this matter came to nothing, “*Uterior deliberatio in aliud tempus dilata est.*” The minutes of the convocation mention nothing of the particular subjects of complaint against him. But in one of his own sermons, he tells the clergy, that they would gladly have raked in the coals of one “who never hurt any of you, *because he would not subscribe to certayne articles, that tooke away the supremacy of the king.*” *Sermons*, fol. 11. On such a subject, it is plain his enemies would not dare to exert the whole of their strength. And therefore for that time he heard no more of him. And he was suffered to go on in his ministerial labors in the west, till he received the citation to appear before the bishop of London, of which so much has already been said. We now approach to the details of the submission recorded in *Stokeley's Register*. On March 11th, (1531-) it appears by the minutes of convocation, that being required three several times to subscribe to certain articles (probably the same which are given on this page), and having as often refused, he was pronounced contumacious by the archbishop, then excommunicated, and delivered up to Warham to be kept in safe custody at Lambeth. On the 21st, the day specified in the *London Register*, after a long debate, the archbishop not being then present, it was resolved, that if Latimer would subscribe to the eleventh and fourteenth articles, he should be absolved from the sentence of excommunication. He was also commanded to make his personal appearance at the next sitting, when and where he appeared accordingly; and kneeling down he submitted himself, craved forgiveness, and acknowledged that he had erred in preaching

that he durst not consent unto them, where he writeth in these words : *His ego nudis sententiis, subscribere non audeo, quia popularis superstitionis diutius duraturæ quoad possum, authorculus esse nolo.* But yet whether hee was compelled afterwards to agree,

against the aforesaid articles, in words as follow (*submit se, et veniam petiit, et recognovit se errasse in prædicando contra articulos prædictos*). “My lords, I do confess, that I have misordered myself very farre, in that I have so presumptuously and boldly preached, reprovng certain things, by which the people that were infirm hath taken occasion of ill. Wherefore I ask forgiveness of my misbehaviour. I will be glad to make amends. And I have spoken indiscreetly in vehemence of speaking, and have erred in some things, and in manner have been in a wrong way (as thus) lacking discretion in many things.” After which he humbly begged to be absolved from his excommunication. But that was deferred : and he was further commanded to appear again on the 10th of April : on which day he voluntarily subscribed to the eleventh and fourteenth articles, was absolved from excommunication, and directed to be forthcoming on the 15th of the same month, to hear what further should be determined respecting him. By that day a new cause of complaint appeared against him ; and he was called upon to render an account of a certain letter which he had written to one Greenwood, a master of arts in the university of Cambridge. The result of that day was, that he was commanded to come up again on the 19th. On which day he put in an appeal to the king. On the 22d the king, in a message conveyed by Gardiner bishop of Winchester, referred his cause back again to the convocation. Upon which Latimer, making his personal appearance, kneeled down, and said as follows : “That where he had aforetime confessed, that he had heretofore erred, and that he meant then it was only *error of discretion*, he hath sythens better seen his own acts, and searched them more deeply, and doth knowlege, that he hath not erred only in *discretion*, but also in *doctrine* : and said, that he was not called afore the said lords, but upon good and just ground, and hath been by them charitably and favourably intreated. And where he hath aforetime misreported of the lords, he knowledgeth, that he hath done yll in it, and desired them, humbly on his knees, to forgive him : and where he is not of ability to make them recompence, he said, he would pray for them.” After making this submission, he was taken into favour again at the special request of the king. But some bishops entered a protest, because this submission did not imply a renunciation of his errors, as was always usual in such cases. After giving his promise that he would obey the laws, and observe the decrees of the church, the bishop of London, sitting in place of the archbishop, absolved him, and restored him to the sacraments. See *Wilkins’s Concil.*, vol. iii. p. 747, 8. And yet it is plain, that the convocation still retained a great grudge against him. They were not satisfied that the renown of the victory they had gained over him, should not be propagated. And therefore in the next year (1533), as we find by the minutes, published in Wilkins, “*Primo die (26 Martii) habita fuit communicatio de examinatione magistri Hugonis Latymer, et de confessione, et submissione, et subscriptione ejus certis articulis facta de purgatorio, de veneratione sanc-*

through the cruel handling of the bishops, it is in doubt. By word and the title in Tonstalls Register prefixed before the article it may seem that he subscribed. The words of the Register be these: *Hugo Latimerus in sacra theologia bacc. in universitate Cantab. coram Cant. archiepisc. Joha. Lond. episcopo, reliquisque concione apud Westmon. cunctus, confitetur et d. recognovit et subscripsit, sic antequam ut sequitur in his artic. xxi. die Martii. 1531.* If these words be true, it may be so thought that he subscribed. And whether he so did, no great matter nor mends the iniquitie of the time being such, that either he must needs do, or els abide the bishops blessing, that is, cruel sentence of death, which he at that time (as himself confessed preaching at Stamford) was both to sustaine for such matters as these, unless it were for articles necessarie of his belief: by which words I conjecture rather that he did subscribe at length, although it was long before he could be brought so to do. Yet this by way is to be noted, concerning the crafty and deceitfull handling of these bishops in his examinations, what subtil devices they used the same time to entrap him in their snares. The first of the story he sheweth forth himselfe in a certain sermon preached at Stamford, an. 1530, Octob. 9. His words be these: "I was once" (saith he) "in examination before five or six bishops, and I had much turnoyling: every weeke thise, I came to examinations, and many snares and traps were laid to get some of us. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the laws, but that they gave me answer and wisdom what I should speak. It was indeed for else I had never escaped them. At the last I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber large, I was there where I was wont to be examined. But now at this time the chamber was somewhat altered. For whereas before I was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hangd over the chimney, and the table set by the chimney end.

There was amongst these bishops that examined me, with whom I have been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table end

1531. p. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

“Then amongst all other questions he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, and such a one indeed, as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should make answer, ‘I pray you M. Latimer,’ said one, ‘speake out, I am very thicke of hearing, and here be many that sit far off.’ I marvelled at this, that I was bidden speake out, and began to misdeeme, and gave an eare to the chimney: and sir, there I heard a penne walking in the chimney, behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers: for they made sure, that I should not start from them: there was no starting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave mee answeare, I could never else have scaped it⁶.”—The question to him there and then objected, was this: whether he thought in his conscience, that he hath been suspected of heresie. This was a captious question. There was no holding of peace would serve, for that was to graunt himselfe faultie. To answeare, it was every way full of danger. But God which always giveth in need what to answer, helped him, or else (as hee confesseth himself) he had never escaped their bloody hands. Albeit what was his answer, he doth not there expresse.

And thus hitherto you have heard declared the manifold troubles of this godly preacher in the time not only of his being in the university, but especially at his benefice, partly by his owne wordes above mentioned, and partly by his letters.

In these so hard and dangerous straites, and such snares of the bishops, hard it had beene for him, and impossible to have escaped and continued so long, hadde not the almightie helping hand of the highest, as hee stirred him up, so preserved him through the favour⁷ and power of his prince: who with much favour embraced

⁶ *Hare scaped it.*] *Sermons*, fol. 93, 4. edit. 1584.

⁷ *Through the favour.*] “How manifold wayes was hee troubled, tost and turmoyled from post to pillar, by the popish bishops, whose handes he could not have escaped, if God had not moved the kinges majesties hart, that then was, to assist him; by whose absolute power divers times he was delyvered from the cruell lions. And although it did please God in processe of tyme to suffer the kynges majestie to be deluded and circumvented by the subtle persuasions of those popishe bishoppes, to establishe by law sixe ungodlye articles: yet this faythful servaunt of Christe would rather put hys own lyfe in daunger, then forsake or depart from that, the whiche afore most faythfully he had taught out of Gods worde. Wherefore he was contented rather to be ~~into~~ into the Tower, and there to looke dayly for death, then to be found a

him, and with his moore power sometimes rescued and delivered him out of the crooked clawes of his enemies. Moreover, at length also, through the procurement, partly of Doctour Buttes^o, partly of good Cromwell, (whose storie ye heard before) hee advanced him to the degree and dignitie of a bishop, making him the bishop of Worrester^o, which so continued a few yeares instructing his diocesse, according to the duety of a diligent and vigilant pastor, with wholesome doctrine, and example of perfect conversation duely agreeing to the same.

It were a long matter to stand particularly upon such things as might here be brought to the commendation of his paines; as studie, readinesse and continuall carefulnesse in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting and reforming, either as his ability could serve, or else the time would beare. But the daies then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things doe that he would. Yet what he might doe, that hee performed to the uttermost of his strength, so that although he could not utterly extinguish all the sparkling relicks of old superstition, yet he so wrought, that though they could not be taken awaie, yet they should be used with as little hurt, and with as much profite as might be. As (for example) in this thing, as in divers other it did appeare, that when it could not be avoyded, but holy water and holy bread must needes be received, yet hee so prepared and instructed them of his diocess, with such informations and knowlege, that in receiving thereof superstition shoulde be excluded, and some remembrance taken thereby, teaching and charging the ministers of his diocess, in delivering the holie water and holie bread, to say these words following:

Words spoken¹ to the people in giving them holy water.

"Remember your promise in baptism,
Christ his mercy and bloodshedding,
By whose most holy sprinkling,
(Of all your sinnes you have free pardoning."

warening reede, or to deceave his prince."—Augustine Bernher's *Dedication to Latimer's Sermons*.

^o *Doctour Buttes.*] Sir William Buttes, the king's physician. See vol. i. p. 603.

^o *Bishop of Worrester.*] He was consecrated in the month of September, A.D. 1535.—*Le Neve's Fasti*, p. 294.

¹ *Words spoken.*] Similar interpretations of this and other ceremonies were at this time publicly adopted, and taught in the *Articles* of 1536, and the

What to say in giving holy bread.

“ Of Christs body this is a token,
Which on the crosse for our sinnes was broken,
Wherefore of your sinnes you must be forsakers,
If of Christ's death ye will be partakers.”

By this it may be considered what the diligent care of this bishop was in doing the duty of a faithful pastor among his

Institution of a Christian Man in the following year. Compare also Burnet, vol. ii. p. 117. Appendix. How much was gained even by these modifications, we might better appreciate, if we were fully in possession of all the superstitions to which these observances, in their unmodified state, were made instrumental. Let us take one example. In archbishop Cranmer's *Visitation*, A.D. 1543, “ Sir William Kemp, vicar of Northgate, was presented, because he had not read the Bible since Pentecost. He doth not declare to his parishioners the right use of holy water, holy bread, bearing of candles upon Candle-mas day, giving of ashes, bearing of palms, creeping to the cross. For lack whereof the most part of the said parish be as ignorant in such things, as ever they were: and many of them do abuse holy water, insomuch that against tempests of thunder and lightning, many run to the church for holy water to cast about their houses, to drive away evil spirits and devils, notwithstanding the king's proclamations.”—Strype's *Memor. of Cranmer*, p. 101, 102. These interpretations, however, did not satisfy the more ardent and hasty tempers of some of the friends of the Reformation, who did not scruple to condemn them with much severity as half and half temporizing measures. A curious passage to this effect may be seen in Turner's *Hunting of the Romish Fox*, Signat. C 6. D 1. impr. at Basil, 1543. There is a judicious and temperate discussion on this subject, in Tindal's *Works*, well worth perusing, in connexion with Latimer's practice and policy, and that of the church in general, at this period. See *Works*, p. 275—9. edit. 1572, *How ceremonies sprang among us*.

I subjoin here a portion of the passage from Turner. It insists forcibly upon the serious incongruities and inconsistencies which followed upon the modern practice, between the doctrine of the old Latin service still retained, and the expository qualification and comment in English.

“ Is the conjuring of salt and water to drive devils away, and to heal all sicknesses, and to take away synnes agreeing with the word of God?—Ye will answer me *in English*, that ye make not your holy water for any such intent, but only to be a remembrance of Christes bloud; but *on Sunday* ye will answer me *in Latin*, that ye make it to dryve away devils, to heale all sycknesses, and to purchase forgyveness of synnes. Your answer is prynted, and it is said every Sunday in every parish church of England, in these wordes: ‘ *Immensam tuam clementiam, omnipotens æterne Deus, humiliter imploramus,*’ &c. ‘ Almighty, everlasting God, we humbly beseech Thee that Thou wouldest vouchsafe with Thy holiness to bless and make holy thys Thy creature of salt,

flock. And moreover it is to be thought that he would have brought more things else to passe, if the time then had answered to his desire : for he was not ignorant, how the institution of holy water and holy bread, not only had no ground in scripture, but also how full of prophane exorcismes and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the gospel.—Thus this good man behaved himselfe in his dioces. But as before, both in the universitie, and at his benefice, he was tormented and turmoyled by wicked and evill disposed persons, so in his bishopricke also he was not all cleare and void of some that sought his trouble. As among manie other evill willers, one especially there was, and that no small person, which accused him then to the king for his sermons. The storie because he himselfe sheweth in a sermon of his before king Edward, I thought therefore to use his owne words which be these¹.

“ In the kings daies that dead is, a great manie of us were called together before him, to saie our mindes in certaine matters. In the end, one kneeleth downe and accuseth me of sedition, and that I had preached seditious doctrine. A heavy salutation and a hard point, of such a mans doings, as if I should name, yee would not thinke. The king turned to me and said : ‘ What say you to that, sir !’

“ Then I kneeled down, and turned me first to my accuser, and required him, ‘ Sir, what forme of preaching would you appoint me, in preaching before a king ? would you have me preach

which Thou hast gyven to the use and profit of mankynd, that it may be to all them that receyve it, helth of bothe body and soul.’ And the charm that ye say over the water every Sunday is thys : ‘ O creature of water, I conjure thee, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, and in the name of Jesu Christ hys Son, that thou may be conured water, to cast out devils, and to put away sycknesses.’ Ye say these wordes, as oft as ye make holy water. How happeneth thys, ye gentlemen of the clergy, that ye say one thing in Latin, and another in Englishe ? If any man speak agaynst this your witched water, ye defend it in the pulpit, and say, that ye make it to be a remembrance only of Christes blood, and not to dryve devils away, and to be helth of body and soul ; and on the next Sunday, ye say in Latin, that the people should not perceyve your cloked lying, that ye make it to dryve devils away, and to be helth of bothe the body and the soul. . . . To make an end of thys matter, ye say to salt, *Sal salus mentis et corporis* : ‘ Be thou helth of body and soul.’ and the Scripture sayeth of Christe : *Nec est in alio ququam salus* : ‘ There is helth in no other.’ now can ye not say, but that ye hold more popish traditions, contrary to the word of God, than one.”

¹ Which be these.] Sermons, fol. 44.

nothing as concerning a king in the kings sermon? have you anie commission to appoint me what I shall preach?' besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and he would make no answere to any of them all: he had nothing to say.

"Then I turned me to the king and submitted my selfe to his grace, and said, 'I never thought myself worthy, nor I never sued to be a preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you mislike me) to give place to my betters: for I grant there be a great many, more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your graces pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to beare their bookes after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience; give me leave to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had bin a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your realme, as I preach before your grace.'

"And I thank almightie God (which hath alwaies been my remedie) that my sayings were well accepted of the king; for like a gracious lord he turned into an other communication. It is even as the Scripture sayth; *Cor regis in manu Domini*. The Lord directeth the kings hart. Certaine of my friends came to me with teares in their eies, and told mee they looked I should have been in the tower the same night."

Besides this, divers other conflicts and combates this godlie bishop sustained in his owne country and dioces, in taking the cause of right and equitie against oppression and wrong. As for another example, there was at that time not far from the dioces of Worcester a certaine justice of peace, whome here I will not name, being a good man afterward, and now deceased. This justice in purchasing of certaine land for his brother, or for himselfe, went about to wrong or damnifie a poore man, who made his complaint to M. Latimer. He first hearing, then tendring his rightful cause, wrote his letter to the gentleman; exhorting him to remember himselfe, to consider the cause and to abstain from injury. The justice of peace not content withall, (as the fashion of men is when they are told of their fault) sendeth word againe, in great displeasure, that he would not so take it at his hands, with such threatning words, &c. M. Latimer hearing this, answered againe by writing, the copy whereof hereafter followeth:

“ Right worshipfull, *salutem in Domino*. And now sir I understand, that you be in great admirations at me, and take verie grievously my maner of writing to you, adding thereunto that you will not beare it at my hand, no not and I were the best bishop in England, &c.

“ Ah, sir? I see well I may say as the common saying is: Well have I fished, and caught a frog: brought little to passe with much ado. You wil not beare it with me you say. Why sir, what wil ye do with me? You wil not fight with me, I trow. It may seeme unseemly for a justice of peace to bee a breaker of peace. I am glad the doting time of my foolish youth is gone and past. What will you then do with mee, in that you saie you will not beare it at my hand! What hath my hand offended you? Perchance you will convent me before some judge, and call me into some court. God turne it into good, I refuse no judgment. Let us accuse one another, that one of us may amend another in the name of the Lord. Let justice proceede in judgment. And then and there, *do best, have best, for club halfe peng*. Or peradventure ye will set pen to paper, and all to rattle me in a letter, wherein confuting me, you will defend your self and your brother against me. *Now that would I see, quoth long Robin; ut dicitur vulgariter*. I cannot chuse but must alow such diligence. For so should both your integrities and innocencies best appeare. if you be able to defend both your owne proceedinga, and your brothers doings in this matter to bee upright. And then will I gladly give place confessing my fault humbly, as one conquered with just reasons. But I thinke it will not be.—But now first of all let me know what it is that ye wil not bear at my hand! What have I done with my hand! What hath my hand trespassed you? Fornooth, that can I tell, no man better: for I have charitably monished you in a secret letter, of your slipper dealing, and such like misbehaviour. *O quam grave piaculum!* What a sore matter is this! And wil ye not bear so much with me? Will yee not take such a shew of my good will towards you, and toward the saving of your soule at my hand? (O Lord God, who would have thought that maister N. had bin so impudent, that hee would not beare a godly monition for the wealth of his soule! I have in use to commit such trespasses manie times in a year with your betters by two or three degrees, both lords and ladies, of the best in the realme, and yet hitherto I have not

heard that any of them have said in their displeasure, that they wil not beare it at my hand. Are you yet to be taught, what is the office, libertie, and privilege of a preacher? What is it else, but even to rebuke the world of sinne, without respect of persons; which thing undoubtedly is the peculiar office of the Holie Ghost in the church of God, so that it be practised by lawful preachers. You could but ill beare (belike) to heare your fault openlie re-proved in the pulpit, which cannot beare the same in a secret sealed up letter, written both friendly, charitablie, and truely, unlesse perhaps to rebuke sinne sharpely, be now to lack all charitie, friendship and truth. But maister N. if you will give me leave to be plaine with you, I feare me you be so plunged in worldly purchasings, and so drowned in the manifold dregges of this deceivable world, that I weene you have forgotten your catechisme. Reade therefore againe the opening of the first commandment, and then tell mee whether you of me, or I of you, have just cause to complaine.

“Item, you said further, that I am wonderfully abused by my neighbour, &c. How so, good maister N.? Wherein? or how will you prove it to be true, and when? So you said that he had abused you, and given you wrong information; but the contrary is found true by good testimony of M. Chamber, which heard as wel as you, what my neighbour said, and hath testified the same, both to you, and against you, full like himselfe.—Master N. to forge and faine (which argueth an ill cause) that is one thing: but to prove what a man doth say, that is another thing. As though you were privileged to outface poore men and beare them in hand what you list, as may seem to make some maintenance for your naughty cause. Trust mee master N. I was but very little acquainted with my neighbour when this matter began: but now I have found him so conformable to honesty, upright in his dealings, and so true in his talk, that I esteeme him better, than I do some other whom I have perceived and found otherwaies. For I will flatter no man, nor yet claw his back in his folly, but esteeme all men as I find them, allowing what is good, and disallowing what is bad, among al men either friends or enemies, according to Paules precept not esteemed of the children of this world: *hate you, saith he, that which is evill, and cleave to that which is good.* And let us not any time for the favour of men, call good evill, and evill good, as the children of this world are commonly wont to do, as it is every where to be

scene. And now what maner of man doe you make me maister N. when you note me to be so much abused by so ignorant man, so simple, so plaine, and so farre without all wrinkles. Have I lived so long in this tottering world, and have I beene many waies turnoiled and tossed up and down, and so much, as it were seasoned with the powder of many experiences to afford me, to be now so far bewitched and alienated from my wits, as though I could not discern cheese from chalke, truth from falsehood, but that every seely soule, and base witted man might easily abuse me to what enterprise he listed at his pleasure. Well, I say not nay, but I may be abused. But why do you not tell me how your brother abused mee, promising before mee, and many mee, that hee would stand to your awardship, and now doeth denie it? Why do you not tell mee, how those two faithlesse wretches abused me, promising also to abide your awarde, and doth it not? Yea, why do you not tell me, how you your selfe have abused me, promising me to redresse the injurie and wrong that your brother hath done to my neighbour, and have not fulfilled your promise? These notable abuses be nothing with you, but onely you must needs burthen me with my neighbours abusing mee, which is none at all, as far forth as ever I could perceiue, so God helpe me in my need. For if he hath abused me as you and other have done, I should bee soon at point with him, for any thing further doing for him.

Item sir, you said further, that I shall never be able to prove that either your brother, or the two tenants agreed to stand to your award. No, sir? Master N. you say belike as you would have it to be, or as your brother with his adherentes have perswaded you to thinke it to be, so inducing you to doe the request to your owne shame and rebuke, if you persevere in the same, beside the perill of your soule, for consenting at least away to the maintenance by falsehood of your brothers iniquity. I thinke that you would your awardshippe should take none effect, as though your selfe nothing inclinable to the redresse of your brother's wrong dealing with an honest poore man, which hath beene ready at your request to doe you pleasure with his things, or as though he had never come into this wrangle for his own goods with your brother.

Alas master N. what maner of man doe you shewe your selfe to be? or what manner of conscience doe you shewe your selfe to have? For first as touching your brother you know right

wel, that sir Thomas Cokin with a letter of his own hand writing, hath witnessed unto your brothers agreement, which letter he sent to me unsealed, and I shewed the same to my neighbour and other mo ere I sealed it, and perchance have a copy of the same yet to shew. With what conscience then can you say that I shall never be able to prove it? Shall not three men upon their othes make a sufficient prooffe, trow you? The Lord himsele saying: *in the mouth of two or three, &c.* Yea, you thinke it true I dare saie, in your conscience, if you have any conscience, though I were in my grave, and so unable to prove any thing. And as for the two tenants, they be as they be, and I trust to see them handled according as they be: for there be three men alive that dare sweare upon a booke, that they both did agree. But what should we looke for at such mens hands, when you your selfe plaie the part you do. But God is yet alive, which seeth all, and judgeth justly.

“Item sir, you said yet further, that the justices of peace in the countrey, thinke you very unnaturall, in taking part with me before your brother. Ah maister N. what a sentence is this to come out of your mouth? For partaking is one thing, and ministering of justice is another thing: and a worthie minister of justice will bee no partaker, but one indifferent betweene partie and partie. And did I require you to take my part, I pray you? No: I required you to minister justice betweene your brother and mine neighbour without any partaking with either other. But what maner of justices bee they I pray you, which would so faine have you to take part naturally with your brother, when you ought and should reforme and amend your brother? as you yoursele know, no man better. What? Justices? no, jugglers you might more worthilie cal such as they be, than justices. Bee they those justices which call you unnaturall, for that you will not take your brothers part against all right and conscience, whome you had picked out and appointed to have the finall hearing and determining of my neighbors cause after your substantial and final award making? Verely I think no lesse. Forsooth hee is much beholding to you, and I also for his sake. Is that the wholsome counsell that you have to give your poore neighbors in their neede? In deede you shew your selfe a worthy jugler, oh, I would have said a justicer, among other of your jugling and partaking justices. *Deum bonum*, what is this world? Mary sir, my neighbour had spun a faire thred, if your partaking

justices through your good counsell had had his matter in ordering and finishing. I pray God save me and all my friends, with all Gods flock, from the whole fellowship of your so naturall and partaking justices, Amen.

“ Lord God, who would have thought that there had bene so many partaking justices, that is to say, unjust justices in Warwickshire, if maister N. himself one of the same order (but altogether out of order) and therefore knoweth it best, had not tolde us the tale? But these call you, you saie, very unnaturall, &c. And why not rather, I pray you, too much naturall? For we read of a double nature, sound and corrupt. That was ful of justice. This, unless it be restored, abideth alwaies unjust, bringing forth the fruits of wickednes one after an other. So that he that wil not helpe his brother having a just cause in his need, may be justly called unnaturall, as not doing according to the instincte of nature, either as it was at the beginning, or as it was restored. But he that will so take his brothers parte against right, as to ratifie his brothers wrong deceiving, he is too much naturall, as one following the disposition and inclination of corrupt nature against the will of God: and so to be naturall may seeme to be eater cosin or cosin germaine with, to be diabolicall.

“ Item sir, finally and last of all you added these wordes following. Well, quoth you, let maister Latimer take heed how he medleth with my brother, for hee is like to finde as crabbed and as froward a peece of him, as ever he found in his life. Ah sir and is your brother such a one as you speake of indeede? mercifull God, what a commendation is this for one brother to give another: is this your glorying my friend? And were it not possible to row you, to make him better? it is written? *Correction giveth understanding.* And againe, *It is good, O Lord, that thou hast humbled me.* At least way I may pray to God for him as David did for such like, after this sort, *bind fast asses with brethren and assaile, that they approche not neere unto thee.* In the mean while I would I had never known neither of you both. for so should I have bene without this inwarde sorrow of my heart, to see such untowardnesse of you both to godlinesse: for I cannot be so heavy harted, to see such men so wickedly minded.

“ Wherefore knowing so well your brothers cause to be so naughtie, why have you not indavourd your selfe, as a worthy justice, to reforme him accordingly, as I required you and you promised me to do: now almost twelve months agoe, if not a-

gether?—*Summa Summarum*, maister N. if you will not come off shortly, and apply yourself thereunto more effectually hereafter then you have done heretofore, be you wel assured thereof, I shal detect you to al the friends that I have in England, both hie and lowe, as well his crabbednesse and frowardnesse, as your colourable supportation of the same, that I trust I shall be able thereby, either to bring you both to some goodnesse, or at least way I shall so warne my friends and all honest hearts to beware of your ilnesse, that they shall take either no hurt at all, or at least way, lesse harme by you through mine advertisement; in that, knowing you perfectly, thay may the better avoide and shunne your company. You shall not stay mee maister N. no though you would give mee all the lands and goods you have, as rich as you are noted to be. I wil not forsake such a just cause, neither will I communicate with other mens sins. For whether it be by detestable pride, whether by abominable avarice, or by both two linked together, it is no small iniquity to keepe any poore man so long from his right and duty so stifneckedly and obstinately, or whether ye wil crabbedly and frowardly. And what is it then any manner of waies to consent to the same? You know I trow, maister N. what theft is, that is, *to take or detein by any maner of way, an other mans good against his will that is the owner*, as some define it. If he be a theefe that so doth openly, what shall hee be that approveth him which is the doer, defendeth, maintaineth and supporteth him by any manner of colour? Consider with your self good maister N. what it is to oppresse and to defraud your brother in his businesse, and what followeth thereof. It is truely said, the sin is not forgiven, except the thing bee restored againe that is taken away. No restitution, no salvation: which is as wel to be understood, of things gotten by fraude, guile, and deceite, as of things gotten by open theft and robbery. Wherefore let not your brother maister N. by cavillation continue in the divels possession. I will doe the best I can, and wrastle with the divel, *omnibus viribus*, to deliver you both from him. I will leave no one stone unmoved to have both you and your brother saved. There is neither archbishop nor bishop, nor yet any learned man either in universities or elsewhere, that I am acquainted withall that shall not write unto you, and in their writing by their learning confute you. There is no godly man of lawe in this realme that I am acquainted withall, but they shall write unto you, and confute you by the lawe. There is neither

lord nor lady, nor yet any noble personage in this realme, that I am acquainted withall, but they shall write unto you, and godly threaten you with their authoritie.

"I will do all this: yea, and kneele upon both my knees before the kings majestie, and all his honourable councell, with most humble petition for your reformation, rather than the divell shal possesse you still, to your finall damnation. So that I doe not despaire, but verily trust, one way or other, to plucke both you, and also your crabbed brother, as crabbed as you say hee is, out of the divells claws, maugre the divels heart.

"These premisses well considered, looke upon it, good maister N. that wee have no farther adoe. Gods plague is presentlie upon us: therefore let us now diligently looke about us, and in no wise defend, but willinglie reknowledge, and amend whatsoever hath been amisse.

"These were the capitall points of your talke, as I was informed, after you had perused that my nipping and unpleasant letter: and I thought good to make you some answer to them, if perchance I might so moove you, the rather to call your selfe to some better remembrance, and so more earnestly apply your selfe to accomplishe and performe what you have begun and promised to doe, namely the thing itselfe being of such sort, as apparently tendeth both to your worship, and also to Gods high pleasure.

"Thus loe with a mad head, but yet a good will, after long scribbling I wot not wel what (but I know you can read it, as I comprehend it well enough) I bid you most hartily wel to fare, a the Lord, with good health, and long life to Gods pleasure. Amen. From Barsterby the 15. of June."

It were a large and long processe to story out all the doings, travels and writings of this Christian bishop, neither yet have we expressed all that came to our hands: but this I thought sufficient for this present.

Thus he continued in this laborious function of a bishop, the space of certaine yeares, till the coming in of the sixe articles. Then being distressed through the straightnesse of time, so that either he must lose the quiet of a good conscience, or else forsake his bishoprick, he did of his owne free accord resigne his pastership. At which time Shaxton the bishop of Salisbury

resigned likewise with him his bishoprick. And so these two remained a great space unbishopped, keeping silence till the time of king Edward of blessed memorie.—At what time he first put off his rochet in his chamber among his friends, sodainly he gave a skip in the floor for joy, feeling his shoulders so light, and being discharged (as he said) of such an heavy burden. Howbeit neither was he so lightned, but that troubles and labors followed him whersoever he went. For a little after he had renounced his bishoprick, first he was almost slain, but sore brused with the fall of a tree. Then comming up to London for remedy, he was molested and troubled of the bishops, whereby he was againe in no little danger, and at length was cast into the Tower⁴, where he continually remained prisoner, till the time that blessed king Edward entred his crowne, by meanes whereof the golden mouth of this preacher, long shut up before, was now opened again. And so he beginning afresh to set forth his plough againe, continued all the time of the said king, laboring in the Lords harvest most fruitfullie, discharging his talent, as well in divers other places of this realm, as in Stamforde, and before the dutches of Suffolke⁵

⁴ *Into the Tower.*] “He was contented rather to be cast into the Tower, and there to looke dayly for death, than to be found a wavering reed, or to deceive his prince. ‘For they’ (said he) ‘that do allow any thing disagreeyng from God’s word, in respect to fulfill the appetites of princes, are betrayers and murderers of their princes, because they provoke the wrath of God to destroy such princes: and these flatterers become guiltie of the blood of their princes, and are the chief causes of their destruction.’”—Dedication prefixed to Latimer’s *Sermons*, by August. Bernher, his faithful servant. It is probably to this time, and to these six articles, that Latimer himself refers in one of his sermons before king Edward. “I wyll tell you what a bysshop of this realme sayd once to me. He sent for me, and marvelled that I would not consent to such traditions, as were then sette out. And I aunswered him, that I would be ruled by God’s booke; and rather than I would dissent one jotte from it, I would be torne with wilde horses, &c.” Fol. 37, b. edit. 1584.

⁵ *Dutches of Suffolke.*] Katharine, daughter and heir of William, lord Willoughby of Eresby, fourth and last wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. See note at p. 29. At Grimsthorpe in Lincolnshire.—Bernher’s *Dedication*. “Now I entend, at the request of my most gracious lady, to expound to you, her household servantes, and other that be willing to hear, the right understanding and meaning of this most perfect prayer (the Lord’s Prayer).” *Sermons*, fol. 120, b. They appear to have been preached in the hall of the mansion.—*Ibid.* fol. 174, b. As we see, in the paragraph before us, he preached also at court “in the same place of the inward (*privy*) garden, which was before, &c.”

(whose sermons be extant and set forth in print) as also at London in the convocation house⁶: and especiallie before the king

⁶ *In the convocation house.*] He preached the *Concio ad Clerum*, at opening of the convocation, June 9, 1536, about nine months after he had been made bishop, appointed to preach, as he tells us, "by commandment of our primate" (archbishop Cranmer). In this discourse he expresses himself with the freedom which might be expected from him. One passage, as regards his own history, will be proper for insertion in this place.

"What have you done hitherto, I pray you, these seven yeares and more? What have brought forth? What fruite is come of your long and great assembly? What one thinge, that the people of England hath been the better for an hair? Or, you yourselves, either accepted before God, or better discharged toward the people, committed unto your cure? For that the people is better learned and taught nowe, then they were in time past, to whether of these ought we to attribute it, to your industry, or to the providence of God, and the foreseeing of the king's grace? Ought we to thank you; or the king's highness? Whether stirred other first; you, the king, that you made us preach; or he you, by his letters, that yee should preach after? Is it well knowne, thinke you, how both yee and your curates were in a manner by violence enforced to let bookes, not made by you, but by prophane and unlearned persons, to let them, I saye, be solde abroad, and read for the instructing of the people.—I am bolde with you, but I speake Latine, and not English. (We are in possession only of the English copy; by whom translated I think, does not appear; "to the clergy, not to the laity. I speake to you being present, and not behind your backes. God is my witness, I saye whatsoever is spoken, of the good will that I beare you: God is my witness, whiche knoweth my hart, and compelleth me to say, that I say.

"Now I pray you, in God's name, what did you, so great fathers, many, so long a season, so oft assembled together? What went you about? What would you have brought to pass, two things excepted? The one that ye whiche I heard burned a dead man." this was William Tracy, Esq., Toddington, Gloucestershire. Fox's *Acts*, p. 951: the other, that ye whiche I felt, went about to burne one "himself "being alive. Him, because he did, I cannot tell how, in his Testament, withstand your profit; in conscience, as I have heard, a very good man; reported to be of an honest life while he lived; full of good workes, good both to the clergy, and also to the laity. This other, whiche truly never hurt any of you, ye would have run in the condes, because he would not subscribe to certeyne articles, that take away the supremacy of the king. Take away these two noble actes, and there is nothing is left, that ye went about that I know. saying that I remember, that somewhat ye attempted against Erasmus, albeit as yet it is come to light." *Fruitful Sermons, preached by the right rev. father, Hugh Latimer*, fol. 10, 11. 4to. 1554.

Towards the close he addresses them in the following extraordinary and pointed of keen irony, and affectionate impressive sympathy.

"If there be nothing to be amended abroad concerning the whole world, every one of us make one better. If there be neyther abroad nor at home

the court, in the same place of the inward garden which was before applied to lascivious and courtlie pastimes, there hee dispensed the fruitfull word of the glorious gospell of Jesus Christ, preaching there before the king and his whole court, to the edification of manie⁷.

any thing to be amended, my lords be ye of good cheare, be merry : and at the least because we have nothing els to do, let us reason the matter how we may become richer. Let us fall to some pleasant communication : after, let us go home, even as good as we came hyther ; that is, right-begotten *children of the world*, and utterlye worldlinges. And while we live here, let us all make *bon chare*. For after this life, there is small pleasure, little mirth for us to hope for ; if now there be nothing to be changed in our actions. Let us say, not as S. Peter did, *Our ende approacheth nigh* ; this is an heavy hearing : but let us saye, as the evil servant sayd, *It will be long ere my master come*. This is pleasaunt. Let us beate our fellowes : let us eate and drinke with dronkardes.—But God will come : God will come, he will not tarry long away. He will come upon such a day, as we nothing look for him ; and at such an hour as we knowe not. He will come and cut us in peeces. He will reward us as he doth the hypocrites. He will set us where wayling shall bee, my brethren ; where gnashing of teeth shall be, my brethren.—And let here be the end of our tragedy, if ye will.” Ibid. fol. 16.

⁷ *The edification of manie.*] Among the effects of his preaching may be mentioned the case of John Bradford, the martyr, as it is related by Dr. Thomas Sampson, in the preface to Bradford’s *Sermon on Repentance*.

“Even in this mean time he heard a sermon, which the notable preacher, Mr. Latimer, made before k. Edward VI., in which he did earnestly speak of *restitution* to be made of things falsely gotten : which did so strike Bradford to the heart, for one dash with a pen which he had made without the knowledge of his master, (as full often I have heard him tell with plenty of tears) being clerk to the treasurer of the king’s camp beyond the seas, which was to the deceiving of the king, that he could never be quiet, till by the advice of the same Mr. Latimer, a restitution was made. Which thing to bring to pass, he did willingly forbear and forego all that private and sorry patrimony which he had upon earth.”

Latimer himself mentions several cases of a similar nature.

“I have now preached three Lents.—The first time I preached *restitution*. *Restitution* (quoth some), what should he preach of restitution? Let him preach contrition (quoth they), and let restitution alone At my first preaching of restitution, one man tooke remorse of conscience, and acknowledged himselfe to me, that he had deceived the king, and willing he was to make restitution : and so the first Lent came to my hands twenty pounds to be restored to the king’s use. I was promised twenty pounds more the same Lent, but it could not be made ; so that it came not. Well : the next Lent came 320*l.* more. I received it myselfe and paid it to the kings council. So I was asked, what he was that made this restitution. But should I have named him? Nay, they should as soon have this wesaunt of mine. Well : now this Lent came 180*l.* ten shillings, which I have paid and delivered this

In this his painefull travell he occupied himselfe all k. Edwards daies, preaching for the most part everie sundaie twice, to no small shame of all other loytering and unpreaching prelates, which occupie great roomes and doe little good: and that so much more to their shame, because he being a sore brused man by the fall of the tree, mentioned a little before, and above sixty seven years of age, took so little ease, and care of sparing himselfe, to doe the people good.

Now to speake heere of his indefatigable travell and diligence in his owne private studies; who notwithstanding both his yeares, and other paines in preaching, everie morning ordinarilie, winter and sommer, about two of the clocke^a in the morning was at his booke most diligentlie. How carefull his heart was of the preservation of the church and the good successe of the gospell, his letters can testifie, wherewith he continually admonished such as then wer in authority, of their dutie, and assisted them with his godlie counsell.

As the diligence of this man of God never ceased at the time of king Edward^c, to profit the church both publikelie and privatelie, so among other doings in him to be noted, this is not lightlie to be overpassed, but worthie to be observed, that God not onlie

present day to the kings council. If every man that hath beguiled the king should make restitution after this sort, it would cough the king 20,000. I thanke quoth I. Yea, that it would quoth the other, a while. 100,000. Alack! alack! make restitution, for Gods sake, make restitution. See a before k. Edward, xvi. 1500. *Sermons*, fol. 111.

^a *Two of the clocke*. All these particulars of a more private nature are authenticated by his faithful servant Augustine Bernier, in his letter addressed to the duchess of Suffolk, prefixed to the *Sermons*.

^c *The time of king Edward*. Much of his time, during this reign, was spent with archbishop Cranmer at Lambeth. See *Sermons*, fol. 40.

During the whole of this interval, he was a very frequent preacher, not only at St. Paul's cross, and other places. And his sermons, as they were matter of great delight and improvement to the friends of the reformation, so was their ever lasting popularity regarded with much dislike and pain by the opposite party. "I told Haggard, I can give thanks," says Richard Cresswell, "that you have learned something at Father Latimer's sermons. I thought your learning further were for lyke purpuse, as you have learned from Father Latimer's sermons, to hear, and note, and beare witness, as we do." But I would wish that you had learned a little more. *Confession to the Learned to the Blind*, called the *Abuse of the Learned Sermons of the Auctor*, signed A. H. 1540. It is probable, from other parts of the text, that the person for whom Haggard is indebted to have acted as a spy, was bishop Cranmer.

gave unto him his spirit plentifully and comfortably to preach his word¹ unto his church, but also by the same spirit he did so

¹ *To preach his word.*] Latimer has related two or three agreeable incidents referring to his connexion with Cranmer and Lambeth; which seem to deserve insertion in any narrative of his life; and I give them therefore a place in mutual juxta-position here.

“I cannot goe to my booke for poore folkes coming unto me, and desiring that I will speake that their matters may be heard; I trouble my lord of Canterbury; and, being at his house, I now and then walke in the garden looking in my book, yet so as I can do but little good at it: but something I must needs do to satisfy this place. No sooner am I in the garden, and have read a while, but by and by cometh there some one or other knocking at the gate. Anon commeth my man and sayth, syr, there is one at the gate would speake with you. When I come there, then it is some one or other that desireth me that I will speak that his matter might be heard, and that he hath layne thus long at great costs and charges, and cannot once have his matter come to the hearing . . . It is a great pity that such things should so be.” Second Sermon before k. Edward; *Sermons*, fol. 40.

“O there is a writer hath a jolly text here, and his name is Dionysius. I chaunced to meete with his booke in my lorde of Canterburys library. He was a monke of the Charter-house. I marvell to finde such a sentence in that author. What, he asks, taught Christ in this sermon? Marry, sayth he, *it is not written*. And he addeth more unto it, thus: *Evangelistæ tantum scripserunt de sermonibus et miraculis Christi, quantum cognoverunt, inspirante Deo, sufficere ad ædificationem ecclesiæ, ad confirmationem fidei, et ad salutem animarum*. It is true, it is not written. All his miracles were not written; so neither were all his sermons written: yet, for all that, the evangelistes did write *so much as was necessary*.” Sixth sermon before k. Edward. *Sermons*, fol. 74 b.

“What should be the cause, that our Saviour Christ went into the boate? What should be the cause, why he would not stand on the bancke and preach there, but he desired Peter to drawe the boate somewhat from the shore into the middest of the water: what should be the cause?—One cause was, for that he might sit there more commodiously than on the bancke. Another cause was, for that he was like to be thrust into the pond by the people that came unto him.—Why, our Saviour Christ might have withstood them; he was strong enough to have kept himselfe from thrusting into the water! He was stronger than they all; and, if he had listed, he might have *stoode* on the water, as well as he *walked* on the water!—Truth it is, so he might have done indeed. But as it was sometimes his pleasure to shew the power of his godhead, so he declared nowe the infirmity and imbecility of his manhood.

“Here he giveth us an example what we shall doe; we must not tempt God by any miracles, so long as we may walke by ordinary wayes. As our Saviour Christ, when the devil had him on the top of the temple, and woulde have had him cast himselfe downe, he made him this answer, Thou shalt not tempt thy Lord God. It is no time now to shew any myracles; there is another way to go down, by gresings (*steps*). Thus he did to shew us an

evidentlie foreshew and prophecie of all those kindes of plagues afore, which afterward ensued, that if England ever had a prophet he might seeme to be one. And as touching himselfe, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the gospell would cost him his life, to the which he no lesse cheerefullie prepared himselfe, then certainly was perswaded that Winchester was kept in the Tower for the same purpose, as the event did too truelie prove the same. For after the death of the said blessed k. Edward, not long after queene Marie was proclaimed, a pursivant was sent downe (by the meanes no doubt of Winchester) into the country, to call him up, of whose comming although M. Latimer lacked no forewarning, being premonished about sixe houres before by one John Careles, yet so far off was it that he thought to escape, that he prepared himselfe towards his journey before the said pursivant came to his house.

At the which thing when the pursivant marvelled, seeing him so prepared towards his journey, he said unto him: "My friend, you be a welcome messenger to mee. And bee it knowne unto you, and to the whole world, that I goe as willingly to London at this present, being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the worlde. I doubt not but that God, as hee hath made mee worthy to preach his word before two excellent princes, so hee will able me to witnesse the same unto the third, either to her comfort or discomfort eternallie." At the which time the pursivant, when he had delivered

example, that we must not tempt God, except it be in extreme necessity. We must leave it all to God, and not tempt the majesty of his deity.

"Well; he comes to Symons boate, and why rather to Symons boate than another? I will answer, as I finde by experience in my selfe. I came hither to-day from Lambeth in a wherry, and when I came to take boate, the watermen came about, as the manner is, and he would have me, and he would have me. I took one of them. Now ye will aske me why I came in that boate, rather than in another? Because I would go into that, that I could stand next me, it stoode more commodiously for me. And so I came in Symons boate. It stoode nearer for him, he saw a better boate than I. A good natural reason.

"Now come the papistes, and they will make a mystery of it, they will picke out the superfluous of the Bishop of Rome in Peters boate. We will make allegories enough of every part in Scripture. But surely, it needes be a simple matter that standeth on so weak a ground. I beseeche God to open their eyes, that they may see the truth." Sermon upon mon before king Edward, Sermons, fol. 72.

his letters, departed, affirming that hee had commandement not to tary for him. By whose sodaine departure it was manifest that they would not have him appeare, but rather to have fled out of the realme. They knew that his constancie should deface them in their poperie, and confirme the godlie in their truth.

Thus master Latimer being sent for, and comming up to London, through Smithfield (where merily he said that Smithfield had long groned for him) was brought before the councel, where he patiently bearing all the mockes and taunts given him by the scornefull papists, was cast again into the Tower², where he being assisted with the heavenlie grace of Christ, sustained most patient imprisonment a long time, notwithstanding the cruell and unmercifull handling of the lordly papists, which thought then their kingdome would never fall. Yet hee shewed himselfe not onelie patient, but also cheerefull in and above all that which they could or would worke against him: yea such a valiant spirit the Lord gave him, that hee was able not onelie to despise the terriblesse of prisons and torments, but also to deride and laugh to scorn the doings of his enemies. As it is not unknowne to the eares of many, what he answered to the lieutenant being then in the Tower. For when the lieutenants man upon a time came to him, the aged father, kept without fier in the frostie winter, and well nigh starved for colde, merilie bad the man tell his master, "that if hee did not looke the better to him, perchance he would deceive him." The lieutenant hearing this, bethought himselfe of these words, and fearing least that indeed he thought to make some escape, began to look more straitlie to his prisoner, and so comming to him, beginneth to charge him with his words, reciting the same unto him which his man had told him before; how that if he were not better looked unto, perchance he would deceive him. "Yea master lieutenant, so I saide," quoth hee, "for you looke I thinke that I should burne: but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am like heere to starve for colde."

Many such like answers and reasons, merrie, but savorie, comming not from a vaine minde, but from a constant and quiet rea-

² *Into the Tower.*] "This day," Sept. 13, 1553, "Hugh Latymer clerke, appeared before the lordes, and *for his sedicyous demeanor* was comytte to the Towre, there to remaine as close prisoner, having attending upon him Austeyn his servaunte."—Minutes of Privy Council, in Haynes's *Burghley State Papers*, p. 183.

son. proceeded from that man, declaring a firme and stable hart. little passing for all this great blustering of their terrible threaten. but rather deriding the same.

Thus master Latimer passing a long time³ in the Tower. with as much patience as a man in his case could do. from thence was transported to Oxford with doctor Cranmer archbishop of Canturbury. and master Ridley bishop of London. there to dispute upon articles sent downe from Gardiner bishop at Winchester: the maner and order of which disputations betweene them and the universitie doctours. is hereafter sufficiently expressed. Where also is declared, how and by whom the said Latimer with his other fellowe prisoners, were condemned after the disputations, and so committed againe to the prison. and there they continued from the moneth of Aprill. to the moneth of October: where they were most godlie occupied, either with brotherlie conference. or with fervent praier. or with fruitfull writing.

How Thomas Cranmer archbishop, bishop Ridley, and M. Latimer were sent downe to Oxford to dispute, with the order and manner. and all other circumstances unto the said disputation, and also to their condemnation, appertaining.

About the tenth of Aprill, 1554. Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, Ridley bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, bishop also sometime⁴ of Worcester. were conveyed as prisoners from thence

³ *A long time.* This procrastination in his case, and that of Cranmer and Ridley, was contrary to what had been at first expected, as we learn from a letter of Ridley to John Bradford, who intimates also the supposed reason upon which the delay was grounded.

"What God will do with us, He knoweth. In the mean time we must be content to behold how the wisdom of God hath infatuated the policy of the world, and scattered the crafty devices of the worldly wise. For when the state of religion was once altered, and persecution began to wax hot, no man it should but Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley should have been the first to have been called to the stake. But the subtle policy of the world, setting us aspart, first assaulted them by whose infirmity they thought to have more advantage. But God disappointed their subtle purpose. For whom the world esteemed weakest, praised be God! they have found most strong sound, and valiant in Christ's cause, unto the death, to give such an onset as, I dare say, all the angels in heaven do not less rejoice to behold in them, than they do in the victorious constancy of Peter, Paul, Euseb, Elias, or Jeremy." *Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 48.

⁴ *Bishop also sometime.* See above, p. 540.

Tower to Windsor; and after from thence to the university of Oxford, there to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the presence, substance and sacrifice of the sacrament^s. The names of the univer-

^s *Of the sacrament.*] It will be satisfactory and useful to the reader to see all the main points of this grand controversy enumerated and placed before him in one view, as they are stated with great care, distinctness and ability, by Ridley, in his valuable *Treatise on the Lord's Supper*, written in prison and a very short time before his martyrdom.

“The controversie, no doubt, which at this day troubleth the church (wherein any meane learned man, either olde or newe, doth stande), is not, whether the holy sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ is no better than a peece of common bread or no; or whether the Lord's table is no more to be regarded, than the table of any earthly man, or no; or whether it is but a bare signe or figure of Christ and nothing else, or no. For, all do graunt, that S. Paules words do require, that the bread which we break is the partaking of the body of Christ; and also do graunt, hym that eateth of that bread, or drinketh of that cup unworthelye, to be guiltie of the Lordes death, and to eate and drinke his owne damnation, because he esteemeth not the Lordes body; all do graunt that these wordes of S. Paule, when he sayth, ‘If we eate, it avantageth us nothing: or if we eate not, we want nothing thereby’ (1 Cor. viii. 8): are not spoken of the Lords table, but of other common meates.

“Thus then hetherto yet we all agree.—But now let us see wherein the dissension doth stande. The understandyng of that wherein it doth chiefly stande is a step to the true searching forth of the truth: for who can seeke well a remedye, if he knowe not before the disease?

“It is neyther to be denied nor dissembled, that in the matter of this sacrament there be divers pointes, wherein men counted to be learned, cannot agree:—as, Whether there be any transubstantiacion of the bread, or no? Any corporall and carnal presence of Christes substance, or no? Whether adoration, onely due unto God, is to be done to the sacrament, or no? And whether Christes body be there offered indeede unto the heavenly Father by the priest, or no? Or whether the evyll man receyveth the natural body of Christ, or no?—Yet nevertheless, as in a man diseased in divers partes, commonly the original cause of such divers diseases, which is spread abroad in the body, do come from one chiefe member, as from the stomacke, or from the head: even so all those *fyve* aforesaid poyntes doo chiefly hang upon this one question, which is, what is the *matter* of the sacrament? whether it is the natural substaunce of bread, or the natural substaunce of Christes owne bodye?—The truth of this question truly tried out and agreed upon, no doubt shall cease the controversy in all the rest. For if it bee Christes owne natural body, borne of the Virgin, then assuredly (seeing that al learned men in England, so far as I knowe, both new and old, graunt there is but *one* substance), then, I say, they must nedes graunt transubstantiation: that is, a chaunge of the substaunce of bread into the substaunce of Christes body:—then also they must graunt the carnal and corporal presence of Christes

sitie doctors and graduates appointed to dispute against them.

body : then must the sacrament be adored with the honour due unto Christ himselfe, for the unitie of the two natures in one person : then if the priest do offer the sacrament, he doth offer indeede Christ himselfe : and finally the murderere, the adulterer or wicked man, receyvyng the sacrament, needes there receive also the natural substance of Christes owne blessed body, both flesh and bloud.

“ Now, on the other side, if after the truth shall be truly tried out, it be founde, that the substance of bread is the naturall substance of the sacrament, although, for the chaunge of the use, office and dignity of the bread, the bread indeed is sacramentallye chaunged into the body of Christ, as the water in baptism is sacramentally chaunged into the fountaine of regeneration, and yet the natural substance thereof remayneth all one, as it was before : if, I say, the true solution of that former question, whereupon all these controversies do hang, be, that the natural substance of bread is the ~~maine~~ substance in the sacrament of Christes blessed body : then must it needes follow of the former proposition (confessed of all that be named to be learned so farre as I do knowe, in England), which is, that there is but one material substance in the sacrament of the body, and one onely likewise in the sacrament of the blood—that there is no such thing in deepe and in truth, as they call transubstantiation, for the substance of *the bread remayneth still* in the sacrament of the body : then also the natural substance of Christes humane nature, which he tooke of the virgin Mary, is in heaven, where it ~~remayneth~~ now in glorie, and not there enclosed under the forme of bread : then the godly honour whiche is only due unto God the Creatour, and maye not be due to the creature without adoltrye and sacrilege, is not to be due unto the bodye sacrament : then also the wicked, I mean the unrepentant adulterer or such lyke, doo not receive the natural substance of the body and bloud of Christ : finally, then doth it follow, that Christes body and blood, which was once onely offered and shed upon the crosse being available for the synnes of all the whole world, is offered up againe in the natural substance thereof, neither by the priest nor any other thing.

“ But here before we go any further to search in this matter and to search as it were, to search and try out, as we may, the truth hereof, let us see first, what shall come by the way to knowe, whether they that are named as severall solution unto the former principall question, do take awaye or take awaye not the presence of Christes body and blood from the sacrament created by Christ, and duly ministered according to his holy word and institution of the same. And here as they do say that some say, so they say, or so they make. — Here if any man do or saye, that the words which are written already in this matter of them that thus do say, are not the matter point.

“ Now if they now say, what avails the presence of the sacrament, as I have doctored above. — Briefly they shew the presence of Christes body and blood, natural substance of his humane nature, as accepted and granted to be one of the same substance, that is, they affirm and say, that the substance of the natural body and blood of Christ is onely remaining in heaven, and is not

were these ; of Oxford, doctor Weston⁶ prolocutor, D. Tresham⁷, D. Cole⁸, D. Oglethorpe⁹, D. Pie¹, M. Harpsfield², M. Fecknam³.

be unto the later day, when he shall come agayne in glory, accompanied with the angels of heaven, to judge both the quicke and the dead. And the same natural substance of the very body and bloud of Christ, because it is united unto the divine nature in Christ, the second person of the Trinitie, therefore it hath not onely life in itselfe, but is also able to geve and doth geve lyfe unto so many as be or shal be partakers thereof; that is, to all that do beleve in hys name, whyche are not borne of bloud, as S. John sayth, or of the wyl of the flesh, or of the wyl of man, but are borne of God; though the selfe same substaunce abide stil in heaven, and they for the time of theyr pilgrimage dwel here upon earth. By grace, I say, that is, by the gyft of thys lyfe, mencioned in S. John, and the properties of the same, mete for our pilgrimage here upon earth, the same body of Christ is here present with us. Even as for example, we saye, the same sunne, which in substance never remooveth his place out of the heavens, is yet present here by his beames, light, and natural influence, where it shineth upon the earth: for Gods word and his sacramentes be, as it were, the beames of Christ, which is *sol justitiæ*, the sunne of righteousness.

“Thus hast thou heard, of what sort or sect soever thou be, wherein doth stand the principal state and chiefe point of all the controversies which do properly pertain unto the *nature* of the sacrament. As for the *use* thereof, I graunt there be many other thinges whereof here I have spoken nothing at all.” Signat. F 6.—G 2. edit. 1574. 12mo.

The treatise is given entire in the Oxford *Enchiridion Theologicum*.

⁶ *Doctor Weston.*] Hugh Weston, rector of Lincoln College, afterwards dean of Westminster, and, at a later time, of Windsor. Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, p. 758.

⁷ *D. Tresham.*] William Tresham, canon of Ch. Ch. and rector of Bugbrook, in Northamptonshire. Tanner's *Bibl.*, p. 720.

⁸ *D. Cole.*] Henry Cole, who had been warden of New College, and afterwards was provost of Eton, and dean of St. Paul's. Tanner's *Bibl.*, p. 189.

⁹ *D. Oglethorpe.*] Owen Oglethorpe, president of Magdalen College, and dean of Windsor, afterwards bishop of Carlisle. Godwin, *De Præsulibus Angliæ*.

¹ *D. Pie.*] William Pye, archdeacon of Berks, and dean of Chichester. Tanner's *Bibl.*, p. 609.

² *M. Harpsfield.*] John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, afterwards dean of Norwich. Wood's account of Harpsfield's presence at these proceedings is so far incorrect, calling them, “Disputations for the Degree of Doctor of Divinity, 19 Apr. 1554,”—“in which disputation archb. Cranmer bore a part,” in that he omits all mention of the judicial disputations of the 16th, 17th, and 18th, and leaves his readers to suppose that Cranmer merely took a part in an academical exercise.—*Athenæ Oxonienses*, Bliss's edit. vol. i. col. 440. See also Tanner's *Bibl.*, p. 380.

³ *M. Fecknam.*] John de Feckenham, whose real name was Howman, afterwards dean of St. Paul's, and abbot of Westminster. Tanner's *Bibl.*, p. 274.

Of Cambridge, doctor Yong^a vice-chancellor. D. Glin^b, D. Seaton^c. D. Watson^d, D. Sedgewike^e, D. Atkinson^f, &c. The articles or questions whereupon they should dispute were these :

1. Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, or no.

2. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance doe remaine, than the substance of the body and bloud of Christ.

3. Whether in the masse be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead.

Touching the order and manner of all things there done, with the notes, arguments, and circumstances thereunto pertaining, to deduce the matter from the beginning, first heere is to be understood, that upon Saturday the seaventh day of April, the heads of the colleges in Cambridge being congregated together, letters coming downe from Steven Gardiner, lord chancellor, were read with articles therewith annexed, that should bee disputed upon at Oxford: the contents of the which three articles are sufficiently expressed before. Whereupon in the said congregation of the aforesaid universitie of Cambridge, there was granted first a grace in this forme proposed by the senior proctor: *Placet vobis ut instrumentum fiat, quod horum iam propositorum articulorum doctrina sana sit et catholica, atque cum veritate verborum fidei consentanea et recte consona et suffragis comprobetur*. That is, 'may it please you to have an instrument made that the doctrine of these foresaid articles may be sound and catholick and consonant with the veritie of the right-meaning faith and that the same may be approved by your consent and voices.' Secondly, in the said congregation, another grace was given and granted, that D. Yong, being vice-chancellor, D. Glin, D. At-

^a *Doctor Yong* John Young, master of Pembroke College. *Tanner's Bibl.*, p. 787.

^b *D. Glin* William Glynn, master of Queen's College. He was one of the first fellows of Trinity College, and had been Lady Margaret's professor of divinity until 1549. He was vice-chancellor of Cambridge for the first part of 1554, and, in 1555, was made bishop of Bangor. *Cole's History of Cambridge*.

^c *D. Seaton* John Seaton, fellow of St. John's College. *Tanner's Bibl.*, p. 604.

^d *D. Watson* Thomas Watson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln.

^e *D. Sedgewike* Thomas Sedgewike, fellow of Trinity College, and Margaret's professor of divinity, and afterwards regius professor.

^f *D. Atkinson* Richard Atkinson.

kinson, D. Scot¹, and M. Sedgewicke should goe to Oxford to defend the said articles against Canturburie, London and Latimer: also to have letters to the Oxford men, sealed with their common seale. Item, another grace was granted to M. Sedgewicke, to be actual doctor, being thereupon immediately admitted. The foresaid letters being then drawne out, the third day after (which was the eleventh day of Aprill) were read in the foresaid congregation house, and there sealed.

Whereupon the next day after (the twelfth of the said moneth) the foresaid doctors, with the full grace of that universitie, set forward to Oxford: and comming thither the next day after, (being Friday, the thirteenth of Aprill) were lodged all at the Crosse inne, with one Wakecline, being sometime servant to bishop Boner.

Anon after their comming, D. Crooke² presented them with wine for their welcome, and shortlie after, two of the bedles came from the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and presented the vice-chancellor of Cambridge with a dish of apples and a gallon of wine. After whom, next came M. Pie, and Fecknam to welcome them. Then after consultation concerning the deliverie of their letters and instrument of grace, (which was in doctor Seton and doctor Watsons keeping,) they went all to Lincolne colledge to doctor Weston the prolocutor, and to the vice-chancellor doctor Tresham; and there they delivered their letters, and declared what they had done touching the articles, letters and graces. Halfe an houre after eight they returned to their inne againe: but first they concluded of a procession, sermon and convocation to be had the morow following; and that the doctors of Cambridge should bee incorporate in the universitie of Oxford, and likewise that the doctors of Oxford should be incorporate in the universitie of Cambridge. The same day the forenamed prisoners were dissevered, doctor Ridley to alderman Irishes house, maister Latymer to another, and doctor Cranmer remained still in Bocardo.

On Saturday, being the 14. of Aprill, at eight of the clock, the foresaid vice-chancellor of Cambridge with the other doctors

¹ D. Scot.] Cuthbert Scot, master of Christ's College, afterwards bishop of Chester. Tanner's *Bibl.*, p. 656, and Cole's *Athenæ Cantab.*

² D. Crooke.] The famous Dr. Richard Croke, who had been Greek professor and public orator at Cambridge, but who was in 1554 a sojourner at Exeter College upon a yearly stipend. The best life of him is in Sir Alexander Croke's *Memoirs of the Croke Family*, vol. i. p. 438.

of the same universitie repaired to Lincolne college againe, and found the prolocutour above in a chappell, with the company of the house, singing *Requiem* masse, and tarried there untill the end. Then they consulting all together in the maisters lodging, about nine of the clock came all to the universitie church called S. Maries: and there, after short consultation in a chappell the vice chauncellor, the prolocutor, &c. of Oxford, caused the vice chauncellor of Cambridge and the rest of the doctors of that universitie, to sende for their skarlet robes, brought from Cambridge, save that doctor Seton and Watson borrowed of the Oxford men. And in this time, the regents in the congregation house, had graunted all the Cambridge doctors their graces, to be incorporate there, and so they went up and were admitted immediately, D. Oglethorpe presenting them, and the proctour reading the statute, and giving them their othes.

That done, they came all into the quier, and there helde the convocation of the universitie. They had masse of the Holy Ghost solemnly sung in prieksong, by the quier men of Christ church. But first the cause of the convocation was opened in English, partly by the vice-chancellor, and partly by the prolocutor, declaring that they were sent by the queene, and wherefore they were sent: and caused master Say the register, openly to read the commission. That done, the vice-chancellor read the Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded, that three notaries, master Say for the convocation, a balle of Cambridge of that university, and one maister White for Oxford, should testifie of their doing: and then willed the said notaries to provide parchment, that the whole assembly might subscribe to the articles save those that had subscribed before in the convocation houses at London and Cambridge: and so the vice-chancellor began to read after him the rest of the Oxford men as many as could be in masse time.

The masse being done, they went in procession. First the quier in their surplices followed the crosse, then the first regents and proctours: then the doctors of lawe, and then the bachelors of lawe, then the doctors of divinitie of both universities, then mingled the divinitie and arte bachelors going before the vice-chancellor and prolocutor going together. After whom the bachelors of divinitie, regents and non regents, in the next place, and last of all the bachelors of law and arte. After whom followed a great company of scholars and students not graduate. A

thus they proceeded through the streete to Christs church, and there the quier sang a psalme, and after that a collect was read. This done, departed the commissioners, doctors, and many other to Lincolne colledge, where they dined with the maior of the towne, one alderman, foure bedles, maister Say, and the Cambridge notary. After dinner they went all again to S. Maries church: and there after a short consultation in the chappell, all the commissioners came into the quier, and sate all on seates before the aultar, to the number of thirty three persons.—And first, they sent to the maior, that he should bring in doctor Cranmer, which within a while was brought to them with a number of rustie bilmen.

Thus the reverend archbishop when he was brought before the commissioners, revered them with much humility, and stood with his staffe in his hand: who notwithstanding having a stoole offered him, refused to sit. Then the prolocutor sitting in the midst in a skarlet gowne, began with a short preface or oration, in praise of unity, and especially in the church of Christ: declaring withall Cranmer's bringing up, and taking degrees in Cambridge, and also how he was promoted by king Henry, and had beene his counsellor and a catholicke man, one of the same unitie, and a member thereof in times past; but of late yeares did separate and cut off himselfe from it, by teaching and setting forth of erroneous doctrine, making every year a new faith: and therefore it pleased the queenes grace, to send them of the convocation and other learned men to bring him to this unitie againe, if it might be. Then shewed he him how they of the convocation house had agreed upon certaine articles, wherunto they willed him to subscribe.

The archbishop answered to the preface verie wittily, modestly and learnedly, shewing that hee was verie glad of an unitie, forasmuch as it was *conservatrix omnium rerum publicarum, tam ethnicorum quam Christianorum*, the preserver of al commonwealths, as wel of the heathen, as of the christians: and so he dilated the matter with one or two stories of the Romanes commonwealth. Which thing when he had done, he said, that he was verie glad to come to an unitie; so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word.

When he had thus spoken his ful mind, the prolocutor caused the articles to bee read unto him, and asked if he would grant and subscribe unto them. Then the bishop of Canturburie did read

them over three or foure times, and touching the first article he asked what they meant by these tearmes *verum et naturale*. true and naturall. “ Doe you not meane saith hee *Corpus organicum*. a sensible body ?” Some answered, *Idem quod natum est ex virgine*, the same that was borne of the virgine ; and so confusedly, some sayde one thing, some another. Then the bishop of Canturburie denied it utterlie, and when he had looked upon the other two, he said they were all false and against Gods holie word ; and therefore would not agree, hee sayde, in that unitie with them. Which done the prolocutor first willing him to write his minde of them that night, sayde moreover that he should dispute in them, and caused a copie of the articles to be delivered him, assigning him to answer thereunto on Mondaie next : and so charged the maior with him againe, to bee had to Berardo where he was kept before : offering moreover unto him, to name what bookes he would occupie, and hee should have them brought unto him.—The archbishop was greatly commended of every bodie for his modesty ; in so much, that some masters of arte were seene to weep for him, which in judgement were contrary to him.

Then was doctor Ridley brought in, who hearing the articles read unto him answered without any delaie, saying, they were all false ; and sayde further, that they sprang out of a better and sowre roote. His answers were sharpe, wittie, and very learned. Then did they lay to his charge a sermon that he made,* when he was bishop of Rochester, wherein (they said) he spake of transubstantiation. He denied it utterly, and asked whether they could bring out any that heard him, which would saye and affirme with them the same. They could bring no proofe of it at all. After that, he was asked of one whether he desired† that my lord chancellor that now is, to sticke to the masse, and other things ? he said, that my lord would say no such things or words of him ; for if he did, hee reported not the truth of him.

Then he was asked whether hee would dispute or no ? He answered ; that as long as God gave him life, hee should not onely have his heart, but also his mouth and penne to defende his

* *Sermon that he made*. See Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 2. & Fox's *Acts*, p. 1208. 1590, &c.

† *Whether he desired not* Gardiner. See also Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 68—70.

truth : but he required time and bookes. They said he could not ; and that he should dispute on Tuesday, and till that time he should have bookes. He said it was not reason that he might not have his owne bookes, and time also to looke for his disputations. Then gave they him the articles, and bad him write his minde of them that night, and so did they command the maior to have him from whence he came.

Last of all came in M. Latimer in like sort, with a kerchief, and two or three cappes on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staffe in his hand, and was set in a chayre : for so was hee suffered by the prolocutor. And after his deniall of the articles, when he had Wednesdaie appointed for disputation, he alledged age, sicknesse, disuse, and lacke of bookes, saying that he was almost as meete to dispute as to be a captaine of Calice. But he would, he sayd, declare his mynde eyther by writing or by word, and would stand to all that they could lay upon his backe ; complayning moreover that hee was permitted to have neither penne nor inke, nor yet anie booke but onely the New Testament there in his hand, which hee said hee had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not finde the masse in it, neither the marowbones nor sinewes of the same. At which wordes the commissioners were not a little offended, and D. Weston said, that he would make him graunt that it had both marowbones and sinewes in the New Testament. To whom M. Latimer sayd againe ; that you will never do M. doctor ; and so forthwith they put him to silence, so that where hee was desirous to tell what hee meant by those tearmes, he could not be suffered. There was a very great prease and throng of people : and one of the bedles swounded by reason thereof, and was caryed into the vestrie. After this, bringing home the prolocutour first, the Cambridge men, doctor Yong vice-chancellour, Seton, Glin, Atkinson, Scotte, Watson, and Sedgewicke, went to the Crosse inne to supper. And this was on Saterdaie beeing the fourteenth day of Aprill.

On Sunday after, M. Harpsfield preached at S. Maries, the universitie church, at nine of the clocke, where were divers of the doctors of their universitie in their robes, and placed accordingly. After the sermon they went all to dinner to Magdalen colledge, and there had a great dinner. They supped at Lincolne colledge with the prolocutor ; whither doctor Cranmer sent answere of his minde upon the articles in writing.

On Munday beeing the sixteenth of Aprill, maister Say, and M. White notaries, went about in the morning to the colleges, to get subscriptions to the articles. And about eight of the clocke the prolocutour with all the doctours and the vice-chancellour met together at Exeter college, and so they went into the schools and when the vice-chancellour, the prolocutor, and doctours were placed, and foure appointed to be *exceptores argumentorum*, set at a table in the middest, and foure notaries sitting with them. Dr Cranmer came to the answerers place, the maior and aldermen sitting by him; and so the disputation began to be set a work by the prolocutor, with a short *præhædium*.—Doctor Chedsey began to argue first: and ere hee left, the prolocutor divers times, doctor Tresham, Oglothorpe, Marshall, vice-chancellour, Pye, Cole, and Harpsfield did interrupt and presse Cranmer with their arguments, so that every man sayde somewhat, as the prolocutour would suffer disorderly, sometime in Latine, sometime in English, so that three houres of the time was spent, ere the vice-chancellour of Cambridge began; who also was interrupted as before. He began with three or foure questions subtilly.—Here the ladies had provided drinke, and offered the answerer: but he refused with thanks. Thus the disputation continued untill almost ten of the clocke, with this applausion *audientium: ceteris ceteris*. Then were all the arguments written by the foure appointed, delivered into the hand of maister Saie, register. And as for the prisoner, he was had away by the maior and the doctours, and together at the Universitie college.

And thus much concerning the generall order and manner of these disputations, with such circumstances as there happened, and things there done, as well before the disputation, as in the preparation thereof, as also in the time of their disputing. Next followeth to inferre and declare the orations, arguments, and answers, used and brought forth in the said disputations on both parts.

The arguments, reasons, and objections used by the objectors.

On Monday, Dr Weston, with all the residue of the vice-chancellours, registered opponents repaying to the divine sciences.

Dr Weston, William Chedsey, and Dr Weston, who were the first to be presented at the College, Oxon. Latimer's Breviary, p. 17.

one enstalled themselves in their places. D. Cranmer with a route of rustie bils was brought thither, and set in the answerers place, with the maior and aldermen sitting by him. Where D. Weston prolocutor apparelled in a scarlet gowne, after the custome of the universitie, began the disputation, with this oration. His words in Latin as hee spake them were these.

“*Convenistis hodie fratres profligaturi detestandam illam hæresin de veritate corporis Christi in Sacramento, &c.* that is: Yee are assembled hither brethren this day, to confound the detestable heresie of the veritie of the body of Christ in the sacrament, &c.” At which words thus pronounced of the prolocutor unwares, divers of the learned men there present, considering and well weying the words by him uttered, burst out into a great laughter, as though even in the entrance of the disputations hee had betrayed himselfe⁶ and his religion, that termed the opinion of the veritie of Christs bodie in the sacrament a detestable heresie. The rest of his oration tended all to this effect, that it was not lawfull by Gods word to call these questions into controversie: for such as doubted of the wordes of Christ, might well bee thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God.—Whereunto doctor Cranmer desiring licence, answered in this wise.

“Wee are assembled,” saythe he, “to discusse these doubtful controversies, and to laie them open before the eyes of the world: whereof yee thinke it unlawfull to dispute. It is indeede no reason, sayth hee, that we should dispute of that which is determined upon, before the truth is tried. But if these questions be not called in controversie, surelie mine answere then is looked for in vaine.” This was the summe and effect of his aunswere: and this done he prepared himselfe to disputations.

⁶ *Betrayed himselfe.*] Bishop Jewel, who was present at this disputation, in the capacity of notary to Cranmer, &c., gives the following account of this blunder of Weston’s in his controversy with Dr. Cole. “This I believe passed you unawares, and not of purpose.—As your proloquutor in the disputation at Oxford, gave out one truth by chance unadvisedly, as he gave knowledge to the audience in the divinitie schoole of what matters they would dispute. For thus he said, *and that in your owne hearing ‘Viri fratres, convenimus huc hodie, &c.* Brethren, said hee, we come hither this day to dispute against that horrible heresie, of the veritie of Christes bodie and bloud in the sacrament.’ God would have him utter some truth then, as you do now, because he was *Pontifex illius anni.*” *Jewel’s Works*, p. 17.

Then Chedsey the first opponent began in this wise to dispute.

"Reverend M. doctour, these three conclusions are put forth unto us at this present to dispute upon.

"1. In the sacrament of the aultar is the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgine Mary, and also his bloud present really under the forms of bread and wine, by vertue of Gods word pronounced by the priest.

"2. There remaineth no substance of bread and wine after the consecration, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

"3. The lively sacrifice of the church is in the masse, propitiatory as well for the quicke as the dead."

"These be the conclusions propounded, whereupon this our present controversie doth rest. Now to the end wee might not doubt how you take the same, you have already given up unto us your opinion thereof. I tearme it your opinion, in that it disagreeeth from the catholicke. Wherefore thus I argue.

"Your opinion differeth from the Scripture.

"Ergo, You are deceived."

Cranmer. "I denie the antecedent."

Ched. "Christ when he instituted his last supper, spake to his disciples: *Take, eat, this is my bodie, which shall be given for you.*

"But his true bodie was given for us.

"Ergo, His true bodie is in the sacrament.

"The right form of this argument is thus to be framed

"The same which was given for us is in the sacrament.

"But his true bodie was given for us.

"Ergo, His true bodie is in the sacrament."

Cran. "His true bodie is truly present to them that truly receive him: but spiritually. And so it is taken after a spiritual sort. For when he said, *This is my body*, it is all one as if he had sayd, this is the breaking of my bodie, this is the shedding of my bloud. As oft as you shall do this, it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my bodie, and the shedding of my bloud: that as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefite promised by receiving the same worthily."

Ched. "Your opinion differeth from the church, which sayth, that the true bodie is in the sacrament.

"Ergo, Your opinion therein is false."

Cran. "I say and agree with the church, that the bodie of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectually."

Ched. "Christ when hee spake these words, *This is my bodie*, spake of the substance, but not of the effect."

Cran. "I grant he spake of the substance and not of the effect after a sort: and yet it is most true that the bodie of Christ is effectually in the sacrament. But I denie that hee is there truly present in bread, or that under the bread is his organicall body." And because it should be too tedious (he said) to make discourse of the whole, hee delivered up there his opinion thereof to D. Weston, written at large, with answers to everie one of their three propositions; which hee desired D. Weston, sitting there on high, to read openly to the people; which he promised to doe. But it was not the first promise that such papists have broken.

The copy of this writing although it were not there read, yet the contents thereof we have drawne out as followeth.

An explication of Cranmer upon the foresayd conclusions exhibited in writing.

"In the assertions of the church and of religion, trifling and new fangled novelties of words, so much as may be, are to be eschewed, whereof riseth nothing but contention and brawling about words, and we must follow, so much as we may, the maner of speaking of the Scripture.

"In the first conclusion if ye understand by this word (*really*) *reipsa*, in verie deede and effectually, so Christ by the grace and efficacie of his passion is in deed and truely present to all his true and holy members.

"But if ye understand by this word (*really*) *corporaliter*, corporally, so that by the bodie of Christ is understood a naturall bodie and organicall; so the first proposition dooth varie, not onely from the usuall speech and phrase of Scripture, but also is cleane contrary to the holy word of God, and Christian profession: when as both the Scripture dooth testifie by these words, and also the catholicke church hath professed from the beginning,

Christ to have left the world, and to sit at the right hand of the Father till he come to judgement.

“ And in like wise I answered to the second question : that is, that it swarveth from the accustomed manner and speech of Scripture.

“ The third conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtfull and ambiguous words, and differing also much from the true speech of the Scripture, so as the words thereof seeme to import in open sense, it is most contumelious against our onely lord and saviour Christ Jesus, and a violating of his precious blood, which upon the altar of the crosse is the onely sacrifice and oblation for the sinnes of all mankind.”

Cred. “ By this your interpretation which you have made upon the first conclusion, this I understand, the bodie of Christ to be in the sacrament onely by way of participation : in so much as wee communicating thereof, doe participate the grace of Christ, so that you meane hereby onely the effect thereof. But our conclusion standeth upon the substance, and not the efficacy only, which shall appeare by the testimony both of Scriptures, and of all the fathers a thousand yeares after Christ.

“ And first to begin with the Scripture, let us consider what is written in Matth. 26. Marke 14. Luke 22. first to the Corinthians 11. Matthew sayth, *As they ate at supper, Jesus took bread, &c.* In Marke there is the same sense, although not the same words, who also for one part of the sacrament speaketh more plainly *Jesus taking bread, &c.* After the same sense also writeth Luke 22. *And when Jesus had taken bread, &c.* In the mouth of two or three witnesses saith the Scripture standeth all truth. If we have three witnesses together, that Christ said that to be his bodie which was given for manie : and that to be his blood which should be shed for manie : whereby is declared the substance, and not only the efficacy alone thereof. *Ecce*, it is not true that you say there to be not the substance of his bodie, but the efficacy alone thereof.”

Cran. “ Thus you gather upon mine answer, as though I meant of the efficacy, and not of the substance of the body, but I meant of them both, as well of the efficacy as the substance. And for so much as all things come not readilie to remembrance to a man that shall speake extempore, therefore for yet more ample and fuller answer in this matter, this writing here doe exhibit.”

An explication exhibited by Cranmer.

“Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at the time of his Maundy⁷, preparing himselfe to die for our cause, that he might redeeme us from eternall death, to forgive us all our sinnes, and to cancell out the handwriting that was against us: that we through ingratefull oblivion should not forget his death, therefore he at the time of his holie supper did institute a perpetual memory of this his death, to be celebrated among Christians in bread and wine, according as it is sayd, *Do this in remembrance of mee.* And so often as you shall eat this bread and drink this cup, you shall shew forth the Lords death till he come. And this remembrance or sacrament of his holy passion, that is, of his body slaine, and bloud shed, he would all Christians to frequent and celebrate in bread and wine, according as he said: *Take, eat: and drinke ye all of this.* Therefore, whosoever for mans tradition denieth the cup of Christes bloud to lay men, they manifestly repugne against Christ, forbidding that which Christ commaundeth to be done, and be like to those Scribes and Pharisies of whom the Lord spake: *Ye hypocrites, ye have rejected the commandments of God for your traditions.* Well did Esay prophecy of you, saying: *This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is farre from me. Without cause do they worship me, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men.* The sacrament and mysticall bread, being broken and distributed after the institution of Christ, and the mysticall wine being likewise taken and received, be not onely⁸ sacraments of the flesh of Christ wounded for us, and of his blodshedding, but also be most certaine sacraments to us, and (as a man would say) seales of Gods promises and giftes, and also of that holy fellowship which we have with Christ and all his members. Moreover, they be to us memorials of that heavenly foode and nourishment wherewith we are nourished unto eternall life, and the thirst of our boyling conscience quenched; and finally whereby the hearts of the faithful be replenished with unspeakable joy, and be corroborated and strengthened unto all works of godlinesse. *Wee are many* (saythe S. Paul) *one bread*

⁷ *Of his Maundy.*] A copy of this paper, in the original Latin, is preserved in Collier's *Ecclesiast. History*, vol. ii. p. 82. Records. For the word *Maundy*, see the *Glossarial Index*.

⁸ *Be not onely.*] Compare Arts. XXV. and XXVIII. of the Church of England. “*Of the Sacraments,*” and “*Of the Lord's Supper.*”

and one body, all we which do participate of one bread, and one cup. And Christ saith, Eat ye, this is my body. And drinke ye, this is my blood. And I am the living bread which came downe from heaven. He that eateth me, shall also live for me. Not as your fathers did eate manna in the desert and are dead: He that eateth me, shall also live for me.

“Thus therefore true bread and true wine remaine still in the Eucharist, untill they be consumed of the faithfull, to be as signes and scales unto us annexed unto Gods promises, making us certaine of Gods gifts towards us. Also Christ remaineth in them, and they in Christ, whiche eate his flesh, and drinke his blood, as Christ himself hath promised; *They that eate my flesh and drinke my blood abide in me, and I in them.* Moreover, he abideth also in them which worthilie receive the outward sacrament, neither doth he depart so soone as the sacrament is consumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nourishing us so long as we remaine bodies of that head, and members of the same. I acknowledge not here the naturall bodie of Christ, which is only spirituall, intelligible, and unsensible, having no distinction of members and parts in it: but that bodie onely I acknowledge and worship, which was born of the Virgin, which suffered for us, which is visible, palpable, and hath all the forme and shape and parts of the true naturall bodie of man. Christ spake not these words of any uncertaine substance, but of the certaine substance of bread, which hee then held in his hands, and shewed his disciples when he said: *Eate ye, this is my bodie*: and likewise of the cup, when he said: *Drinke ye, this is my blood*: meaning verily of that bread which by nature is usual and common with us, which is taken of the fruit of the ground, compacted by the uniting of manie grains together, made by man, and by mans hand brought to that visible shape, beeing of round compasse, and without all sense or life, which nourisheth the bodie, and strengtheneth the heart of man. Of this same bread (I say) and not of any uncertaine and wandring substance the olde fathers say that Christ spake these words. *Eate ye, this is my bodie.* And likewise also of the wine, which is the creature and fruite of the vine pressed out of many clusters of grapes, and maketh mans hart merry, of the very same wine, (I say) Christ spake, *drinke ye, this is my blood.* And so the olde doctors doe call this speaking of Christ tropicall, figurative, anagogicall, allegoricall: which they do interpret after this sort, that although the substance of bread and

wine doe remaine and be received of the faithfull, yet notwithstanding Christ changed the appellation thereof, and called the bread by the name of his flesh, and the wine by the name of his bloud, not that it is so in very deede, but signified in a mysterie. So that we should consider, not what they be in their owne nature, but what they import to us and signifie ; and should understand the sacrament not carnally, but spiritually, and should attend not to the visible nature of the sacraments neither have respect onelie to the outward bread, and cup, thinking to see there with our eyes, no other things but onely bread and wine, but that, lifting up our mindes, wee should looke up to the bloud of Christ with our faith, should touche him with our minde, and receive him with our inward man, and that beeing like eagles in this life, we should flie up into heaven in our hearts, where that Lambe is resident at the right hand of his Father, which taketh away the sinnes of the world, by whose stripes wee are made whole, by whose passion we are filled at his table, and whose bloud we receiving out of his holie side do live for ever, being made the ghests of Christ, having him dwelling in us through the grace of his true nature, and through the vertue and efficacie of his whole passion, being no lesse assured and certified that wee are fed spiritually unto eternall life by Christs flesh crucified, and by his bloud shed, the true foode of our mindes, then that our bodies be fed with meat and drink in this life : and hereof this sayd mysticall bread on the table of Christ, and the mysticall wine, being administered and received after the institution of Christ, be to us a memoriall, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, and a seale.

“ And thereof is it that Christ saith not thus ; *This is my body, eate ye* : but after he had bidden them eate, then he said ; *This is my body which shall be given for you*. Which is to meane, as though he should say : in eating of this bread, consider you that this bread is no common thing, but a mysticall matter, neither doe you attend that which is set before your bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within. Consider and beholde my body crucified for you ; that eate and digest in your mindes. Chawe you upon my passion, bee fed with my death. This is the true meate, this is the drinke that moisteneth, wherewith you being truly fed, and inebriate, shall live for ever. The bread and the wine which be set before your eies are only declarations of me, but I my selfe am the eternall food. Wherefore whensoever at this my table you shall behold the sacraments, have not regard so much to them, as con-

sider ye what I promise to you by them, which is my selfe to be meate for you of eternall life.

“The onely oblation^{*} of Christ (wherewith he offered himselfe to God the Father once to death upon the aultar of the crosse for our redemption) was of such efficacie, that there is no more need of any sacrifice for the redemption of the whole world, but all the sacrifices of the olde lawe he took away, performing that in very deede, which they did signifie and promise. Whosoever therefore shall fixe the hope of his salvation in any other sacrifice, he fallth from the grace of Christ, and is contumelious against the blood of Christ. *For he was wounded for our transgressions, and was broken for our iniquities. All we like sheepe have wandered astray. Every man hath turned after his owne waye, and the Lord hath laid all our iniquities upon him. For hee hath entred once for all into the holy place by the bloud, not of goates or calves, but by his owne bloud, finding eternall redemption: And hath entered into heaven, to appeare now in the sight of God for us, not to offer himselfe oftentimes (for so should he have suffered many times) but now hath he appeared once to put away sinne, through his owne oblation. And as it is appointed to all men once to die, so also Christ once was offered: Who offering up one oblation for sinnes, sitteth now for ever on the right hand of God. For by one oblation hath he made perfect for ever those that be sanctified. For where is remission of sinnes, there is now no more oblation for sinne, but this onely sacrifice of Christ.*—Whosoever shall seeke any other sacrifice propitiatory for sinne, maketh the sacrifice of Christ of no validitye, force or efficacie. For if it bee sufficient to remit sinnes, what neede is there of any other? For the necessitie of another argueth and declareth this to be insufficient. Almighty God grant that we may truly leane to this one sacrifice of Christ, and that wee to him againe may repay our sacrifices of thanksgiving, of prayse, of confessing his name, of true amendment, of repa-
ance, of mercifulnesse towards our neighbors, and of all other good works of charitie. For by such sacrifices wee shall declare our selves neither ingratefull to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy sacrifice of Christ.

“And thus you have out of the testimonies of holie Scriptures and of the ancient doctors of the church, the true and sincere as-

^{*} The onely oblation. Compare Art. XXVI of the Church of England.
“Of the one oblation of Christ finished upon the crosse.”

of the Lords holy supper, and the fruite of the true sacrifice of Christ. Which whosoever through captious or wrested interpretations, or by mens traditions, shall goe about otherwise than Christ ordained them, to alter or transubstantiate, he shall answer to Christ in the latter day, when he shall understand (but then too late) that he hath no participation with the bodie and bloud of Christ, but that out of the supper of eternal life he hath eaten and drunken eternal damnation to himselfe."

West. "Because wee will not consume and spende the time in waste, this your writing which you exhibite, hereafter shall bee read in his place. In the meane season let us now fall to the argument."

This disordered disputation, sometime in Latine, sometime in English, continued almost till two of the clocke. Which being finished, with the words of Weston the prolocutor, "Thus you see brethren the trueth stedfast and invincible: you see also the craft and deceit of heretickes: the trueth may be pressed, but it cannot be oppressed: therefore cry altogether, *Vincit veritas*, The truth overcommeth." And the arguments written and delivered to the hands of M. Say, the prisoner was hadde away by the Maior, and the doctors dined together at the Universitie college.

Disputation at Oxford betweene doctor Smith, with his other colleagues and doctors, and bishop Ridley.

The next day following, which was the 17th of Aprill, was brought forth doctor Ridley to dispute, against whome was set doctor Smith¹ to be principal opponent.—Touching which doctor Smith, forsomuch as mention heere happeneth of his name, first the reader is to be advertised what is to be attributed to his judgement in religion, which so oftentimes before had turned and returned to and fro, grounded (as it seemeth) upon no firme conscience of doctrine, as both by his articles by him recanted² may

¹ *Doctor Smith.*] Richard Smith, master of Whittington College, London, and Regius professor of divinity at Oxford. Tanner's *Bibl.*, p. 679.

² *Articles by him recanted.*] See "A playne Declaration, made at Oxforde, the 24th of July, by mayster Richard Smith, D.D., upon his retractation made and published at Pauls Crosse in London, May 15, 1547." 12mo. Compare Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 171. *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. ii. p. 35.

appeare, and also by his owne letter sent a little before in King Edwards dayes to the archbishop of Canturburie from Scotland. Which letter I thought here to exhibite as a certaine proofe before his owne arguments, or rather as a testimonie against himselfe, whereby the reader may understand how devoutly he magnified them, and their doctrine a little before, against which he now disputeth so busily. Reade, I beseech thee, his epistle and judge.

“ Most honourable, I commend me unto your lordship, do the same to understand, that I wrote letters to your grace Januarie last, and the tenth day of February, declaring the cause of my sodaine and unadvised departing from your grace over sea, and desiring your good lordship of your charitie toward them that repent of their ill acts, to forgive me your selfe all the wrong I did towards your grace, and to obtaine in writing the kings majesties pardon for mee in all pointes concerning his law upon the receite whereof I would returne againe home, and within halfe a yeare (at the uttermost) afterward write, *de Sacerdotio connubiis, &c.* a Latine booke that should be a just satisfaction for any that I have written against the same. *Reliquaque omnia dogmata vestra tum demum libenter amplexurum, ubi Deus meum doceam, ut ea citra conscientiae læsionem agnoscam, doceamque.* . . . wrote not this that I want any good living heere; but because my absence out of the realme is dishonour to the kings highnes and realme, and because I must needes (if I tarry heere a quarter of a yeere longer) write an answer to your graces booke of the sacrament, and also a booke of Common Places against all the doctrine set forth by the kings majestie, which I cannot doe with a good conscience. Wherefore I beseech your grace helpe me home, as soone as yee may conveniently for Gods sake, and you shall never, I trust in God, repent that fact.

“ *Ex urbe divi Andreæ 14 Febr.*

“ RICHARDUS SMITHEUS.”

And thus much touching the forenamed doctor Richard Smith being set here (as is said) to dispute against bishop Ridley, who was brought now the next day after the archbishop, to aunswere in the divinitie schoole. Against whom also besides doctor Smith disputed D. Weston, D. Tresham, D. Oglethorp, D. Glin, Seton, and D. Cole, M. Warde, M. Harpesfield, D. Watson, Pie, M. Harding, M. Curtop, M. Fecknam. To all them

answered verie learnedly. Hee made a preface to these questions, but they would not let him go forth in it, but caused him to make an ende of the same, and sayde it was blasphemie, and some said he drave off the time in ambiguous things, nothing to the purpose, and so they would not suffer him to say his minde. D. Smith could get nothing at his hand ; insomuch that others did take his arguments and prosecuted them. He shewed himselfe to be learned, and a great clearke. They could bring nothing, but he knewe it as well as they.

The Disputation beginneth.

West. Prolocutor. “ Good Christian people and brethren, wee have begunne this day our schoole, by Gods good speed I trust, and are entering into a controversie, whereof no question ought to be moved, concerning the veritie of the bodie of our Lord Jesu Christ in the eucharist. Christ is true, which sayd the wordes. The words are true which hee spake, yea truth it self that cannot faile. Let us therefore pray unto God to send downe unto us his holy Spirite, which is the true interpreter of his word ; which may purge away errours, and give light, that verite may appeare. Let us also aske leave and libertie of the church to permit the truth received, to be called this day in question, without any prejudice to the same. Your partes therefore shall be to implore the assistance of almightie God, to pray for the prosperitie of the queenes majesty, and to give us quiet and attentive eares.—Now go to your question.”

Doct. Smith. “ This day (right learned M. doctor) three questions are propounded, whereof no controversie among Christians ought to be mooved, to wit :

“ 1. Whether the natural body of Christ our saviour, conceived of the virgine Marie, and offered for mans redemption upon the crosse, is verily and really in the sacrament by virtue of Gods word spoken by the priest, &c.

“ 2. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, be any other substance, &c.

“ 3. Whether in the masse be a sacrifice propitiatorie, &c.

“ Touching the which questions, although you have publikely and partly professed your judgement and opinion on Saturday last,

yet being not satisfied with that your answer, I will assaie a to demaund your sentence in the first question: *Whether the body of Christ, after the words pronounced, be really in the e rist, or else onely the figure.* In which matter I stand here n hear your answer."

The Preface or Protestation of D. Ridley, before his Disputa

"I received of you the other day right worshipfull M. P cutor, and ye my reverend maisters, commissioners from queenes majestie, and her honourable counsaile, three pro tions; whereunto ye commanded me to prepare against this what I thought good to aunswere concerning the same.

"Now whilest I weied with my selfe, how great a charge o Lords flocke was of late committed unto me, for the which certain I must once render an accompt to my Lord God, that how soone, hee knoweth) and that moreover by the mandement of the apostle Peter, I ought to be ready alwa give a reason of the hope that is in me with meekenesse and verence, unto everie one that shall demaund the same: bes this, considering my duetie to the church of Christ, and to worships being commissioners by publike authoritie: I d mined with myselfe to obey your commaundement, and so op to declare unto you my mind touching the foresaid propositi And albeit plainely to confesse unto you the truth in these th which ye now demaund of me, I have thought otherwise³ in t past, than now I do, yet (God I call to record unto my sou lie not) I have not altered my judgement, as now it is, either constraint of any man, or lawes, either for the dread of any gers of this world, either for any hope of commodity; but for the love of the truth, revealed unto me by the grace of (as I am undoubtedly perswaded) in his holy word, and in reading of the antient fathers.

"These thinges I doe the rather recite at this present, bec it may happen to some of you hereafter, as in times past it l

³ *I have thought otherwise.*] So below, we shall see, that Latimer was s by Weston, "How long have you been of this opinion?" To which h plied, "It is not long, Sir:" and Weston proceeding, "The time hath when you have said masse full devoutly." "Yea," says Latimer, " God mercie heartily for it. . . . I have long sought for the truth in this m of the sacrament, and have not beene of this mind past seven yeeres. lord of Canterburies book hath especially confirmed my judgment herein

done to mee : I meane, if yee thinke otherwise of the matters propounded in these propositions, than I now doe, God may open them unto you in time to come.

“ But howsoever it shall bee, I will in fewe wordes doe that which I thinke ye all looke I should doe : that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my judgement herein. Howbeit of this I would yee were not ignorant : and I will not indeede wittingly and willingly speake in any point against Gods word, or dissent in any one jote from the same, or from the rules of faith, and Christian religion : which rules the same most sacred word of God prescribeth to the church of Christ, whereunto I now and for ever submit my selfe, and all my doings. And because the matter I have now taken in hand is waighty, and ye all well know how unreadie I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lacke of time, as also lacke of bookes : therefore here I protest that I will publickly this day require of you, that it may be lawfull for me concerning all mine answeres, explications, and confirmations, to adde or diminish whatsoever shall seeme hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpose, thorough more sound judgement, better deliberation, and more exact triall of everie particular thing.—Having now by the way of preface and protestation, spoken these fewe words, I will come to the aunswering of the propositions propounded unto me, and so to the most brief explication and confirmation of mine answeres.”

West. “ Reverend maister doctor, concerning the lacke of bookes, there is no cause why you should complaine. What bookes soever you will name, ye shall have them : and as concerning the judgement of your answeres to be had of your self with farther deliberation, it shall, (I say) be lawfull for you untill Sunday next to adde unto them what you shall thinke good your selfe. My minde is that wee should use short arguments, least we should make an infinite processe of the thing.”

Rid. “ There is another thing besides, which I would gladly obtaine at your handes. I perceive that you have writers and votaries here present. By all likelihood our disputations shall be published ⁴, I beseech you for God’s sake let mee have libertie to

⁴ *Shall be published.*] However this might be intended by the Romish party, yet the design was never executed ; for reasons which it requires no Œdipus to conjecture. They were challenged by the protestants to make

speake my minde freelie, and without interruption, not because I have determined to protract the time with a solemne preface, but least it may appeare that some bee not satisfied. God wote I am no oratour, nor I have not learned rhetoricke to set colours on the matter."

West. "Among this whole companie, it shal be permitted you to take two for your part."

Rid. "I would chuse two, if there were any heere with whom I were acquainted."

West. "Here are two^a which maister Crammer had yesterday. Take them if it please you."

Rid. "I am content with them: I trust they are honest men."

The first Proposition.

"In the sacrament of the altar, by the vertue of Gods word spoken of the priest, the natural body of Christ borne of the virgine Marie, and his naturall bloud is really present under the formes of bread and wine."

The Answer of N. Ridley.

"In matters appertaining to God, we may not speake according to the sense of man, nor of the world. This proposition or conclusion is framed after an other maner of phrase or kinde of speech, than the Scripture useth. Againe, it is verie obscure and darke, by meanes of sundrie wordes of doubtful signification. And being taken in the sense which the schoolemen teach, and at this time the church of Rome doth defend, it is false and erroneous, and plaine contrary to the doctrine which is according to godlinesse."

The Explication.

"How far the diversitie and newnesse of the phrase in all this first proposition, is from the phrase of the holy Scripture, and

them public. "And yet for all this, I warrant you they be not hasty in puttyng forth the disputations in print. As much as they bragge, I dare say they will never put them forth." *True Mirrow, wherein we may beholde the wofull State of this our Realme of England*, A.D. 1556. Signat. A 4. b.

^a *Here are two*] "These two notaries were M. Juell, sometime bishop of Salisbury, and M. Gilbert Mounson." Fox's margin.

that in everie part almost, it is so plaine and evident to any that is but meanly exercised in holy writ, that I need not now (especially in this company of learned men) to spend any time therein, except the same shall be required of mee hereafter.

“First. There is a double sense in these wordes (*by the vertue of Gods word*). For it is doubtfull what word of God this is : whether it be that which is read in the evangelists, or in Paule, or any other. And if it be that which is in the evangelists or in S. Paule, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be knowne to be Gods word, and of such vertue, that it should be able to worke so great a matter.

“Againe, There is a doubt in these words (*of the priest*) whether no man may be called a priest, but hee which hath authority to make propitiatorie sacrifice for the quick and the dead : and how it may be proved that this authoritie was committed of God to any man, but to Christ alone.

“It is likewise doubted, after what order the sacrificing priest shall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or else after the order of Melchisedech. For as farre as I know, the holy Scripture doth allow no mo.”

West. “Let this be sufficient.”

Rid. “If we lacke time at this present, there is time enough hereafter.”

West. “These are but evasions or starting holes : you consume the time in vaine.”

Rid. “I cannot start far from you, I am captive and bound.”

West. “Fall to it my maisters.”

Smith. “That which you have spoken, may suffice at this present.”

Rid. “Let me alone I pray you, for I have not much to say behinde.”

West. “Goe forward.”

Rid. “Moreover, there is ambiguitie in this word *really*, whether it be to be taken as the logicians tearme it, *transcender*, that is, most generally, (and so it may signifie any maner of thing which belongeth to the bodie of Christ, by any meanes : after which sort we also graunt Christs bodie to be really in the sacrament of the Lords Supper, as in disputation, if occasion be given, shall be declared) or whether it be taken to signifie the verie same thing, having body, life and soule, which was assumed and taken of the word of God, into the unitie of person. In

which sense, sithe the body of Christ is really in heaven, because of the true manner of his body, it may not be said to bee here in the earth.—There is yet a further doubtfulness in these words *under the formes of bread and wine*, whether the formes be there taken to signifie the onely accidentall and outwarde shewes of bread and wine; or therewithall the substantiall natures thereof, which are to bee scene by their qualites, and perceived by exterior senses.

“Now the error and falsenes of the proposition, after the sense of the Romish church and schoolemen, may hereby appeare, in that they affirme the bread to be transubstantiated and changed into the flesh, assumed of the word of God, and that (as they say) by the vertue of the word, which they have devised by a certaine number of words, and cannot be found in any of the evangelists, or in Paule, and so they gather that Christes bodie is really contained in the sacrament of the aultar. Which position is grounded upon the foundation of transubstantiation: which foundation is monstrous, against reason, and destroyeth the analogie or proportion of the sacraments: and therefore this proposition also, which is builded upon this rotten foundation, is false, erroneous, and to be counted as a detestable heresie of the sacramentaries.”

West. “Wee lose time.”

Rid. “You shall have time enough.”

West. “Fall to reasoning. You shall have some other day for this matter.”

Rid. “I have no more to say concerning my explication. If you will give me leave and let me alone, I will but speak a word or two for my confirmation.”

West. “Go to: say on.”

The Confirmation of the forsaide Answer.

“There ought no doctrine to be established in the church of God, which dissenteth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draweth with it many absurdities, that cannot be avoided.

“But this doctrine of the first proposition is such.

“*Ergo*, it ought not to be established and maintained in the church of God.

“The major or first part of my argument is plaine, and the minor or second part is proved thus.

“This doctrine maintaineth a reall, corporall, and carnall presence of Christes flesh, assumed and taken of the word, to be in the sacrament of the Lords supper, and that not by vertue and grace onely, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and flesh of Christ.

“But such a presence disagreeeth from Gods word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many absurdities.

“*Ergo*, the second part is true.

“The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second may yet further be confirmed thus.”

West. “Thus you consume time, which might bee better bestowed on other matters. Maister opponent, I pray you to your arguments.”

Smith. “I will here reason with you upon transubstantiation, which you say is contrarie to the rule and analogy of faith. The contrarie whereof I proove by the Scriptures and the doctors.—But before I enter argumentation with you, I demaund first whether in the sixth chapter of John, there be any mention made of the sacrament, or of the reall presence of Christ in the sacrament?”

Rid. “It is against reason that I should be impeached to prosecute that which I have to speake in this assembly, being not so long, but that it may be comprehended in few words.”

West. “Let him read on.”

Rid. “First of all, this presence is contrary to many places of the holy Scripture.

“Secondly, it varieth from the articles of the faith.

“Thirdly, it destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lords supper.

“Fourthly, it maketh pretious thinges common to prophane and ungodly persons : for it casteth that which is holy unto dogs, and pearles unto swine.

“Fifthly, it forceth men to maintaine many monstrous miracles, without necessitie, and authoritie of God’s word.

“Sixthly, it giveth occasion to the heretickes which erred concerning the two natures in Christ, to defende their heresies thereby.

“Seventhly, it falsifieth the sayinges of the godly fathers : it falsifieth also the catholicke faith of the church, which the

apostles taught, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithful (as of the fathers saith) do retaine and keepe untill this day. Wherefore the second part of mine argument is true."

*The Probation of the antecedent or former part of this argument
the parts thereof.*

"This carnall presence is contrarie to the word of God appeareth. (John 16.) *I tell you the truth: It is profitable for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter shall not come unto you.* (Acts 3.) *Whom the heavens must receive at the time of restoring of all things which God hath spoken.* (Matt. 24.) *The children of the bridegrome cannot mourne so long as the bridegrome is with them: but now is the time of mourning.* (Matt. 24.) *But I will see you againe, and your hearts shall rejoice.* (John 14.) *I will come againe and take you to my selfe.* (Matt. 24.) *If they shall say unto you, Behold, here is Christ, or there, Christ, beleve them not: for wheresoever the dead carcase is, thither will the eagles will resort.*

"It varieth from the articles of the faith: *Hee ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father.* *From whence* (and not from any other place, saith S. Augustine) *shall come to judge both the quicke and the dead.*

"It destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lords supper, which was commanded only to be used and continued till the Lord himselfe should come. If therefore he be really present in the bodie of his flesh, then must the supper cease: for a remembrance is not of a thing present, but of a thing past and absent. And there is a difference betweene remembrance and presence, and (as one of the fathers saith) A figure is in vaine where the thing figured is present.

"It maketh pretious things common to prophane and ungodly persons, and constraineth men to confesse many absurdities. For it affirmeth that whoremongers and murtherers, yea, and some of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithlesse, rascals, and dogges also may receive the verie reall and corporall bodie of the Lord, wherein the fulnesse of the spirite of God and grace dwelleth: contrarie to the manifest words of Christ in sixe places and sentences of the sixt chapter of S. John.

"It confirmeth also and maintaineth that beastly kind of crueltie of the Anthropophagi, that is, the devourers of man.

flesh : for it is a more cruell thing to devoure a quicke man than to slay him."

Pie. " He requireth time to speake blasphemies. Leave your blasphemies."

Rid. " I had little thought to have had such reproachfull words at your hands."

West. " All is quiet. Go to the arguments M. Doctor."

Rid. " I have not many mo things to say."

West. " You utter blasphemies with a most impudent face : leave off (I say) and get you to the argument."

Rid. " It forceth men to maintaine many monstrous miracles, without all necessitie and authoritie of Gods word. For at the comming of this presence of the bodie and flesh of Christ, they thrust away the substance of bread, and affirme that the accidentes remaine without any subject, and in the stead thereof, they place Christes bodie without his qualities and the true maner of a body. And if the sacrament be reserved so long untill it mould, and wormes breede, some say that the substance of bread miraculously returneth againe, and some denie it. Other some affirme that the reall bodie of Christ goeth downe into the stomacke of the receivers, and doth there abide so long onely as they shall continue to be good : but another sorte holde that the body of Christ is carried into heaven, so soone as the formes of bread be bruised with the teeth. O works of miracles ! Truly and most truly I see that fulfilled in these men, wherof, S. Paul prophesied (2 Thess. 2) *Because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusions, that they should beleve lies, and be all damned which have not beleved the truth.* This gross presence hath brought forth that fond phantasie of concomitance⁶, whereby is broken at this daie and abrogated the commandement of the Lord, for the distributing of the Lordes cup to the laitie.

" It giveth occasion to heretickes to maintaine and defende their errours : as to Marcion, which saide that Christ had but a phantasticall bodie ; and to Eutiches, which wickedly confounded the two natures in Christ.

" Finally, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers and the catholick faith of the church, which Vigilus a martyr, and grave writer saith was taught of the apostles, confirmed with the bloud

⁶ *Of concomitance.*] See *Index* in v.

of martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithfull untill his time. By the sayings of the fathers, I mean of Justine, Irenee, Tertullian, Origene, Eusebius Emisene, Athanasius, Cyrill, Epiphanius, Hierome, Chrysostome, Augustine, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others most ancient fathers. All those places, as I am sure I have read, making for my purpose, so am I well assured that I could shew the same, if I might have the use of mine owne bookes', which I will take on mee to doe, even upon the perill of my life, and losse of all that I may lose in this world.

" But now (my brethren) thinke not, because I disallow that presence which this first proposition maintaineth as a presence which I take to be forged, fantastick, and besides the authoritie of Gods word, perniciously brought into the church by the Romanistes, that I therefore go about to take away the true presence of Christes body in his supper rightely and duely ministered which is grounded upon the word of God, and made more plaine by the commentaries of the faithfull fathers. They that think so of me, the Lord knoweth how farre they are deceived.—And to make the same evident unto you, I will in fewe words declare what true presence of Christes body in the sacrament of the Lords supper I hold and affirme, with the word of God and the ancient fathers.

" I say and confesse with the evangelist Luke, and with the apostle Paule, that the bread on the which thanks are given, is

[*Mine owne bookes.*] The books which Ridley here, and in the beginning of this disputation, complains of being in want of, were his own manuscript collections, and common-place books; of which he thus speaks more at large in his conferences with master Latimer. " All my notes, which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read in this matter of the church, " and such like, are come into the hands of such, as will let me have the least of all my written bookes; wherein I am enforced to complayne of them unto God, for they spoile me of all my labours, which I have taken in my studie these many yeares. My memorie was never good for helpe whereof, I have used for the most part, to gather out notes of my reading and so to place them, that thereby I might have had the use of them when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be Gods will, that I should be thus ordered, and spoiled of the poore learning I had as I thought in store, to the intent that I now, destitute of that, should be brought forth learne only to knowe with Paul, Christ and him crucified? " *Conferences of Ridley and Latimer*, signat. C's, edit. 1574, or Fox's *Acts*, p. 131 given below in the *Life of Ridley*.

the body of Christ in the remembraunce of him and of his death, to be set forth perpetually of the faithfull untill his comming.

“I say and confesse the bread which we breake to be the communion and partaking of Christes bodie, with the auncient faithfull fathers.

“I say and beleeeve that there is not onely a signification of Christes bodie set forth by the sacrament, but also that therewith is given to the godly and faithfull, the grace of Christes body, that is, the foode of life and immortalitie. And this I hold with Cyprian.

“I say also with S. Augustine, that we eate life, and we drinke life: with Emisene, that we feele the Lord to be present in grace: with Athanasius, that we receive celestiall foode, which commith from above: the propertie of naturall communion, with Hillarius: the nature of flesh and the benediction which giveth life in bread and wine, with Cyrill: and with the same Cyrill, the vertue of the verie flesh of Christ, life and grace of his body, the propertie of the onely begotten, that is to say, life, as he himself in plaine words expoundeth it.

“I confess also with Basil, that we receive the mystical advent and comming of Christ, grace, and the vertue of his verie nature: the sacrament of his verie flesh, with Ambrose: the body by grace, with Epiphanius: spiritual flesh, but not that which was crucified, with Hierome: grace flowing into a sacrifice, and the grace of the spirit, with Chrysostome; grace and invisible veritie, grace and societie of the members of Christes body, with Augustine.

“Finally, with Bertram (which was the last of all these) I confesse that Christes bodie is in the sacrament in this respect; namely (as hee writeth) because there is in it the spirite of Christ, that is, the power of the word of God, which not onely feedeth the soule, but also cleanseth it.—Out of these I suppose it may clearely appeare unto all men, how farre we are from that opinion, whereof some go about falsly to slander us to the world, saying wee teach that the godly and faithfull should receive nothing els, at the Lords table, but a figure of the body of Christ.

“The second Proposition.

“After the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, neither any other substance, then the substance of God and man.

“ The Answer.

“ The second conclusion is manifestly false, directly against the word of God, the nature of the sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the godly fathers: and it is the rotten foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, both of the first, and of the third. I will not therefore now take up any further explication of this answer, being contented with that which is already added afore to the answer of the first proposition.

“ The first argument for the confirmation of this answer.

“ It is verie plaine by the worde of God, that Christ did give bread unto his disciples, and called it his body.

“ But the substance of bread is another manner of substance, than is the substance of Christs body, God and man :

“ Therefore the conclusion is false,

“ The second part of mine argument is plaine, and the first is proved thus :

“ The second argument.

“ That which Christ did take, on the which he gave thanks, and the which he did brake, he gave to his disciples, and called it his bodie :

“ But he tooke bread, gave thanks on bread, and brake bread :

“ *Reply.* The first part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the fathers, Irene, Tertullian, Origene, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Hierome, Augustine, Theodoret, Cyrill, Rabanus, and Bede. Whose places I will take upon me to shew to be manifest in this behalfe, if I may be suffered to have my say as my request is.

“ The third argument.

“ As the bread of the Lords table is Christes naturall body, so it is his mystical body.

“ But it is not Christes mysticall body by transubstantiation :

“ *Reply.* It is not his naturall body by transubstantiation :

“ The second part of my argument is plaine, and the first is proved thus : As Christ who is the veritie, spake of the bread

This is my body which shal be betraied for you, speaking there of his natural body; even so Paule mooved with the same spirit of truth, said, *Wee though we be many, yet are wee all one bread, and one body, which be partakers of one bread.*

“ The fourth argument.

“ We may no more beleeeve bread to be transubstantiate into the body of Christ, than the wine into his bloud.

“ But the wine is not transubstantiate into his bloud :

“ *Ergo*, neither is that bread therefore transubstantiate into his bodie.

“ The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second part is prooved out of the authoritie of Gods word in Mathew and Marke : *I will not drink of the fruite of the vine, &c.* Now the fruit of the vine was wine, which Christ drank and gave to his disciples to drinke. With this sentence agreeth plainly the place of Chrysostome on the xx chapter of Mathew. As Cyprian doth also, affirming that there is no bloud, if wine be not in the cup.

“ The fift argument.

“ The words of Christ spoken upon the cup and upon the bread, have like effect and working.

“ But the words spoken upon the cup have not vertue to transubstantiate :

“ *Ergo*, it followeth that the words spoken upon the bread, have no such vertue.

“ The second part of the argument is prooved, because they should then transubstantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup into the New Testament : but neither of these things can bee done, and very absurde it is to confesse the same.

“ The sixth argument.

“ The circumstances of the Scripture, the analogie and proportion of the sacraments, and the testimonie of the faithfull fathers ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the holy Scriptures touching the sacrament.

“ But the words of the Lords supper, the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogie of the sacraments, and the saying of the

fathers doe most effectually and plainly proove a figurative speech in the wordes of the Lords supper.

“*Ergo*, a figurative sense and meaning is specially to bee received in these words: *This is my bodie*.

“The circumstances of the Scripture: *Doe this in the remembrance of mee. As oft as yee shall eate of this bread and drinke of this cup, yee shall shewe forth the Lordes death. Let a man prove himselfe, and so eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup. They came together to breake bread: and they continued in breaking of bread. The bread which we break, &c. For we being many, are all one bread, and one bodie, &c.*

“The analogie of the sacraments is necessarie: for if the sacramentes had not some similitude or likenesse of the things wherof they be sacraments, they coulde in no wise bee sacraments. And this similitude in the sacrament of the Lords supper, is taken three maner of wayes.

“1. The first consisteth in nourishing, as ye shall read in Rabane, Cyprian, Augustine, Irenee, and most plainly in Isidore out of Bertram.

“2. The second, in the uniting and joining of many into one, as Cyprian teacheth.

“3. The third is a similitude of unlike thinges, where, like as the bread is turned into one bodie, so we, by the right use of this sacrament, are turned through faith into the body of Christ.

“The sayinges of the fathers declare it to be a figurative speech, as it appeareth in Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostome in *opere imperfecto**, Augustine, Ambrose, Basill, Gregorie Nazianzene, Hilary, and most plainly of all, in Bertram. Moreover, the sayinges and places of all the fathers, whose names I have before recited against the assertion of the first proposition, doe quite overthrow transubstantiation. But of all other, most evidently and plainly, Irenee, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostome to *Cesarus the Monk*, Augustine against *Adamantus*, Gelasius, Cyrill, Epiphanius, Chrysostome againe on the xx. of Mathew, Rabane, Damascene, and Bertram.

“Here right worshipfull M. prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners it may please you to understand, that I do not

* *In opere imperfecto*] A commentary upon St. Matthew, falsely attributed to St. Chrysostom, and known by the name of the *Opus Imperfectum*. See Fabricius' *Bibl. Græc.* tom. iii. p. 646.

leane to these thinges onely, which I have written in my former answeres and confirmations, but that I have also for the prooffe of that I have spoken, whatsoever Bertram, a man learned, of sound and upright judgement, and ever counted a catholicke for these seven hundreth yeares untill this our age, hath written. His treatise whosoever shall reade and wey, considering the time of the writer, his learning, godlinesse of life, the allegations of the auncient fathers, and his manifolde and most grounded arguments, I cannot (doubtlesse) but much marvell, if he have any feare of God at all, how hee can with good conscience speake against him in this matter of the sacrament. This Bertram was the first⁹

⁹ *This Bertram was the first.*] See Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 165. 173. Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 257. It is supposed, that Ridley first met with this book in the year 1545 or 1546. It was first printed in English, in 1548. See note at p. 668. Dr. Gloucester Ridley, after giving a description of its contents, proceeds to make the following very just and valuable observations. "Few books have drawn after them such salutary consequences as this has done. This first opened Ridley's eyes, and determined him more accurately to search the Scriptures in this article, and the doctrine of the primitive fathers, who lived before the time of this controversy betwixt Bertram and Paschasius. And how zealous soever Cranmer might be for transubstantiation, and how dangerous soever it might be to doubt of that article, yet Ridley very honestly communicated his discoveries and scruples to his good friend and patron the archbishop; who knowing the sincerity of the man, and his cool judgment, gave a more open ear to him, than he had formerly done to Joachim Vadianus, when he wrote to him on this subject from Germany, and was prevailed upon to examine this doctrine with the utmost care. The event was the conviction of both of them. *This was the great and important point of the reformation in doctrine. This was laying the axe to the root of the tree*; for, as Cranmer expresses himself, 'the taking away of beads, pilgrimages, pardons, and such like popery, was but lopping off a few branches; which would soon spring up again, unless the roots of the tree, which were transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass, were pulled up.' And this he acknowledges was owing to conference with Dr. Ridley, who by sundry persuasions, and authorities of doctors, drew him quite from his old opinion. And in the following year, by Cranmer's means, old Latimer was brought to a conviction of the same truth." P. 169. The progress of the reformation, as to a considerable part of it, is thus described by a zealous and eloquent adversary. "The Arians, to be short, and not the Arians only, but all other kinde of miscreants, misbeleevers, and heretiques (for the moste parte) intendyng to induce and bring in, the highest heresie of all, they used commonly to make induction thereunto by other meaner matiers. —And hath not the like practise been used of late years here with us also? Have not our new Christians, intending at lengthe to shoote at the highest marke of all, shotte first at the lower markes? Yes certainly. For first butted they at holie water, at holie bread, at ashes, at palme, at tenebringe,

that pulled mee by the eare, and that first brought me from the common errour of the Romish church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly, both the Scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiasticall fathers in this matter. And this I protest before the face of God, who knoweth I lie not in the things I now speake.

“ *The third Proposition.*

“ In the masse is the lively sacrifice of the church, propitable and avayleable for the sins, as well of the quicke as of the dead.

“ *The aunswere to this Proposition.*

“ I answered to this third proposition, as I did to the first. And moreover I say, that being taken in such sense as the wordes seeme to import, it is not onely erronious, but withall so much to the derogation and defacing of the deathe and passion of Christ, that I judge it may and ought most worthily to be counted wicked and blasphemous¹ against the most precious bloud of our saviour Christ.

“ *The Explication.*

“ Concerning the Romish masse which is used at this day, or the lively sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and avaylable for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead, the holy Scripture hath not so much as one syllable.

at knockyng, at knelyng, and other lyke lytle ceremonials. Then raised they abrode at verities unwrytten, at doctoures expositions, at man's traditions, at prescripte meates, at fastyng dayes, at holie dayes, at praying dayes, at booke service, and at such other meane matters, as uncertaine were. Afterwarde pricked they full, and wholye, most blasphemously at the cross of Christ, at the image of Christ, at the sanctes of Christ, at the mother of Christ, at the spouse of Christ, at the sacrifice of Christ, at the sacraments of Christ, and therein at last at the most precious body and bloud of Christ, as the highest mark of all, the chiefe mystery of our faith, and the greatest comfort man hath in all this mortal life.” *Sermon at Pauls Crosse, Novemb. 12. 1533.* by James Brokes, D.D. and master of Balliol College. Sig. 2. E. 4.

¹ *Wicked and Blasphemous*—“ The sacrifices of masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quicke and the dead, have no reason of pain and guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous conceits.” Art. XXXI. of the Church of England, *Of the one oblation of Christ finished up on the crosse.*

“There is ambiguitie also in the name of masse, what it signifieth, and whether at this day there bee any such indeed as the auncient fathers used; seeing that now there be neither *Catechistes* nor *pœnitentes* to be sent away.

“Againe touching these wordes (*the lively sacrifice of the church*), there is doubt whether they are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally, for the sacrament of the lively sacrifice (after which sort we denie it not to bee in the Lords supper) or properly and without any figure: of the which manner there was but one only sacrifice, and that once offered, namely upon the aultar of the crosse.

“Moreover, in these words (*as well as*) it may bee doubted whether they be spoken in mockage, as men are wont to say in sport, of a foolish and ignorant person, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge: being apt indeede in neither of them both.

“There is also a doubt in the worde (*propitiabls*) whether it signifie here, that which taketh away sinne, or that which may be made availeable² for the taking away of sin: that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the passive signification.

“Now the falsenes of the proposition, after the meaning of the schoolemen and the Romish church, and impietie in that sense which the words seeme to importe, is this: that they leaning to the foundation and their fond transubstantiation, would make the quicke and lively bodie of Christs flesh (united and knit to the divinitie) to lie hid under the accidents, and outward shewes of bread and wine. Which is verie false, as I have sayd afore: and they building upon this foundation, do hold that the same body is offered unto God by the priest in his daily massings to put away the sins of the quick and the dead, whereas by the apostle to the Hebrewes it is evident, that there is but one oblation, and one true and lively sacrifice, of the church offered upon the aultar of the crosse, which was, is and shall be for ever the propitiation for the sinnes of the whole world: and where there is remis-

² *Made availeable.*] The wordes in Latin are, “an quod potest reddi propitium;” and therefore, the translation does not reach the sense of the original. The meaning of the clause is, “whether it signify here, that which propitiates, or that which may be propitiated; that is to say, *whether it is to be taken in the active, &c.*”

sion of the same, there is (saith the apostle) no more offering for sinne.

“ Arguments confirming his Answer.

“ No sacrifice ought to be done but where the priest is meet to offer the same.

“ All other priests be unmeete to offer sacrifice propitiatorie for sinne, save onely Christ :

“ *Ergo*, no other priests ought to sacrifice for sinne, but Christ alone.

“ The second part of my argument is thus prooved.

“ No honour in Gods church ought to be taken, whereunto a man is not called, as Aaron.

“ It is a great honour in Gods church to sacrifice for sinne.

“ *Ergo*, No man ought to sacrifice for sinne, but onely they which are called.

“ But only Christ is called to that honour.

“ *Ergo*, no other priest but Christ ought to sacrifice for sinne. That no man is called to this degree of honour but Christ alone, it is evident : for there are but two only orders of priesthood allowed in the word of God ; namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchisedech. But now the order of Aaron is come to an end by reason that it was unprofitable, and weak, and of the order of Melchisedech there is but one priest alone, even Christ the Lord, which hath a priesthood that cannot passe to any other.

“ An Argument.

“ That thing is in vain and to no effect, where no necessity is wherefore it is done.

“ To offer up any more sacrifice propitiatorie for the quick and the dead, there is no necessity, for Christ our saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all.

“ *Ergo*, to doe the same in the masse, it is in vaine.

“ Another Argument.

“ After that eternal redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the same.

“ But Christ comming an high bishop, &c. found and obtayned for us eternall redemption.

“ *Ergo*, there needeth now no more daily oblation for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead.

“ *Another Argument.*

“ All remission of sinnes commeth onely by shedding of bloud.

“ In the masse, there is no shedding of bloud.

“ *Ergo*, in the masse there is no remission of sinnes : and so it followeth also that there is no propitiatorie sacrifice.

“ *Another Argument.*

“ In the masse the passion of Christ is not in veritie, but in a mystery, representing the same : yea even there where the Lords supper is duely ministered.

“ But where Christ suffereth not, there is he not offered in veritie : for the apostle saith, *Not that he might offer up himselfe oftentimes (for then must he have suffered oftentimes sith the beginning of the world)* now where Christ is not offered, there is no propitiatorie sacrifice.

“ *Ergo*, in the masse there is no propitiatorie sacrifice : *For Christ appeared once in the latter end of the world, to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself. And as it is appointed to all men that they shall once die, and then commeth the judgement ; even so Christ was once offered to take away the sinnes of many. And unto them that looke for him, shall hee appeare again without sinne, unto salvation.*

“ *Another Argument.*

“ Where there is any sacrifice that can make the commers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any mo expiatorie and propitiatorie sacrifices.

“ But in the New Testament there is one onely sacrifice now alreadie long since offered, which is able to make the commers thereto perfect for ever.

“ *Ergo*, in the New Testament they ought to cease from offering any moe propitiatorie sacrifices.”

“ Sentences of the Scripture tending to the same ends and purpose, out of which also may be gathered other manifest arguments, for more confirmation thereof.

“ By the which will (saith the apostle) we are sanctified, by the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ, once for all. And in the same place; But this man after that he had offered one sacrifice for sin, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God, &c. For with one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified, and by himselfe hath he purged our sinnes. I beseech you to marke these words (by himselfe) the which well wayed, will without doubt cease all controversie.

“ The apostle plainly denyeth any other sacrifice to remaine for him that treadeth under his feete the bloud of the testament by the which he was made holie. Christ will not be crucified againe, he will not his death to be had in derision.

“ He hath reconciled us in the body of his flesh. Marke I beseech you, he saith not, in the mysterie of his bodie; but in the body of his flesh.

“ If any man sinne, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sinnes, not for ours only, but for the sinnes of the whole world.

“ I knowe that all these places of the Scripture are avoyded by two maner of subtle shiftes: the one is by the distinction of the bloudie and unbloudie sacrifice, as though our unbloody sacrifice of the church were any other than the sacrifice of praise and thankes-giving, than a commemoration, a shewing forth, and a sacramentall representation of that one only bloody sacrifice offered up once for all.*

“ The other is by depraving and wresting the sayings of the auncient fathers unto such a strange kinde of sense, as the fathers themselves indeede never meant. For what the meaning of the fathers was it is evident by that which Saint Augustine writeth in his epistle to Boniface, and in the eighty-third chapter of his ninth booke against Faustus, the Manichee, besides many other places; likewise by Eusebius, Emisene, Cyprian, Chrysostome, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, which do wholly concur and agree together in this unitie in the Lord, that the reading

* Unbloudie sacrifice. See Index, under Sacrifice bloody, &c.

tion once made in veritie for the salvation of man, continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceasing unto the end of the world ; that the sacrifice once offered cannot be consumed ; that the Lords death and passion is as effectuall, the vertue of that bloud, once shed, as fresh at this day for the washing away of sinnes, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Saviour : and finally, that the whole substance of our sacrifice which is frequented of the church, in the Lords supper, consisteth in prayers, praise, and giving of thanks, and in remembring and shewing forth of that sacrifice once offered upon the aultar of the crosse ; that the same might continually be had in reverence by myserie, which once onely, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

“ These are the things (right worshipfull M. prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners) which I could presently prepare to the answering of your three foresaid propositions ; being destitute of all helpe in this shortnesse of time, sodaine warning, and want of bookes. Wherefore I appeale to my first protestation, most humbly desiring the helpe of the same (as much as may be) to be graunted unto me. And because ye have lately given most unjust and cruell sentence against me, I do here appeale (so far forth as I may) to a more indifferent and just censure and judgement of some other superiour, competent, and lawfull judge, and that according to the approved state of the church of England. Howbeit, I confesse that I am ignorant what that is at this present, through the trouble and alteration of the state of the realme.— But if this appeale may not be granted to me upon earth, then do I flie (even as to my only refuge and alone haven of health) to the sentence of the eternall judge, that is, of the almightie God, to whose most mercifull justice towards his, and most just mercifulnes, I do wholly commit my selfe and all my cause, nothing at all despayring of the defence of mine advocate and alone saviour, Jesus Christ, to whom, with the everlasting Father, and the holy Spirit, the sanctifier of us all, be now, and for ever, all honour and glorie, Amen.”

Albeit this learned bishop was not suffered to read all that is above prefixed before the disputations, yet because he had it then readie, and offered it up to the prolocutor after the disputations and sentence pronounced ; I thought heere the place not unmeete to annexe the same together with the rest.—Now let us

heere the arguments^a and answers betwene doctour Smith and him.

The disputation had at Oxford the 18th Day of Aprill, 1544, betwene M. Hugh Latimer answerer, and M. Smith and other opposers.

After the disputations of bishop Ridley ended, next was brought out master Hugh Latimer to dispute, upon Wednesday, which was the eighteenth day of Aprill. Which disputation began at eight of the clock, in such form as before ; but it was most in English. For master Latimer the answerer alledged that he was out of use with the Latine, and unfit for that place.

There replied unto him M. Smith of Oriall college : doctour Cartwright, M. Harpsfield, and divers other had snatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He escaped no hissings, and somefull laughings, no more than they that went before him. He was very faint, and desired that hee might not long tarrie. He durst not drinke for feare of vomiting. The disputation ended before eleven of the clocke. M. Latimer was not suffered to read that he had (as he said) painefully written ; but it was exhibited up, and the prolocutor read part thereof, and so proceeded unto the disputation.

The Preface of Weston unto the Disputation following.

"Men and brethren, we are come together this day (by the helpe of God) to vanquish the strength of the arguments, and dispersed opinions of adversaries, against the truth of the real presence of the Lords bodie in the sacrament. And therefore, you father, if you have any thing to answer, I doe admonish that you answer in short and few words."

Lat. "I pray you, good M. prolocutor, doe not exact that of mee, which is not in mee ; I have not these twenty yeeres much used the Latine tongue."

West. "Take your ease, father."

Lat. "I thanke you sir, I am well.—Let me here protest

^a Latimer the
to

These arguments, extending from p. 1316

my faith for I am not able to dispute : and afterwards doe your pleasure with me."

The Protestation of M. Hugh Latimer, given up in writing to Doctor Weston.

"The conclusions whereunto I must aunswere are these.

"1. The first is, that in the sacrament of the altar, by the vertue of Gods word pronounced by the priest, there is really present the naturall body of Christ, conceived of the virgine Marie, under the kindes of the appearances of bread and wine : and in like manner his bloud.

"2. The second is, that after consecration, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor none other substance, but the substance of God and man.

"3. The third is, that in the masse there is the lively sacrifice of the church, which is propitiable, as well for the sinnes of the quicke, as of the dead.

"Concerning the first conclusion, mee thinketh it is set foorth with certaine new found termes, that be obscure, and doe not sound according to the speech of the Scripture. Howbeit, howsoever I understand it, this I doe answere plainly, though not without perill. I answere, I say, that to the right celebration of the Lords supper, there is no other presence of Christ required, than a spirituall presence : and this presence is sufficient for a Christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternall life, if we persever. And this same presence may be called most fitly, a reall presence, that is, a presence not fained, but a true and a faithful presence. Which thing I here rehearse lest some sycophant or scorner should suppose mee with the Anabaptistes, to make nothing else of the sacrament but a naked and a bare signe. As for that which is fained of many concerning their corporall presence, I for my part take it but for a papisticall invention, therefore thinke it utterly to be rejected.

"Concerning the second conclusion, I dare bee bolde to say, that it hath no stay or ground, in Gods word, but is a thing invented and found out by man ; and therefore to bee taken as fond and false : and I had almost sayd, as the mother and nurse of the other errors. It were good for my lords and maisters of

the transubstantiation, to take heed lest they conspire with the Nestorians; for I do not see how they can avoid it.

“The third conclusion (as I doe understand it) seemeth subtly to sowe sedition against the offering which Christ himself offered for us in his owne proper person, according to that pithie place of Paule, when he sayth, *That Christ his owne selfe hath made purgation of our sinnes.* And afterward, *That hee might* (saith he) *be a mercifull and a faithful bishop, concerning those things which are to bee done with God, for the taking away of our sinnes.* So that the expiation or taking away of our sinnes, may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering bishop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himselfe: and therefore it is needlesse that he should be offered of any other. I will speake nothing of the wonderfull presumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifest vocation, specially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitles (if not wholly, yet partly) of the crosse of Christ: for truely it is no base or meane thing, to offer Christ. And therefore woorthily a man may say to my lords and masters the offerers: By what authoritie do ye this! and who gave you this authority! Where! when! A man cannot (sayth the Baptist) *take anie thing, except it be given him from above*: much less then may any man presume to usurpe any honor before he be thereto called.—Againe, *If any man sinne* saith S. John, *we have* (saith he) not a masser or offerer at home, which can sacrifice for us at masse, but *we have* (saith he) *an advocate Jesus Christ*, which once offered himself along agoe: of which offering, the efficacie and effect is perdurable for every, so that it is needlesse to have such offerers.

“What meaneth Paule, when he saith: *They that serve at the altar, are partakers of the altar?* and so addeth: *So the Lord hath ordeined that they that preach the gospel, shal live of the gospel.* Whereas he should have said: The Lord hath ordeined, that they that sacrifice at masse, should live of their sacrificing, that there might be a living assigned to our sacrifices now, as was before Christes coming, to the Jewish priests. For now they have nothing to alledge for their living, as they that be preachers have. So that it appeareth that the sacrificing priesthood is changed by Gods ordinance, into a preaching priesthood, and the sacrificing priesthood should cease utterlie, saving in as much as all Christian men are sacrificing priests.

“The supper of the Lord was instituted to provoke us to thanksgiving, for the offering which the Lord himselfe did offer for us, much rather then that our offerers should doe there as they do. *Feede* (sayth Peter) *as much as ye may the flocke of Christ*: nay rather let us sacrifice as much as wee may, for the flocke of Christ. If so be the matter be as now men make it, I can never wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of sacrificing, which at this day is in such a price and estimation, that to feede is almost nothing with many. If thou cease from feeding the flocke, how shalt thou be taken? truly catholike enough. But if thou cease from sacrificing and massing, how will that be taken? at the least I warrant thee, thou shalt be called an heretike.—And whence I pray you, come these papisticall judgements? Except perchance they thinke a man feedeth the flocke, in sacrificing for them: and then what needeth there anie learned pastours? For no man is so foolish, but soone may he learne to sacrifice and masse it.

“Thus loe, I have taken the more paine to write, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debilitie thereunto: that all men may know, how that I have so done, not without great paines, having not any man to helpe me, as I have never before beene debarred to have.—O sir, you may chance to live till you come to this age and weaknesse that I am of. I have spoken in my time before two kings, more than once, two or three houres together^b, without interruption: but now, that I may speake the truth (by your leave), I could not be suffered to declare my minde before you, no, not by the space of a quarter

^b *Houres together.*] This, or even more, he mentions elsewhere to have been the length of his sermons; and of that of others, occasionally at least, of that day. “And what if I should say nothing els, these *three or foure houres*, (for I know it will *be so long*, if I be not commanded to the contrary) but these wordes: *Take heede and beware of covetousness.*” *Sermons*, fol. 100 b. “I let passe to speake of muche other suche like counterfeite doctrine, which hathe bene blasted and blowne out by some for the space of *three houres together.*” *Ibid.* fol. 6 b. And yet Cranmer had long before given him a hint to stand no longer in the pulpit, on any condition, than an hour or an hour and a half at the most; “for by long expense of time, the king and the queen shall peradventure wax so weary at the beginning (*i. e.* of his appointed course of Lent sermons), that they shall have small delight to continue throughout with you to the end.” *Cranmer’s Works*, vol. i. p. 124. This was in the reign of king Henry VIII., about the year 1535, and the queen was Anne Boleyn.

of an houre, without snatches, revilings, checkes, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like, in such an audience, all my life long. Surely it cannot be, but an heinous offence that I have given. But what was it! Forsooth I had spoken of the *four* marrowbones of the masse. The which kinde of speaking, I never read to be a sinne against the Holy Ghost.

"I could not be allowed to shew what I meant by my metaphore. But sir, now, by your favour, I will tell your maiestie what I meane.

"The first is the popish consecration: which hath bene called a Gods body making.

"The second is transubstantiation.

"The third is missall oblation.

"The fourth adoration.

"These chiefe and principall portions, partes and points belonging or incident to the masse, and most esteemed and had in price in the same, I call the marrowbones of the masse; which indeede you by force, might, and violence, intrude in sounde of words in some of the scripture, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the same: but els indeede, plaine out of the Scripture¹.

¹ *Plaine out of the Scripture.*] In another copy of this protestation, published by Strype, in his *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. iii. Records, no. 34, we find the following additional particulars. After stating that he had read over the New Testament, seven times, since he was in prison, and could never find the flesh, blood, or bones of Christ, in the doctrine of the eucharist, he goes on, "And because, peradventure, my masters myght say, that I doted for age, and my wittes were gone, so that my wordes were not to be credited yet, beholde! the providence of God, which will have his truthe knownen yea if all men helde their tongues, the stones should speake), did bring this to passe, that where these famous men, Mr. Cranmere, archebyschop of Canturbury, Mr. Ridley, bishop of London, that holy man Mr. Bradforde, and I olde Hugh Latimer, were imprisoned in the Tower of London for Christs gospel preaching, and for because we wolde not go a massyng, every one in close prison from the other; the same tower, being so full of other prisoners, that we four were thrust into one chamber, as men not to be accounted of, but, God be thanked! to our great joy and comforte, there did we together reade over the Newe Testament with great deliberation, and payneful study. And I assure you, as I wyll answer before the tribunall throne of Goddes Majestie, we could fynde in the Testament of Christes body and blood, no other presence, but a spiritual presence; nor that the masse was any sacrifice for synnes: but in that heavenly booke it appered, that the sacrifice, what Christ Jesus our Redeemer did upon the crosse, was perfect, holy, and good

as I am thorowly perswaded, although in disputation I could now nothing doe, to perswade the same to others, being both unapt to studie, and also to make a shew of my former studie, in such readinesse as should be requisite to the same.

“ I have heard much talke of maister doctor Weston to and fro, in my time : but I never knewe your person to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the queenes majesties commissioner. I pray God send you so right judgement, as I perceive you have a great wit, great learning, with many other qualities. God give you grace ever well to use them, and ever to have in remembrance that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the lowe things on the earth : and that there is no counsell against the Lord : and also that this world hath beene, and yet is a tottering world. And yet againe⁷, that though wee must obey the princes, yet that hath this limitation, namely, in the Lord⁸. For whoso doth obey them

that God the heavenly Father did require none other, nor that never ageyne to be done.” P. 92.

⁷ *And yet againe.*] In the copy mentioned in the preceding note, this passage stands as follows ; “ And yet ageyne, that though we must obey the princes, yet are we lymyted, howe farre ; that ys, so long as they do not commaund things ageynst the manifest truth. But nowe they doe. Therefore we must say with Peter and John, *We must obey God, before man.*—I meane none other resistaunce, but to offer our lives to the death, rather than to commytt any evill ageynst the majestie of God, and his most holy and true worde. But this I say unto you, if the quene have any pernicious enemy within her realme, those they be that do cause her to maynteyn idolatry, and to wet her sword of justice in the blood of her people.” P. 93.

⁸ *In the Lord.*] “ Looke, what lawe and ordinaunces are made by the magistrates we ought to obey them. Therefore let us consider ever in all our doynges what be the lawes of the realme, and according unto the same wee must live. And this is to be understand as well in spiritual matters as temporal, so farre forth as their lawes be not agaynst God, and his word. When they will have us to do any thing against God, then we shall say, *Oportet magis obedire Deo quam hominibus* : We must more be obedient unto God, then unto man. Yet wee may not withstand them with stoutnes, or rise upp against them ; but suffer whatsoever they shall doe unto us : for wee may for nothinge in the worlde rebell agaynst the office of God, that is to say, agaynst the magistrate.” *Sermons*, fol. 293.

In another place, he lays down well the distinction between the claims of the pope, and of the constitutional monarchy of England, in speaking of the subject's obligation to obedience.

“ I heare say, ye take upon you to judge the judgements of judges.

“ I will not make the king a pope : for the pope will have all things that he doth, taken for an article of our fayth. [“ I will

against the Lord, they be most pernicious to them, and the greatest adversaries that they have: for they so procure Gods vengeance upon them, if God be onely the ruler of things.

“ There be some so corrupt in minde, the trueth being taken from them, that they thinke gaine to bee godlinesse; great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing, and raging about questions and strife of words. I call them men of no learning, because they know not Christ, how much els soever they know. And on this sort we are wont to call great learned clerkes, being ignorant of Christ, unlearned men: for it is nothing but plaine ignorance, to knowe anie thing without Christ: whereas who so knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to seeke. The apostle Saint Paul confesseth of himselfe to the Corinthians, that hee did know nothing, but Jesus Christ crucified. Many men babble many things of Christ which yet know not Christ: but pretending Christ, deceitfully colour and darken his glorie. *Depart from such men,* sayth the apostle Saint Paule to Timothie.

“ It is not out of the way to remember what S. Augustine saith. The place where, I now well remember not, except it be ‘against the epistles of Perillian:’ *Whosoever (saith hee) teacheth any thing necessarily to be beleevd, which is not contained in the Olde or Newe Testament, the same is accursed.* () beware of this curse if you be wise. I am much deceived if Basilius have not such like wordes: *Whatsoever (saith hee) is besides the holy Scripture, if the same be taught as necessarily to be beleevd, that is sinne.* O therefore take heede of this sinne!

“ There be some that speake many false thinges more probable, and more like to the truth, than the truth it selfe. Therefore Paul giveth a watch word: *Let no man (saith hee) deceive you*

“ I will not say but that the king and his councell may erre: the parliament houses, both the highe and lowe, may erre. I pray dayly that they may not erre.

“ It becommeth us whatsoever they decree to stand unto it, and receive it obediently, as far forth as it is not manifestly wicked, and directly against the word of God. It pertayneth unto us to thinke the best, though we cannot render a cause for the doing of every thinge. For *charitas omnia credit, omnia sperat*; charity doth beleve and trust all thinges. Wee ought to respond to the best all things, although we cannot yeald a reason . . . Let us not therefore judge judges. We are comptable to God, and so be they.” *Sermons, fol. 50.*

with probability and perswasions of words.—But what mean you, saith one, by this talke so farre from the matter? Well, I hope, good masters you wil suffer an olde man a little to play the child, and to speake one thing twise.—O Lord God, you have changed the most holy communion into a private action: and you denie to the laitie the Lords cuppe, contrary to Christes commandement; and you do blemish the annunciation of the Lords death till hee come: for you have changed the Common Prayer called the divine service, with the administration of the sacraments, from the vulgar and knowne language, into a strange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his word. God open the doore of your heart, to see the thinges you should see herein!—I would as faine obey my soveraigne as anie in this realme: but in these things I can never doe it with an upright conscience. God be merciful unto us. Amen.”

Weston. “Then refuse you to dispute? Will you heere then subscribe?”

Lat. “No good maister, I pray you be good to an olde man. You may, if it please God, be once olde, as I am: yee may come to this age, and to this debilitie.”

West. “Ye said upon Saturday last, that yee could not finde the masse, nor the marrowbones thereof in your booke: but we will finde a masse in that booke.”

Lat. “No good M. doctor ye cannot.”

West. “What finde you then there?”

Lat. “Forsooth a communion I finde there?”

West. “Which communion, the first or the last^a?”

Lat. “I finde no great diversity in them: they are one supper of the Lord, but I like the last very well.”

West. “Then the first was naught belike.”

Lat. “I do not well remember wherein they differ.”

West. “Then cake bread¹ and loafe bread are all one with

^a *The first or the last.*] “By this first and second communion, he meaneth the two books of publicke order set forth in k. Edwardes dayes, the one in the beginning, the other in the latter end of his reign.”—Fox’s Margin. The Romish party were never weary of objecting against these alterations and improvements, as arguments of the necessity for returning again into the quiet bosom of the church, &c. See Hoggard’s *Displaying of the Protestantes*, 1556, fol. 72—76; Brokes’s *Sermon*, 1554, signat. D 7; Strype’s *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. ii. p. 215, 16.

¹ *Then cake bread.*] “Then touchyng the ministracion, whether it should be leavened or unleavened bread, Oh what a doe there was! First, it must

you. Ye call it the supper of the Lord¹, but you are deceived in that: for they had done the supper before, and therefore the scripture saith: *Postquam conatum est*, that is, After they had supped. For ye know that S. Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, for that some of them were drunken at this supper: and yee knowe no man can be drunken at your communion."

Latim. "The first was called *Cena Judaica*, that is, The Jewish supper, when they did eat the paschal lambe together: the other was called *Cena Dominica*, that is, The Lord's supper."

West. "That is false, for Chrysostome denieth that. And S. Ambrose in *cap. 10. prioris ad Corinthios*, sayth, that the mystery of the sacrament, given as they were at supper, is not the supper of the Lord. And Gregorie Nazianzene sayth the same.—Againe, he kept the holy feast of passover with his disciples in the dining chamber after the supper, and one day before his passion. But wee keepe it both in the churches and houses of prayer, both before the supper and also after the resurrection.

"And that first supper was called *ἀγών*: can you tell what that is?"

Latim. "I understand no Greeke². Yet I thinke it meaneth charitie."

be unleavened, but broader and thicker than the olde maner was, and in any wyse the *print of the name of Jesus* left out, which was as odious a sight to them, as the sygne of the crosse was to Julianus Apostata, who in any wyse coulde not abyde the sayde sygne, neither in churche, wyndowe, or other place. Then these Julianistes, to bryng the sacrament to a more profane use, they devysed, that the bread should be leavened, like to other common bread; from the which, though many crumbe did fall, they forced not, so little they esteemed the matter. For such sacrament, such minister: such carpenters, such tooles."—Hoggard's *Displaying of Protestants*, 1556, fol. 73, 4.

¹ *The supper of the Lord.*] "I will tell you what a byshoppe of this realme sayd once to me. I chaunced, in our communication, to name the *Lords Supper*. 'Tush,' sayth the byshoppe, 'what do ye call the *Lords supper*? What new term is that?' There stood by him a dubber, one doctor Dubber. he dubbed hym by and by, and sayd, that this terme was seldome read in the doctoures. And I made aunswere, that I would rather follow Paule in using his termes, than them, though they had all the doctoures on their side. Why (said the bishop) cannot we without the Scriptures order the people? How dyd they before the Scripture was first written?"—Latimer's *Sermons*, fol. 37 b.

² *I understand no Greeke.*] This is not to be interpreted to the utmost

Weston. "Will you have all things done that Christ did then? Why then must the priest bee hanged on the morrow. And where finde you, I pray you, that a woman should receive the sacrament?"

Lat. "Will you give me leave to turne my booke? I finde it in the eleventh chapter to the Corinthians, I trowe these be his wordes: *Probet autem seipsum homo, &c.*

"I pray you good maister, what gender is *homo*?"

West. "Marrie the common gender."

Cole. "It is in the Greeke, ὁ ἄνθρωπος."

Harps. "It is ἀνὴρ, that is, *vir*."

Lat. "It is in my booke of Erasmus translation, *Probet seipsum homo.*"

Feck. "It is *Probet seipsum* indeede, and therefore it importeth the masculine gender."

Lat. "What then? I trow when the woman touched Christ hee said: *Quis tetigit me? Scio quòd aliquis me tetigit.* That is, Who touched me? I know that some man touched me."

West. "I will be at host with you anon. When Christ was at his supper, none were with him, but his apostles onely.

"*Ergo*, he meant no woman, if you will have his institution kept."

Lat. "In the twelve apostles was represented the whole church, in which you will grant both men and women to be."

West. "So through the whole hereticall translated bible, ye never make mention of priest⁴, till yee come to the putting of

strictness of the letter; as even the words uttered in the same breath shew. Moreover, upon one occasion, in his sermons, and that in one preached not quite two years before the present disputation, he says, "My translation hath, *hæc mando vobis*, the *plural* number. The English goeth as though it *singularly* were but one. I examined the Greek, where it is in the *plural* number."—*Sermons*, fol. 266.

⁴ *That is, vir.*] See Strype's *Eccles. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 118.

⁵ *Mention of priest.*] Tindal has fully vindicated himself on this head, in his Answer to the *Dialogue* of Sir Thomas More. See *Works*, p. 251—3. But Weston and his friends had very little care about listening to reason and argument. They had the *sword* in their hands; and that emboldened them to set both reason and truth at defiance. One of the most learned of the party, in relation to the names of priest and minister, and to the changes which had been made under king Edward in the habits of the clergy, speaks as follows: "Then was the holy order of priesthode utterly disannulled, so that the name of a priest should not be any longer used; but such as should

Christ to death. Where finde you then that a priest or minister (a minstrell I may call him, well enough) should doe it to necessitie?"

Lat. "A minister is a more fit name^a for that office, for the name of a priest importeth a sacrifice."

West. "Well, remember that yee cannot finde that a woman may receive by Scripture.—Master opponent fall to it."

Smith. "Because I perceiue that this charge is laide upon my necke, to dispute with you: to the ende that the same may go forward after a right maner and order, I wil propose three questions, so as they are put forth unto me. And first I aske the question of you, although the same indeed ought not to be called in question: but such is the condition of the church, that it is alwaies vexed of the wicked sort. I aske, I say, whether Christes bodie be really in the sacrament?"

Lat. "I trust I have obtained of M. prolocutour, that no man shall exact that thing of me, which is not in me. And I am sorie that this worshipfull audience should be deceived of their expectation for my sake. I have given up my minde in writing to M. prolocutor."

Smith. "Whatsoever ye have given up, it shall be registered among the acts."

Latin. "Disputation requireth a good memorie: *Est mihi memoria.* My memorie is gone cleane, and marvellously weakened, and never the better, I wis, for the prison."

West. "How long have ye bene in prison?"

Lat. "These three quarters of this yere."

West. "And I was in prison sixe yeres."

Lat. "The more pitie, sir."

West. "How long have you bene of this opinion?"

Lat. "It is not long, sir, that I have bene of this opinion."

West. "The time hath bene when you said masse devoutly."

Lat. "Yea I erie God mercie heartily for it."

preache and minister sacramentes, should be called *ministers*, and not *priests*, and that they should be apparelled lyke lay men, so that a minister should not be knowne from a lay man, but all shoulde be alyke: whiche never was used in the church of God from Christes tyme hitherto, but only amonge papal tykes." Christopher's *argument against rebellion*, signat. A. 6. 1. 1. 4.

^a A more fit name. Compare *Christian Institutes*, Index, under *Minister*, and under *Priest*.

West. "Where learned you this new fanglenesse?"

Lat. "I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not beene of this minde past seven yeeres: and my lord of Canturburies booke hath especially confirmed my judgement heerein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not feare to answer any man in this matter."

Tres. "There are in that booke sixe hundred errors."

West. "You were once a Lutheran."

Lat. "No, I was a papist: for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation. The Tigurines once did write a booke⁷ against Luther, and I oft desired God that hee might live so long to make them answer."

West. "Luther in his booke *De privata missa*, said, that the divell reasoned with him, and perswaded him that the mass was not good. Whereof it may appeare, that Luther said masse, and the divell dissuaded him from it."

"Lat. "I doe not take in hand here to defend Luthers sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himselfe well enough, I trow. I tolde you before that I am not meete for disputations. I pray you read mine answer, wherein I have declared my faith."

West. "Doe you believe this, as you have written?"

Lat. "Yea, sir."

West. "Then have you no faith."

Lat. "Then would I be sorie, sir."

Tres. "It is written (John vi.) *Except ye shall eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his bloud, ye shal have no life in you.* Which when the Capernaïtes and many of Christes disciples heard, they said, *This is a hard saying, &c.* Now that the trueth may the better appeare, heer I aske of you, whether Christ speaking these words, did meane of his flesh to bee eaten with the mouth, or of the spirituall eating of the same?"

Lat. "I answer (as Augustine understandeth) that Christ meant of the spirituall eating of his flesh."

Tresham. "I my selfe have heard you preaching at Greenwich, before king Henrie the eight, where you did openly affirme, that no Christian man ought to doubt of the true and reall presence of Christes bodie in the sacrament, forasmuch as he had the word of Scripture on his side, (*videlicet*) *Hoc est corpus*

⁷ *Did write a booke.*] See Lavateri *Historia Sacramentaria*, fol. 32, 3.

meum : This is my body : whereby he might be confirmed. now there is the same trueth : the word of Scripture hath selfe same thing which it then had. Therefore why do you at this present, that whereof it was not lawfull once to before, when you taught it?"

Lat. "Will you give me leave to speake?"

Tresh. "Speake Latine, I pray you, for yee can do it list, promptly enough."

Lat. "I cannot speake Latine so long and so largelie prolocutor hath given mee leave to speake English. And he shall answere the doctours, had not neede to be in my case should have them in a readines, and know their purpose. lancthon sayeth, if the doctours had foreseene that they should have been so taken in this controversie, they would have warned more plainely."

West. "Because ye can defend your doctors no better shall see how worshipful men ye hang upon, and one that beene of your minde, shall dispute with you. M. Cartwright pray you dispute."

Cart. "Reverend father, because it is given me in mandement to dispute with you, I will doe it gladly. But understand ere we go any further, that I was in the same case that you are in : but I am sorry for it, and doe confesse my fault to have erred. I acknowledge mine offence, and I wish to desire God that you also may repent with me."

Lat. "Will you give me leave to tell what hath caused this doctour heere to recant? It is *pœna legis*, the paine of the law which hath brought you backe, and converted you, and not of mee : the which letteth many to confesse God. And this is a good argument : there are few here can dissolve it."

Cart. "That is not my case : but I will make you this good argument, by which I was converted^a from mine errors.

^a *By which I was converted.*] Perhaps Cartwright was indebted for this argument, and so for his conversion to the following passage in Dr. Bucer's sermon. "Whereupon one reason may be thought, maie be grounded, that were sufficient to move any harde heart, any stony stomake, any blunt witte, that is not utterly obcecate, utterly obstinate, utterly indurate. The reason shall bee this. Other you muste graunte the real presence of our Saviour Christes owne very bodie, and bloude in the holye and blessed sacrament, if the truth is, or els must you make us beleve, that all the auncient and godly persones, al the holy martyres, and confessours, al the holy fa-

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Tres. "There are in that booke sixe hundred errors."

West. "You were once a Lutheran."

Lat. "No, I was a papist: for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation. The Tigurines once did write a booke⁷ against Luther, and I oft desired God that hee might live so long to make them answeere."

West. "Luther in his booke *De privata missa*, said, that the divell reasoned with him, and perswaded him that the mass was not good. Whereof it may appeare, that Luther said masse, and the divell disswaded him from it."

"Lat. "I doe not take in hand here to defend Luthers sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himselfe well enough, I trow. I tolde you before that I am not meete for disputations. I pray you read mine answeere, wherein I have declared my faith."

West. "Doe you believe this, as you have written?"

Lat. "Yea, sir."

West. "Then have you no faith."

Lat. "Then would I be sorie, sir."

Tres. "It is written (John vi.) *Except ye shall eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his bloud, ye shal have no life in you.* Which when the Capernaïtes and many of Christes disciples heard, they said, *This is a hard saying, &c.* Now that the trueth may the better appeare, heer I aske of you, whether Christ speaking these words, did meane of his flesh to bee eaten with the mouth, or of the spirituall eating of the same?"

Lat. "I answer (as Augustine understandeth) that Christ meant of the spirituall eating of his flesh."

Tresham. "I my selfe have heard you preaching at Greenwich, before king Henrie the eight, where you did openly affirme, that no Christian man ought to doubt of the true and reall presence of Christes bodie in the sacrament, forasmuch as he had the word of Scripture on his side, (*videlicet*) *Hoc est corpus*

⁷ *Did write a booke.*] See Lavateri *Historia Sacramentaria*, fol. 32, 3.

thinke for the space of sixe or seven hundred yeares, there was no mention made of any eating but spirituallie : for before these five hundred yeers, the church did ever confesse a spirituall manducation. But the Romish church begat the error of transubstantiation. My lord of Canturburies booke handleth that very well, and by him I could answere you, if I had him."

Cart. "Linus and all the rest do confesse the body of Christ to bee in the sacrament : and S. Augustine also upon the 98. Psalme, upon this place ; *Adorato scabellum pedum*, &c. granteth it to be worshipped."

Lat. "We do worship Christ in the heavens, and we doe worship him in the sacrament ; but the massing worship is not to be used."

West. "How say you to the sacrifice for the dead ?"

Lat. "I saie that it needeth not, or it booteth not."

West. "Augustine in his *Enchiridion*, the 110. chap. saith. We must not denie, that the soules of the dead are relieved by the devotion of their friends which are living, when the sacrifice

how it might be avoided ; but after these edicts" (by which the emperor denied to schismatics and heretics, the privileges which they had granted to the true believers), "they certainly did it much more : and there being in the world no bishop more famous than the Roman, nor any other name in those parts of Europe than he, every one endeavoured to live united to that church whose form the council of Nice, 325, approving, in distribution of the episcopastolic government, and the emperors now (approving in point of belief, the Roman chair became so eminent, as to shew themselves orthodox, many especially of the Latins, did hold it enough to live in the communion of that see, and the fathers to give high expressions of being in union with it : all which in time bred an opinion that that chair could not entertain an error, and so the beginning of the mark came to be absolutely inverted. For those men who, at first, were, as others, sought unto, *because they did conserve the religion*, S. Peter had planted in Rome, must in after ages be only held to maintain the same doctrine, *because they are in that see* : so that the church did not commend the person, but the being in that see : and if received from thence, be it what it will, it ought to be received. In so much as Cardinal Bellarmine doubts not to write, '*Si papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, et prohibendo virtutes, tunc tota ecclesia credere vitia esse bona et virtutes esse mala non vellet contra conscientiam peccare*' for which he was afterwards forced to an apology. Yet is not this in my opinion, so absurd as the rule is to certain religious persons, 1609, to their confidants at Padua, containing, '*Epist. ecclesiae catholicae*' understanding the pope '*communi unanimique consensuque sancto, si quod ecclesiae nostris apparet album, nigrum illa esse pronuntiat, debemus idem quod nigrum sit, pronuntiare*'" *Historical Description of the Church of England*, p. 138.

of the mediatur is offered for them. Where he proveth the veritie of Christes body, and praying for the dead. And it is said, that the same Augustine said masse for his mother."

Lat. "But that masse was not like yours, which thing doth manifestly appeare in his writings, which are against it in everie place. And Augustine is a reasonable man, hee requireth to be beleaved no further, then he bringeth Scripture for his prooffe, and agreeth with God's word."

West. "In the same place he proveth a propitiatorie sacrifice, and that upon an altar, and no oister boord."

Lat. "It is the Lord's table, and no oister boord. It may be called an altar¹, and so the doctors call it in many places: but there is no propitiatorie sacrifice, but onely Christ. The doctors might be deceived in some points, though not in all things. I beleeve them when they say well."

Cole. "Is it not a shame for an olde man to lie? You say, you are of the olde fathers faith, where they say well, and yet yee are not."

Lat. "I am of their faith when they say well. I referre my selfe to my L. of Canturburies booke wholly herein."

Smith. "Then are you not of Chrysostomes faith, nor of S. Augustines faith."

Lat. "I have saide, when they say well, and bring Scripture for them, I am of their faith; and further Augustine requireth not to be beleaved."

West. "Fortie yere agoe, whither could you have gone to have found your doctrine?"

Lat. "The more cause wee have to thanke God, that hath now sent the light into the world."

West. "The light? Nay light and lewd preachers: for you could not tell what you might have. Ye altered and changed so often² your communions and altars, and all for this one end, to spoile and rob the church."

Lat. "These things pertaine nothing to me. I must not answere for other mens deeds, but onely for mine owne."

West. "Well, M. Latimer, this is our intent, to will you

¹ *May be called an altar.*] See Index, under *Altar*.

² *Altered and changed so often.*] A frequent reproach from the Romish party. Compare Hoggard's *Displaying of Protestants*, fol. 72—6. A.D. 1556; and Brokes's *Sermon*, signat. D 7 b. A.D. 1554.

Here all good readers may see how this glorious prolocutor triumpheth: but whether he hath the victorie, or no, that I suppose that they have not yet neither heard nor seene. And give that he had the victorie, yet what great marvell was it, disputing as he did, *Non sine suo Theseo*; that is, not without his tippling cuppe standing at his elbowe all the time of his disputation, not without a privie noting and smiling of them that beheld the matter but specially at that time, when doctour Ridley disputing with one of the opponents, the said prolocutor tooke the cuppe, and holding it in his hand sayde to the opponent; *Urge hoc, urge hoc. Nam hoc facit pro nobis*. In which words, as he moved no little matter of laughter to the beholders thereof, so I thought heere also not to leave the same unmentioned, somewhat also to delight the reader withall, after his tedious wearinesse in reading the story thereof.

Thus have yee heard in these foresaid disputations, about the holy supper of the Lord, the reasons and arguments of the doctors, the answeres and resolutions of the bishops, and the triumph of the prolocutor, triumphing before the victorie, with *Vicit veritas*, who rather in my minde should have exclaimed, *vicit potestas*; as it happeneth alwaies, *Ubi pars major vincit meliorem*. For else if *potestas* had not helped the prolocutor more than *veritas*, there had been a small *victoria*. But so it is: where judgements bee partiall, and parties bee addicted, there all things turne to victorie, though it bee never so meane and simple, as in this disputation might well appeare.

For first, of the opponents part, neither was there almost any argument in true moode and figure rightly framed: neither coulde the answerers be permitted to say for themselves: and if they answered any thing, it was condemned before they began to speake. Againe, such disturbance and confusion, more like a conspiracy then any disputation, without all forme and order, was in the schooles during the time of their answering that neither could the answerers have place to utter their mindes, neither would the opponents bee satisfied with any reasons.—Concerning the which disturbance of that misruled disputation, you shall heare what M. Ridley himselfe reporteth by his owne description, in maner as followeth.

The report and narration of M. Ridley concerning the misordered disputation had against him and his fellow prisoners at Oxford.

“ I never yet since I was borne sawe, or heard any thing done or handled more vainely, or tumultuously, than the disputation which was with me in the schooles at Oxford. Yea verily, I could never have thought that it had beene possible to have found amongst men recounted to bee of knowledge and learning in this realme, any so brazen faced and shamelesse, so disorderly and vainely to behave themselves, more like stage-players in enterludes, to set forth a pageant, than to grave divines in schooles to dispute. The sorbonicall clamours (which at Paris I have scene in time past, when popery most raigned) might be worthily thought, in comparison of this thrasonicall ostentation, to have had much modestie. And no great marvell, seeing they which should have been moderatours, and overseers of others, and which should have given good ensample in words and gravitie; they themselves above all other gave worst ensample, and did, as it were, blowe the trompe to the rest, to rave, rore, rage, and cry out. By reason wherof (good Christian reader) manifestly it may appeare, that they never sought for any truth or verity, but onely for the glory of the world, and their owne bragging victory. But lest by the innumerable railings and reproachfull talke wherewith I was baited on everie side, our cause, yea rather Gods cause and his churches, should be evill spoken of, and slandered to the world through false reports, and untrue ensamples given out of our disputation, and so the veritie might sustain some damage, I thought it no lesse than my ducie to write mine answers⁴; to the intent that whosoever is desirous

⁴ *To write mine answers.* This account of Ridley's disputation, written by himself, was at length published at Oxford, only with a mistake of the date of the disputation, putting April 20th instead of the 17th, an error which has been copied, and augmented by another mistake of the year, by Dr Giles Roper, and also in the first volume of the *Ecclesiasticon Theologicum*, published at Oxford, A.D. 1792, in the original Latin, by Dr Gilbert Ironside, in the year 1688, under the title, “*An Account of a Disputation at Oxford, Anno Domini 1554, with a Treatise of the Blessed Sacrament, both written by Bishop Richard Marter.*” 8vo. A copy of it was in Fox's hands, and made use of by him in compiling his narrative. See *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1322. It is not nearly so large and full as Fox's account, who was aided in drawing up his history by the copies of the notaries, and other memoranda taken by persons present.

knowe the trueth thereof, may by this perceive, as well those things which were chiefly objected, as summarilie that which was answered of mee unto everie of them. Howbeit (good reader) I confesse this to be most true, that it is unpossible to set forth either all that was, God knoweth, tumultuously and confusedly objected of their parts beeing so many, speaking many times all together, so thicke that one could not well heare another, either all that was answered on my behalfe, to them so sundry and divers opponents.

“ Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the disputations, was vainely consumed in opprobrious checks and reviling taunts, with hissing and clapping of hands, and that in the English tongue, to procure the peoples favour withall. All which things, when I with great grieve of heart did behold, protesting openly, that such excessive and outragious disorder, was unseemely for those schooles, and for men of learning and gravitie, and that they which were the doers and stirrers of such things did nothing else but bewray the slendernesse of their cause, and their owne vanities ; I was so far off by this my humble complaint from doing any good at all, that I was enforced to heare such rebukes, checkes, and taunts for my labour, as no person of honestie without blushing could abide to heare the like spoken of a most vile varlet, against a most wretched ruffian.

“ At the first beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answer to the first proposition in few words, and that (after the maner and law of schooles) afore I could make an end of my first probation, which was not very long, even the doctors themselves cried out, *hee speaketh blasphemies, hee speaketh blasphemies*. And when I on my knees besought them, and that hartily, that they would vouchsafe to heare mee to the end (whereat the prolocutor being mooved, cried out on hie, Let him read it, let him reade it), yet when I began to read again, there followed immediately such shouting, such a noise and tumult, and confusion of voices, crying *blasphemies, blasphemies*, as I to my remembrance never heard or

being apparently designed only as a record of the solid and material parts of the disputation. We shall see below, however, in the *Life of Ridley*, that there were copies abroad, which Ridley did not acknowledge. Writing to Grindall, (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury), then an exile at Frankfort, he says ; “ My disputation, except yee have that which I gathered myself after the disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly.”

read the like, except it be that one which was in the Acts of the Apostles, stirred up of Demetrius the silversmith, and other of his occupation, crying out against Paule, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians, great is Diana of the Ephesians*; and except it be a certaine disputation which the Arrians had against the orthodoxes, and such as were of godly judgement in Aphryca, where it is said, that such as the president and rulers of the disputation were, such was the end of the disputations. All were in a hurly burly, and so great were the slanders which the Arrians cast out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This writeth Victor in the second booke of his historie.

“The which cries and tumults of them against me so prevailed, that wild I, mild I, I was inforced to leave off the reading of my probations, although they were short. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the same aske any one that was there, and not utterly perverted in popery, and I am assured he will say, I speake the least. But to complaine of these things further, I will cease.”

After the disputation of maister Latymer ended, which was the 18. day of Aprill, the Friday following, which was the 20. day of the said moneth, the commissioners sate in Saint Marks church, as they did the Saturday before; and doctor Weston used particularly disswasions with every of them, and would not suffer them to answer in any wise, but directly and peremptorily as his words were, to say whether they would subscribe or not. And first to the bishop of Canturbury hee said, hee was overcome in disputations: whom the bishop answered, that whereas doctor Weston said, he hath answered and opposed, and could not maintaine his owne errours, nor impugne the verity, all that he said, was false. For he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, unless he would have brawled with them, so thicke their reasons came one after another. Ever foure or five did interrupt him, that hee could not speake. M. Ridley, and M. Latymer were asked, what they would do: they said they would stand to that they had said. Then were they all called together, and sentence read over them.

“*Aske any, one that was there.* How just these complaints were is illustrated by the accounts of several persons who were present. See *the Mercur*, wherein we may behold the wofull State of this our realme. See also A. D. 1540. 1541.” *Jewel's Controversy with Cole. Works, p. 24. &c.*

that they were no members of the church. And therefore they, their fautors and patrones were condemned as heretikes : and in reading of it, they were asked whether they would turn or no : and they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turne. So were they condemned all three.

After which, sentence of condemnation beeing awarded against them, they answered againe every one in their turne, in manner and effect of words, as followeth, the archbishop first beginning thus :

The archbishop of Canturbury.

“ From this your judgement and sentence, I appeale to the just judgement of God Almightye, trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned.”

Doctor Ridley.

“ Although I be not of your companie, yet doubt not I but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner, than wee should by the course of nature have come.”

M. Latymer.

“ I thanke God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorifie God by that kinde of death.”

Dr. Westons answere unto Latymer.

“ If you go to heaven in this faith, then I wil never come thither, as I am thus perswaded.”

After the sentence pronounced, they were separated one from the other, *videlicet*, the archbishop was returned to Bocardo, doctor Ridley was carried to the shiriffes house, maister Latymer to the baliffes.

On Saturday following, they had a masse with a general procession and great solemnitie. Doctor Cranmer was caused to behold the procession out of Bocardo ; doctor Ridley out of the shiriffes house ; Latymer also being brought to see it, from the bayliffes house, thought that he should have gone to burning, and spake to one Augustine Cooper a catchpoll, to make a quicke

fire. But when he came to Karfox^o, and saw the matter, he ran as fast as his olde bones would carry him, to one Spensen shop, and would not looke towards it. Last of all, doctor Weston carried the sacrament, and foure doctors caried the canopie over him.

Immediately after the sentence was given, doctor Ridley writeth to the prolocutor, in manner, as followeth :

Dr. Ridley to the Prolocutour.

" Maister prolocutor, you remember, I am sure, how you promised mee openly in the schooles, after my protestation, that I should see how my answeres were there taken and written of the notaries whom ye appointed, (*me, fateor, nemine recusante*) to write what should be said, and to have had license for to have added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon more deliberation should have seemed me best. Ye granted me also at the delivery of my answer unto your first proposition, a copy of the same :—these promises are not performed. If your soudaine departure be any part of the cause thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed : for performance of promise is to be looked for at a righteous judges hands. Now I send you here my answers in writing, to your second and third propositions. And do desire and require earnestly a copy of the same, and I shall by Gods grace procure the paines of the writer to be paid for and satisfied accordingly. Maister prolocutor, in the time of my answering in the schooles, when I would have confirmed my sayings with authorities and reasons, yee said then openly, that I should have time and place to say and bring whatsoever I could : another time, and the same your saying was then and there confirmed of other of the commissioners : yea, and (I dare say) the audience also thought then that I should have had another day to have brought and said what I could for the declaration and confirmation of mine assertions. Now that this was not done, but so suddenly sentence given before the cause was perfectly heard, I can not but marvel, &c."

On Munday next insuing, after these things done and past

^o *To Karfox*—"As many copies of his books, as could be found at the time, were burnt at the cross-way commonly called *Quatre-voies*, or *Carfax*." *Life of Bishop Pecock*, p. 215.

being the 23. of the said moneth of Aprill, doctor Weston prolocutor tooke his journey up to London, with the letter certificatorie from the universitie unto the queene, by whom the archbishop of Canterbury directed his letters supplicatorie unto the councell. The which letters after the prolocutor had received, and had carried them welnere halfe way to London, by the way hee opened the same, and seeing the contents thereof, sent them backe againe, refusing to cary them. Likewise bishop Ridley hearing of the prolocutours going to London, writeth to him his letters, wherein hee desireth him to carie his answers up to certaine bishops in London: the forme of which letters, first of doctor Ridley, then of the archbishop, and lastly another letter of doctor Ridley to the archbishop, here in order followeth.

A Letter of bishop Ridley to the Prolocutor.

“ Maister prolocutor, I desire you, and in God’s name require you, that you truely bring forth and shew all mine answers, written and subscribed with mine owne hand, unto the higher house of the convocation, and especially to my lord chancellour, my lords of Duresme, Ely, Worcester, Norwich, and Chichester, and also to shew and exhibit this my writing unto them, which in these few lines heere I write unto you: and that I did make this request unto you by this my writing, know ye that I did take witnesse of them by whome I did send you this writing, and also of those which were then with them present, *videlicet*, the two bailiffs of Oxford, and of M. Irish, alderman, then there, called to be a witnesse.

“ *By me* NICHOLAS RIDLEY,
23. of April, An. 1554.”

*The Copie of the Archbishop of Canterbury’s Letters to the Councell,
sent by Doctour Weston, who refused to deliver them.*

“ In right humble wise sheweth unto your honorable lordships, Thomas Cranmer late archbishop⁷ of Canterbury, beseeching the same to be a meanes for me unto the queenes highnes for her

⁷ *Late archbishop.*] He was arraigned and condemned of treason at Guildhall, Nov. 13, 1553; immediately after which the see of Canterbury was declared void, and the dean and chapter thereupon assumed the administration of the spiritual jurisdiction. Anth. Harmer’s [Henry Wharton’s] *Specimen of Errors*, p. 127.

mercy and pardon. Some of you knowe by what meanes^{*} I was brought and trained unto the will of our late soveraigne lord king Edward the sixt, and what I spake against the same, wherein I referre me to the reports of your honours and worships. Furthermore, this is to signifie unto your lordships, that upon Munday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open disputations here in Oxford against me, M. Ridley, and M. Latymer, in three matters, concerning the sacrament: first of the reall presence, secondly of transubstantiation, and thirdly of the sacrifice of the masse: upon Munday against me, upon Tuesday against D. Ridley, and upon Wednesday against M. Latymer. How the other two were ordered, I know not, for we were separated, so that none of us knoweth what the other said, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning my selfe I can report. D. Chadsey was appointed to dispute against me, but the disputation was so confused, that I never knew the like, every man bringing forth what him liked, without order; and such hast was made, that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any argument, before another brought a new argument: and in such waighty matters the disputation must needs be ended in one day, which can scanty be ended in three moneths. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofes, that they might answer us, being required by me thereunto, whereas I my selfe have more to say, than can be well discussed, as I suppose in twenty daies. The meanes to resolve the truth had bin to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say, and then they againe to answer us fully to all that we can say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answer us; or else for some consideration they made such haste, not to seeke the truth, but to condemne us, that it must be done in poste hast before the matters could be thoroughly heard: for in all haste we were all three condemned of heresie! Thus much I thought good to signifie unto your lordships, that you may knowe the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgement thereof unto your wisdomes. And I beseech your lordships to remember me a poore prisoner unto the quenes majesty, and I shall pray as I doe daily, unto God for the king

^{*} By what meanes? These he has himself stated very explicitly, in a letter to the queen. *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 1—3: and, for further evidence on the same subject, see *Strype's Life of Cramer*, b. iii. c. 34.

preservation of your good lordships in all godlinesse and felicitie. April 23."

Dr. Ridley to the archbishop of Canturbury.

"I wish ye might have seene these mine answeres before I had delivered them, that yee might have corrected them. But I trust in the substance of the matter we do agree fully, both led by one spirit of truth, and both walking after one rule of Gods word. It is reported that sergeant Morgan, the chiefe justice of the common place, is gone mad. It is said also that justice Hales hath recanted⁹, perverted by D. Moreman. Item, that M. Rogers, D. Crome, and M. Bradford shall be had to Cambridge, and there be disputed with as we were here, and that the doctors of Oxford shall go likewise thither as Cambridge men came hither. When ye have read mine answeres, send them againe to Austen¹⁰, except ye will put any thing to them. I trust the day of our

⁹ *Hales hath recanted.*] "Sir James Hales of Kent, knight, a pious and good man, and a just and able judge, under king Henry and king Edward (whose history is related at large by Fox, p. 1392), was made a prisoner in the King's Bench last year by the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellour; and thence was removed to the Counter in Bread-street, and from thence to the Fleet. Here one Foster, a gentleman of Hampshire, laboured to persuade him to embrace the popish doctrine by this argument, that the error was without danger, but the truth full of peril. When it was known that Hales was inclinable to relent, Day, bishop of Chichester, and Portman, a judge, came to him, it being then the month of April, and did so earnestly deal with him, that they overcame him at last, after his having lain three weeks in that prison of the Fleet. But the trouble that arose in his conscience for what he had done, filled him with great terror, and overwhelmed him with sorrow: so that he attempted, in the absence of his servant, to kill himself with his pen-knife. For being ill, and lying sobbing and sighing, he sent down his servant upon an errand, and in the mean time wounded himself in divers places of his body. But his servant came in on the sudden, and at that time prevented his death.

"Winchester took occasion upon this, the day after, in the Star-chamber, to blaspheme the doctrine of the Gospel, calling it the *Doctrine of Desperation*, and the professors of it, *desperate men*. Whereas, indeed, the blame of Judge Hales's doing was not to be laid upon the true religion, but upon the forsaking of it: for he did this act after he had, in effect, renounced the religion. . . . But to return to this unhappy gentleman: sadder yet was his conclusion. For after his recantation, being dismissed home to his own country and habitation, conquered with grief and despair, he drowned himself in a shallow pond near his own house, which is shewn to this day."—*Strype's Eccles. Memor.* vol. iii. p. 173, 74.

¹⁰ *To Austen.*] Austin Bernher, Latimer's faithful Swiss servant.

deliverie out of all miseries, and of our entrance into perpetuall rest, and unto perpetuall joy and felicitie, draweth me. The Lord strengthen us with his mighty spirit of grace ! If you have not to write with, you must make your man your friend. And this bearer deserveth to be rewarded, so he may and will doe your pleasure. My man is trusty, but it greeveth both him and me, that when I send him with any thing to you, your man will not let him come up to see you, as he may to maister Latimer, and yours to me. I have a promise to see how my answers were written in the schooles, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for mee I pray you, and so shall I for you. The Lord have mercy of his church, and lighten the eies of the magistrates, that Gods extreame plagues light not on this realm of England.

“*Turne, or Burne.*”

These disputations¹ being thus discoursed and ended, which

¹ *These disputations.*] After their sentence of condemnation (which was passed April 20, 1554), these illustrious confessors were all remanded to prison; where they were detained, without any further public proceedings against them, until the latter end of Sept. in the following year. The reason of this delay was, that in the vehemence of their zeal their adversaries had forgotten that they had no law to proceed upon, for the authority of the pope had not yet been received. The sentence therefore which they passed was void: a new commission was to be procured from Rome, and a fresh process instituted.

“ (On the third of May (1554) the council sate, and resolved that the judges and queen’s highness’ council learned, should be called together, and their opinions demanded, what they think in law her highness may do touching the causes of the said Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, being already by both the universities of Cambridge and Oxford judged to be obstinate heretics: which matter is the rather to be consulted upon, for that the said Cranmer is already attainted. Thus sensible were they that their zeal had carried them some lengths beyond the point which law and equity would reach. The prisoners had been committed, Cranmer for high treason, Ridley and Latimer for sedition; the former had been attainted in parliament; the other two had never been called to any account. And now all three were excommunicated for offences of another nature, by an authority that had no support; for the queen claimed no supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, nor did she insert that title in her directions to Bonner to summon this convocation. Bonner, who summoned it, as he could have no authority from the queen, so neither from the pope: he was neither legate *a latere* or *legatus natus*. nay, had he been either, the pope himself had as yet no authority here, and therefore Bonner omitted in his summons to the convocation those customary words *legitime iussus*, conscious that he called it without any authority at all. They therefore desired aid from the judges and the queen’s learned counsel to extricate them out of this difficulty, in which they had too hastily

were at Oxford in the month of Aprill, as is aforesaid : now let us returne againe to the prosecuting of our storie.

Albeit M. Latimer by reason of the feeblenesse of his age wrote least of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment ; yet in praier he was ferventlie occupied, wherin oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to rise without helpe : and among other things, these were three principall matters he praied for.

First, that as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine untill his death, that he might give his heart bloud for the same.

Secondlie, that God of his mercie would restore his gospell to Englande once againe ; and these words *once againe, once againe*, he did so inculcate, as though he had seene God before him, and spoken to him face to face.

The third matter was, to pray for the preservation of the entangled themselves. We may guess at the lawyers' opinion by the event ; none of them were put to death till another parliament had been called, and the pope's supremacy restored. And even then, when they had proceeded to burn some protestants, one in the convocation moved a question by what law could they justify themselves in doing so ? The prolocutor Weston answered, ' It forceth not for a law ; we have a commission to proceed with them, and when they be dispatched let their friends call for a law.' " Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 513. Compare *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 67, as follows, from a letter of Ridley to Bradford. " We hear that the parliament is dissolved." (That took place Jan. 16, 1554-5.) " Before the parliament began, it was a rumour here, that certain from the convocation house were appointed, yea, ready to have come to Oxford ; and then there was spied out one thing to lack, *for want of a law to perform their intent*. Now, *seeing they can want no law*, we look for them shortly. I trust to God's glory.

" But it was not a case, in which an able defence was of any avail. As he (Cranmer) persisted, together with Ridley and Latimer, in denying the three articles, they were all declared guilty of heresy. It was soon however discovered that this sentence was invalid. The nation had not yet been reconciled to the pope : and the convocation consequently being itself out of the pale of the church, could not presume to sit in judgment on others. This obstacle was removed towards the end of 1554, when absolution was formally pronounced by cardinal Pole. Yet the commission for a new trial of Cranmer was not issued till Sept. 1555. It proceeded, not as before, from the president of the convocation, but from the pope : and it was directed to the cardinal de Puteo, who nominated for his subdelegate, James Brokes, bishop of Gloucester." Jenkyns's preface to *The Remains of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. i. p. cxv.

queenes majesty that now is², whom in his praier he was wont accustomable to name, and even with teares desired God to make her a comfort to his comfortless realme of England.—There were the maters he praied for so earnestly. Neither were these things of him desired in vaine, as the good successe thereof after following did declare: for the Lord moste graciouslie did grant all these his requests.

First concerning his constancy, even in the most extremitie the Lord graciously assisted him. For when he stood at the stake without Bocardo gate at Oxford, and the tormenters about to set the fire to him, and to the learned and godlie bishop master Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words, *Fidelis est Deus qui non sinit nos tentari supra id quod possumus*. God is faithful, which dooth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength: and so afterward by and by shed his bloud in the cause of Christ, the which bloud ran out of his hart in such abundance that all those that were present, being godlie, did marvell to see the most part of the bloud in his body to be gathered to his heart, and with such violence to gush out, his body being opened by the force of the fire: by the which thing God moste graciouslie granted his request, which was, that hee might shed his heart bloud in the defence of the gospell.

How mercifully the Lord heard his second request, in restoring his gospel once again unto this realm, these present daies can bear record. And what then shal England say now for her defence, which being so mercifully visited and refreshed with the word of God so slenderly and unthankfully considereth either her miserie past, or the great benefit of God now present? The Lord be mercifull unto us! Amen.

Againe, concerning his third request, it seemeth likewise to be effectuously granted, to the great praise of God, the furtherance of his gospell, and to the unspeakable comfort of this realm. For whether at the request of his praier, or of other Good Christians, saints, or whether God was moved with the cry of his whole church, the truth is, that when all was deplorate and in a desperate case, and so desperate that the enemies mightily flourished and triumphed, Gods word was banished, Spaniards received, none left for Christs servants to cover their heads, so daunted the Lord

called to remembrance his mercy, and forgetting our former iniquitie, made an end of all these miseries and wrought a marvellous change of things ; at the chaunge whereof the saide queene Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whome this grey-headed father so earnestlie praied in his imprisonment ; thorough whose true, naturall, and imperial crowne, the brightnesse of Gods word was sette up againe to confound the darke and false visoured kingdome of antichrist, the true temple of Christ re-edified, the captivity of sorrowfull Christians released, which so long was wished for in the praiers of so many good men, specially of this faithfull and true servant of the Lord, maister Latimer.

The same God which at the requests of his holie and faithfull saintes, hath poured upon us such benefits of his mercie, peace and tranquillitie, assist our most vertuous and Christian princesse, and her subjects, that wee may everie one in his state and calling serve to his glorie, and walke in our vocation, that we lose not that which they have obtained, but may proceede in all faithfullnesse, to build and keepe uppe the house and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glorie, and our everlasting comfort in him !

During the time that the said M. Latimer was prisoner in Oxford, wee reade not of much that hee did write, besides his conference with doctour Ridley, and his protestation at the time of his disputation. Otherwise, of letters wee finde verie fewe or none, that he did write to his friends abroad, save onely these few lines, which he wrote to one mistres Wilkinson of London, a godly matron, and an exile afterward for the gospel's sake. Who so long as she remained in England, was a singular patronesse to the good saints of God, and learned bishops, as to maister Hooper, to the bishop of Hereford, to maister Coverdale, M. Latimer, doctor Cranmer, with manie other. The copy and effect of which his letter to mistres Wilkinson here followeth :

“ If the gift of a pot of cold water, shall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountifull gifts, when he shall say to you, *I was in prison and you visited mee ?* God grant us all to doe and suffer while we be here, as may be to his will and pleasure, Amen.

“ *Yours in Bocardo,* HUGH LATIMER.”

Touching the memorable actes and doings of this worthie man,

among many other this is not to be neglected, what a bold prise hee attempted, in sending to king Henry a present in maner whereof is this. There was then and yet remaineth an olde custome received from the olde Romans, that upon newyeares day being the first of Januarie, everie bishop with a handsome newyeares gift, should gratifie the king: and so did, some with golde, some with silver, some with a purse of money, and some one thing, some an other: but master Latimer being bishop of Worcester then, among the rest presented the New Testament, for his newyeares gift: with a napkin bound with this posie about it, *Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit Dominus*

And here hast thou gentle reader, the whole life, both of Thomas Ridley and of maister Latimer, two worthy dooers in the church of Christ, severally and by themselves set forth and described, with their doings, writings, disputations, sufferings, painfull travailes, faithfull preachings, studious service in the church, their patient imprisonment, and constant fortitude: that which they had taught, with other their proceedinges from time to time, since their first springing yeares, to this present time and month of queene Mary, beeing the moneth of October anno 1555. In the which moneth they were both brought together, to their finall examination and execution. Whereas we have here declared both their lives severally, and distinguished one from the other, so now jointly to couple them both together as they were together both joined in one societie of cause and martyrdome, we will by the grace of Christ prosecute the history that remaineth, concerning their latter examination, degradation and constant suffering, with the order and maner also of the commissioners, which were master White bishop of Lincoln, master Brookes bishop of Gloucester, with others; and what were their wordes, their objections, their orations there used, and what againe were the answers of these men to the same, as in the processe here followeth to be seene.

The order and maner of the examination of D. Ridley, and of Latimer, had the 30. day of Septemb. 1555.

First after the appearing of Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, before the popes delegate, and the queenes commissioners in S. Maries church at Oxford, about the twelfth day

September, whereof more shall be said (by the Lordes grace) when we come to the death of the said archbishop; shortlie after upon the twenty-eighth day of the saide moneth of September, was sent downe to Oxford an other commission from cardinall Poole legate *a latere*, to John White bishop of Lincolne, to doctour Brookes bishop of Glocester, and to doctour Holiman, bishop of Bristowe. The contents and vertue of which commission was, that the said John of Lincolne, James of Glocester, and John of Bristowe, they or two of them, should have full power and authoritie, to ascite, examine, and judge master Hugh Latimer, and master doctor Ridley, pretended bishops of Worcester, and London, for divers and sundrie erroneous opinions, which the said Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley, did hold and maintaine in open disputations had in Oxford, in the moneths of May, June, and Julie, in the yeare of our Lord, 1554, as also long before in the time of perdition and sithen. The which opinions if the named persons would nowe recant, giving and yeelding themselves to the determination of the universall and catholicke church, planted by Peter in the blessed sea of Rome, that then they deputed judges by the saide authoritie of their commission, should have power to receive the sayde penitent persons, and forthwith minister unto them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope: but if the sayde Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley would stoutly and stubbornly defend and maintaine these their erroneous opinions and assertions, that then the said lords by their commission, should proceede in forme of judgment, according to the lawe of heretickes; that is, degrading them from their promotion and dignitie of bishops, priests and all other ecclesiasticall orders, they should pronounce them as heretickes, and therefore cleane to cut them off from the church, and so to yeeld them to receive punishments, due to all such heresie and schisme.

Wherefore the last of September, the sayd two persons, Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, were ascited to appeare before the sayde lordes, in the divinity schoole at Oxford, at eight of the clocke. At what time thither repaired the lords, placing themselves in the high seate, made for publick lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that schoole, being then faire set, and trimmed with cloth of tissue, and cushins of velvet: and after the sayde lords were placed and set, the said Latimer and Ridley were sent for: and first appeared master doctor Ridley, and anone M. Latimer. But because it seemed good severally to

examine them, M. Latimer was kept backe, untill doctor Ridley was throughly examined.—Therefore, soone after the coming of doctor Ridley into the schoole, the commission was published by an appointed notarie, and openly read. But doctour Ridley standing bare headed, humbly expecting the cause of that his appearance, eftsoones as he had heard the cardinall named, and the popes holinesse, put on his cap³. Wherefore after the commission was published, in forme and sense above specified, the bishop of Lincolne spake in sense following.

“Master Ridley, although neither I, neither my lordes here, in respect of our owne persons, doe looke for cap or knee, yet because we beare and represent such persons as we do, that is my lord cardinals grace, legate *a latere* from the popes holinesse, as well in that he is of a notable parentage (and therewith master Ridley moved his cappe with lowly obeisance), descending from the regall bloud, as in that he is a man worthy to be reverenced with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble vertues and godly life, and especially in that hee is here in England deputie to the popes holinesse, it should have becommend you at his name, to have discovered your head. Wherefore except you will of your owne selfe, take the paines to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the sayde cardinall as of the popes holinesse, uncover the same, least that this your contumacie exhibited now before us, should be prejudiciall to the saide most reverend persons (which thing we may in no case suffer) you shall cause us to take the paine, to cause some man to plucke off your cappe from you.” To whome maister Ridley making his petition for lycence, answered.

“As touching that you saide (my lord) that you of your own person desire no cap nor knee, but onely require the same in consideration that you represent the cardinals graces person, I doe you to wit, and thereupon make my protestation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinals grace, neither for any contumacy that I beare towards your owne persons, nor for any derogation of honour towards the lord cardinals grace. For I knowe him to be a man worthie of all humilitie, reverence and honour, in that he came of the most regall bloud, and in that he is a man indued with manifold graces of learning and vertue.

³ Put on his cap. The same species of protest, we shall see hereafter, adopted also by Cranmer.

and as touching these vertues and pointes, I with all humilitie" (therwith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee), "and obey-sance that I may, will reverence, and honour his grace: but in that he is legate to the bishop of Rome" (and therewith put on his cappe) "whose usurped supremacie, and abused authoritie, I utterlie refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obey-sance, or honour unto him; least that my so doing and behaviour, might be prejudiciall to mine othe, and a derogation to the veritie of Gods word: and therefore that I might not only by confession, professe the veritie in not reverencing the renounced authority, contrarie to Gods word, but also in gesture, in behaviour, and all my doings expresse the same, I have put on my cap, and for this consideration onely; and not for anie contumacie to your lordships, neither contempt of this worshipfull audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the cardinall his grace, both for his noble parentage, and also his excellent qualities."

Lincolne. "M. Ridley, you excuse your selfe of that, with the which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keepe on your cap, neither for anie contumacie towards us (which looke for no such honour of you) neither for anie contempt of this audience, which although justly they may, yet (as I suppose) in this case do not require any such obeysance of you; neither in derogation of anie honour due to my lord cardinals grace, for his regall descent" at which word M. Ridley moved his cap "and excellent qualities: for although in all the premisses honour be due, yet in these respects we require none of you, but onely in that my lords cardinals grace is here in England, deputie of the popes holiness" at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and maister Ridley put on his, "and therefore we say unto you the second time, that except you take the paines your selfe, to put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you shall put us to the pain, to cause some man to take it from you, except you alleadge some infirmitie and sickenes, or other more reasonable cause, upon the consideration whereof, we may doe as we thinke good."

Ridley. "The premisses I said only for this end, that it might as well appeare to your lordships as to this worshipful audience why and for what consideration, I used such kind of behaviour, in not humbling my selfe to your lordships with cap and knee: and as for my sicknes I thanke my Lord God, that I am as wel at ease, as I was this long season: and therefore I doe not pretend that

which is not, but onely this, that it might appeare by this behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that usurped suverainie maie of Rome, and therefore contemne and utterly despise his authoritie comming from him. In taking off my cap, do as shall please your lordships, and I shall be content."

Then the bishop of Lincolne, after the third admonition, commaunded one of the bedles (that is an officer of the universitie) to plucke his cappe from his heade. Maister Ridley bowed his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap.

After this, the bishop of Lincolne in a long oration exhorted M. Ridley to recant and submit himselfe to the universall faith of Christ, in this manner.

"M. Ridley, I am sure you have sufficientlie pondered with your selfe, the effect of this our commission with good advisement, considering both points thereof, how that authoritie is given to us, if you shal receive the true doctrine of the church (which first was founded by Peter at Rome immediatelie after the death of Christ, and from him by lineall succession hath bene brought to this our time), if you will bee content to renounce your former errors, recant your hereticall and seditious opinions, content to yeeld your selfe to the undoubted faith and truth of the gospell, received and alwaies taught of the catholicke, and apostolike church, the which the king and queene, all the nobles of this realme, and commons of the same, all Christian people have and doe confesse, you onely standing alone by your selfe ;—you understand and perceive that I am sure, that authoritie is given us to receive you, to reconduce you, and upon due penance to adjoyne and associate you againe into the number of the catholikes and into Christs church, from the which you have so long strayed, without the which no man can bee saved ; the which thing I and my lords here, yea all, as well nobles and commons of this realm most hartilie desire, and I for my part" wherewith he put off his cap, "most earnestly exhort you to doe.

"Remember maister Ridley, it is no strange countrey whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us. You have taken degrees in the schoole. You were made a priest, and became a preacher, setting forth the same doctrine, which we doe now. You were made bishop according to our lawes : and to bee short, it is not so long agoe, sith you separated your selfe

from us, and in the time of heresie, became a setter forth of that divellish and seditious doctrine, which in these latter daies was preached amongst us. For at what time the newe doctrine of *onelie faith* began to spring, the counsaile, willing to winne my lord chauncellour⁴ sent you to him (I then being in my lords house unknowne as I suppose to you) and after you had talked with my lord secretly, and were departed, immediately my lord declared certaine pointes of your talke, and meanes of your perswasion, and amongst other this was one, that you should say, “tush my lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not sticke to condescend herein to them: but for Gods love my lord, stand stoutly in the veritie of the sacrament: for I see they wil assault that also.” If this be true (as my lord is a man credible enough in such a matter) hereby it is declared of what minde you were then, as touching the trueth of the most blessed sacrament.

“Also in a sermon of yours at Paules crosse, you as effectually and as catholickly spake of that blessed sacrament, as any man might have done; whereby it appeareth that it is no strange thing, nor unknown place whereunto I exhort you. I wish you to returne thither from whence you came: that is, together with us to acknowledge the truth, to acknowledge the church of God, wherein no man may erre, to acknowledge the supremacy of our most reverend father in God the popes holinesse, which (as I sayd) lineally taketh his descent from Peter, uppon whome Christ promised before his death, to build his church: the which supremacy or prerogative, the most auncient fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge.”—And here hee brought a place or two out of the doctours, but especially staid upon a saying of Saint Augustine, which writeth in this manner, *Totus orbis Christianus in transmarinis, et longe remotis terris, Romanæ ecclesiæ subjectus est*, that is, all the Christian countries beyond the sea are subject to the church of Rome. “Here you see maister Ridley, that all Christendome is subject to the church of Rome. What should staie you therefore to confesse the same with Saint Austen, and the other fathers?”

Then maister Ridley desired his patience, to suffer him to speake somewhat of the premisses, least the multitude of things

⁴ *Lord chauncellour.*] Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. See p. 629, *infra*.

might confound his memory : and having graunt thereunto, said in this manner.

Ridley. “ My lord, I most heartily thanke your lordship, as well for your gentlenesse, as also for your sobrietie in talke, and for your good and favorable zeale in this learned exhortation : in the which I have marked especially three pointes, which you used to perswade me to leave my doctrin, and religion, which I perfectly knowe and am thoroughly perswaded to be grounded not upon mans imaginations and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Christes gospel ; and not to looke backe, and to returne to the Romish sea, contrarie to mine othe, contrarie to the prerogative and crowne of this realme, and especially (which mooveth me most) contrary to the expressed worde of God.

“ The first point is this, that the sea of Rome taking his beginning from Peter, upon whome you saie Christ hath builded his church, hath in all ages lineally from bishop to bishop beene brought to this time.

“ Secondly, that even the holy fathers from time to time, have in their writings confessed the same.

“ Thirdly, that in that I was once of the same opinion, and together with you, I did acknowledge the same.

“ First, as touching the saying of Christ, from whence your lordship gathereth the foundation of the church upon Peter, truelie the place is not so to be understood as you take it, as the circumstance of the place will declare. For after that Christ had asked his disciples whom men judged him to be, and they had answered, that some had said he was a prophet, some He has, some one thing, some another, then he saide, *whome say ye that I am ?* Then Peter said, *I say that thou art Christ the son of God.* To whome Christ answered, *Thou art Peter, and upon this stone I will build my church ;* that is to say, upon this stone, meaning Peter himselfe, as though he would have constituted a mortall man, so fraile and bricke a foundation of his stable and unfallible church ; but upon this rocke stone, that is, this confession of thine, that I am the son of God, I will build my church.

“ *Upon this stone*—Compare Tindal's *Works*, p. 157. —Newell's *Confession of Dorman*, p. 115. &c. Jewell's *Answer to Harding*, p. 165–184. —Fletcher's *Works*, p. 1637. &c. all with others which might be cited concurring in the same interpretation.

For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity, with word, heart, and minde, to confesse that Christ is the sonne of God. Whosoever beleeveth not this, Christ is not in him ; and hee cannot have the marke of Christ printed in his forehead, which confesseth not that Christ is the sonne of God.

“ Therefore Christ said unto Peter, that upon this rocke, that is upon this his confession, that he was Christ the son of God, he would build his church ; to declare that without this faith, no man can come to Christ : so that this belief, that Christ is the sonne of God, is the foundation of our Christianitie, and the foundation of our church. Heere you see upon what foundation Christs church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible word of God.

“ Now as touching the lineall descent of the bishops in the sea of Rome, true it is, that the patriarke of Rome in the apostles time, and long after, was a great maintainer, and a setter forth of Christs glorie, in the which above all other countries and regions there especiallie was preached the true gospell, the sacraments were moste dylie ministered ; and, as before Christs comming, it was a citie so valiant in prowesse, and martiall affaires, that all the world was in a manner subject to it, and after Christs passion, divers of the apostles there suffered persecution for the gospels sake ; so after that the emperours, their hearts being illuminated, received the gospell, and became Christians, the gospell there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flourished most : whereby the bishops ⁶ of that place were had in more reverence and honour, most esteemed in all councils and assemblies : not because they acknowledged them to bee their head, but because the place was most revered and spoken of, for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England, the bishop of Lincolne in sessions and sittings hath the preheminance of the other bishops, not that hee is the head and ruler of them, but for the dignitie of the bishopricke” (and therewith the people smiled ⁷). “ Wherefore the doctours in their

⁶ *Whereby the bishops.*] Compare Barrow *On the Pope's Supremacy*, Works, vol. vi. p. 292, &c., or *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 200, &c.

⁷ *The people smiled.*] Ridley's remark probably applied to the recent foundation of the sees filled by the two coadjutors of the bishop of Lincoln in this commission, viz., Gloucester and Bristol, which were two of the six bishopricks erected in 1541 by Henry VIII., and endowed either with part of the spoils of the dissolved monasteries, or with portions of other sees. He pro-

writings, have spoken most reverentlie of this sea of Rome, and in their writings preferred it : and this is the prerogative which your lordship did rehearse, the ancient doctors to give to the sea of Rome.

“ Semblable, I cannot nor dare not but commend, reverence and honour the sea of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion, and setting forth of Gods glorie and in due preaching of the gospell, as it did many yeares after Christ. But after that the bishops of that sea, seeking their own pride, and not Gods honour, began to set themselves above kinges and emperours, challenging to them the title of Gods vicars, the dominion and supremacie over all the world, I cannot but with S. Gregorie, a bishop of Rome also, confesse that the bishop of that place is the very true antichrist, whereof S. John speaketh by the name of the whore of Babylon, and say with the sayd S. Gregorie : he that maketh himselfe a bishop over all the world, is worse than antichrist.

“ Now whereas you say that Saint Augustine should seeme not onely to give such a prerogative, but also supremacie to the sea of Rome, in that he sayth, all the Christian world is subject to the church of Rome, and therefore should give to that sea a certaine kinde of subjection : I am sure that your lordship knoweth, that in S. Austens time, there were four patriarkes⁸, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioche and Rome, which patriarkes had under them certaine countries, as in England the archbishop of Canturburie hath under him divers bishopricks in England and Wales, to whome he maie be sayde to be their patriarche. Also your lordship knoweth right well, that at what time Saint Austen wrote this booke he was then bishop in Africa. Farther you are not ignorant, that betweene Europe and Africa lieth the sea called *Mare Mediterraneum*, so that all the countries in Europe to him which is in Africa may be called *Transmarine*, countries beyond the sea. Hereof S. Austen saith, all the Christian countries beyonde the seas and far regions, are subject to the sea of Rome. If I should saie all countries beyond the sea, I do except England, which to me now being in England, is not beyond

bably wished to remind the bishop of Lincoln of the secular origin of these sees. In the following page he alludes to the see of Oxford, another of the six new bishopricks, which was carved out of the bishop of Lincoln's own see.

⁸ *Foure patriarkes.*] Compare above, vol. i. p. 12—16. Inett.

the sea. In this sense S. Austen saith, all the countries beyond the sea are subject to the sea of Rome, declaring thereby that Rome was one of the seas of the foure patriarches, and under it Europe. By what subjection I praie you? onely for a pre-eminence, as we here in England say, that all the bishoprics in England, are subject to the archbishopricks of Canturbury and Yorke.

“ For this preeminence also the other doctors (as you recited) say, that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishopricke of Lincolne is mother to the bishopricke of Oxford, because the bishopricke of Oxford came from the bishopricke of Lincolne, and they were both once one⁹; and so is the archbishoprick of Canturbury, mother to the other bishoprickes, which are in her province. In like sort the archbishopricke of Yorke, is mother to the north bishoprickes: and yet no man will say, that Lincolne, Canturbury, or Yorke, is supreme head to other bishoprickes: neither then ought we to confesse the sea of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors in their writings, confesse the sea of Rome to be mother of churches.

“ Now where you saie, I was once of the same religion, which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confesse the same. Yet so was Saint Paule a persecutor of Christ. But in that you say, that I was one of you not long ago, in that I doing my message to my lord of Winchester¹, should desire him to stand stout in that grosse opinion of the supper of the Lord, in verie deede I was sent (as your lordship said) from the counsaile to my lord of Winchester, to exhort him to receive also the true confession of justification; and because he was verie refractorious, I said to him, Why my lord, what make you so great a matter herein? You see many anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar: I pray you my lord be diligent in confounding them; for at that time my lord of Winchester and I had to do with two anabaptists of Kent. In this sense I willed my lord to be stiffe in the defence of the sacrament, against the detestable errorrs of anabaptistes²,

⁹ *Both once one.*] The see of Oxford was erected out of part of the ancient diocese of Lincoln in 1541. See the note at p. 628.

¹ *Message to my lord of Winchester.*] See p. 625.

² *Errorrs of anabaptistes.*] “ All doe also condemne these wicked anabaptistes which putte no difference between the Lordes table and the Lordes meate, and their own.” Ridley, *against Transubstantiation. Enchiridion Theologicum*, vol. i. p. 116. edit. 1792.

and not in the confirmation of that grosse and carnall opinion nowe maintayned.

“ In like sort, as touching the sermon, which I made at Pauls crosse, you shall understand that there were at Pauls, and divers other places, fixed railing billes against the sacrament, terming it *Jacke of the boxe, the sacrament of the halter, round Robbin*, with like unseemlie tearms: for the which causes, I, to rebuke the unreverent behaviour of certaine evill disposed persons, preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to bee given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof, affirming in that sacrament to be truly and verily the bodie and bloud of Christ, effectuously by grace and spirite: which words the unlearned understanding not, supposed that I had ment of the grosse and carnal being, which the Romish decrees set forth, that a body having life and motion should bee in deede under the shapes of bread and wine.”

With that the bishop of Lincolne, somewhat interrupting him said,

“ Well M. Ridley, thus you wrest places to your owne pleasure: for wheras S. Augustine saith that the whole Christian world is subject to the sea of Rome without any limitation, and useth these wordes, *In transmarinis, et longe remotis terris*, only to expresse the latitude of the dominion of the sea of Rome, wil- ing therby to declare that all the world, yea countries far distant from Rome, yet neverthelesse are subject to that sea, yet you would wrest it, and leave it only to Europe. I am sure yee will not deny, but that *totus mundus* is more than Europe.”

Rid. “ In deed my lord, if S. Austen had said *simpliciter totus mundus*, and not added *in transmarinis*, it had been without limitation: but in that he said *totus mundus in transmarinis partibus*, all the countries beyond the seas, hee himselfe dooth be: the universall proposition, declaring how farre he meant by *totus mundus*.”

The bishop not staying for his answer, did proceede, saying

Line. “ Wel if I would stay upon this place, I could bring many mo places of the fathers, for the confirmation thereof: but we have certaine instructions, according to the which we must proceede, and came not hither to dispute the matter with you, but onely to take your answers to certaine articles, and used you in the way of exhortation, in the which you interrupted me: wherefore I will returne thither againe.

“ Ye must consider that the church of Christ lieth not hidden, but is a citie on the mountaine, and a candle on the candlestick. Ponder with your selfe, that the church of Christ is *catholica*, catholick, which is deducted of *κατὰ ὅλον*, that is, *per omnia*; so that Christs church is universallie spread throughout the world, not contained in the alligation of places, not comprehended in the circuite of England, not contained in the compasse of Germanie and Saxonie, as your church is.

“ Wherefore maister Ridley, for Gods love be ye not singular: acknowledge with all the realme the trueth. It shall not be (as you alledge) prejudiciall to the crowne, for the king and queen their majesties have renounced that usurped power taken of their predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure you knowe that there are two powers, the one declared by the sword, the other by the keies³. The sword is given to kings, and rulers of countries: the keies were delivered by Christ to Peter, and of him left to all the successours. As touching our goods, possessions, and lives, wee with you acknowledge us subjects to the king and queene, who hath the temporall sword: but as concerning matters of religion, as touching Gods quarrell and his word, we acknowledge an other head: and as the king and the queene their highnesses doe in all worldlie affaires, justly challenge the prerogative and primacie, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge themselves not to be heades and rulers, but members of Christ's bodie. Why therefore should yee sticke at that matter, the which their majesties have forsaken and yeilded?

“ Wherefore master Ridley, you shall not onely not doe injurie to the crowne, and be prejudiciall to their majesties honour, in acknowledging with all Christendome the popes holinesse to bee supreme head of Christs church here militant in earth, but doe a thing most delectable in their sight, and most desired of their highnesses. Thus if you will doe, revoking together all your errours, acknowledging with the residue of the realme, the common and the publicke fault, you shall doe that all men most heartily desire: you shall bring quietnesse to your conscience, and health to your soule: then shall wee with great joy, by the authoritie committed to us from the cardinalls grace, receive you into

³ *By the keies.*] Of the power of the keys, see Barrow's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 476—90; or *Christian Institutes*, vol. iii. p. 168—85.

the church again, acknowledging you to bee no longer a rotten, but a livelie member of the same. But if you shal stil be singular, if you shall still and obstinatelie persever in your errours, stubbornely maintaining your former heresies, then we must against our will, according to our commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the church, least the rottennesse of one parte in processe of time, putrifie and corrupt the whole bodie: then must we confesse and publish you to be none of ours: then must we yeeld you up to the temporal judges, of whom except it otherwise please the king and queenes highnesse, you must receive punishment by the lawes of this realme, due for heretickes.

“ Wherefore maister Ridley consider your state, remember your former degrees, spare your body, especially consider your soule, which Christ so dearely bought with his precious blood, do not you rashly cast away that which was precious in Gods sight: enforce not us to doe all that we may doe, which is onlie to publish you to be none of us, to cut you off from the church: for we doe not, nor cannot condemne you to die⁴ (as most untruely hath been reported of us) but that is the temporall judges office, we onely declare you to be none of the church, and then must you, according to the tenour of them, and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination; so that we, after that we have given you up to the temporall rulers, have no further to do with you.

“ But I trust master Ridley, we shall not have occasion to do that wee maie. I trust you will suffer us to rest in that point of our commission, which wee most heartilie desire, that is, your recantation and repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and againe to adjoine you to the unitie of the church.”

Then maister Ridley, with often interruption, at length said:

“ My lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ: the which no man can erre⁵, without the which no man can be saved, the which is spread throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the faithfull: neither do I alligate or bind the same to any one place, as you said, but confesse the same to be spread throughout all the world: and whereas Christs sacraments are duely ministred, his gospell truly preached and followed,

⁴ *Condemne you to die*. Compare under *Life of Rogers*, above, p. 100, and note.

⁵ *No man can erre*. “He meaneth, in which no general error can finally.” Fox’s margin.

there doth Christs church shine⁶ as a citie upon an hill, and as a candle in the candlesticke. But rather it is such as you, that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, which appoint the same to Rome, that there and no where else is the foundation of Christs church. But I am fully perswaded that Christs church is every where founded, in every place where his gospell is truely received, and effectually followed. And in that wherein the church of God is in doubt, I use the wise counsaile of Vincentius Lyranensis, whom I am sure you will allowe, who giving preceptes howe the catholicke church may bee in all schismes and heresies knowne, writeth in this manner: *When (saith hee) one part is corrupted with heresies, then preferre the whole world before that one part: but if the greatest part be infected, then preferre antiquitie.*

“ In like sort now, when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poyson of the sea of Rome, I repaire to the usage of the primitive church, which I finde cleane contrary to the popes decrees: as in that the priest receiveth alone; that it is made unlawfull to the laitie to receive in both kinds, and such like. Wherefore it requireth that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church, before the novelty⁷ of the Romish church.”

Linc. “ Maister Ridley, these faultes which you charge the sea of Rome withall, are indeede no faultes. For first it was never forbid the laity⁸, but that they might, if they demaunded,

⁶ *Christs church shine.*] See Art. XIX. of the Church of England; *Of the Church.*

⁷ *Before the novelty.*] “ Ye say, it is the *new* learning. Now, I tell you, it is the *old* learning. Yea, ye say, it is old heresy new scoured. Now, I tell you, it is the old truth, long rusted with canker, and now new made bright and scoured.” Latimer, *Serm.* on 21st Sund. after Trinity.

“ Our faith and doctrine have as many yeeres on their backes, as have the Scriptures whereon they are grounded, as hathe the primitive church, and old auncient doctours, wherewith in all necessary pointes of religion they agree throughly. It is the pope and his supremacie and other popery, that is builded upon a late and sandie foundation, and therefore shortly to be subverted and rooted up.” Nowell’s *Reproof of M. Dorman’s Prooof*, fol. 105. 6. 1565. 4to.

⁸ *Forbid the laity.*] The bishop can mean only that the cup had never been forbidden to the laity by any special decree of a provincial council, or otherwise, in England. But even here, by the constitutions of archbishop Peckham, A.D. 1281, it is declared, that in small churches, it is allowed to none but the officiating priest to receive the blood under the species of consecrated wine. See Johnson’s *Ecclesiastical Laws*, vol. ii. Wilkins, &c. And it is

receive under both kindes. You know also, that Christ after his resurrection, at what time hee went with his apostles to Galile, opened himselfe by breaking of bread. You knowe that Saint Paule, after his long sayling towards Rome, brake bread, and that the apostles came together in breaking of bread, which declareth that it is not unlawfull to minister the sacrament under the forme of bread only: and yet the church hadde just occasion to decree, that the laitie should receive in one kinde onelie, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not whollie both fleshe and bloud under the forme of bread. Therefore to take awaie their opinion, and to establish better the peoples faith, the Holie Ghost in the church thought good to decree, that the laitie should receive onely in one kinde: and it is no newes for the church upon just consideration, to alter rites and ceremonies. For you reade in the Actes of the Apostles, that S. Paule writing to certaine of the Gentiles, which hadde received the gospel, biddeth them to abstaine from thinges stifled, and from bloud, so that this seemeth to be an expresse commaundement: yet who will saie but that it is lawefull to eate bloudings? howe is it lawefull, but by the permission of the church?"

a Ridley. "My lord, such things as S. Paul enjoined to the gentiles for a sufferance, by a little and little to win the Jewes to Christ, were only commandementes of time, and respected not the successors: but Christs commaundement, *Do this* (that is, that which he did) *in remembrance*, which was not to minister in one kinde onely, was not a commandement for a time, but to persever to the worlds ende."

But the bishop of Lincolne, not attending to this aunswere, without any stay proceeded in this oration.

"So the church seemeth to have authoritie by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ saide hee woulde send after his ascension, which should teach the apostles al truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the Scripture, ever reserving the foundation.—But we came not, as I saide before, in this sorte to reason

certain, that the council of Constance, in the year 1415, had declared, that the denial of the cup ought to be deemed as a law, which no person is at liberty to disapprove or alter; or if he does, he is to be disowned as a heretick. Lenfant's *History of the Council of Constance*, vol. i. p. 367, Engl. edit. Barnes's *Works*, p. 301, &c. Jewel's *Works*, p. 32. 54. The council of Trent, after much debate, in the year 1562, referred the matter to the sole decision of the pope. *See *Canones et Decreta Concilii Tridentini*, Sess. xxii.

the matter with you, but have certaine instructions ministered unto us, according to the tenour of the which we must proceed, proposing certaine articles, unto the which we require your answer directly, either affirmatively, either negatively, to every of them, either denying them, either granting them without farther disputations or reasoning: for we have already stretched our instructions, in that we suffered you to debate and reason the matter, in such sort as we have done: the which articles, you shal heare now, and to morrow at eight of the clock in S. Maries church we wil require and take your answers; and then according to the same proceede: and if you require a copie of them, you shall have it, pen, inke, and paper, also such books as you shall demand, if they be to be gotten in the universitie."

The Articles.

1 We do object to thee Nicholas Ridley, and to thee Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally, first that thou Nicholas Ridley in this high universitie of Oxford, Anno 1554, in the moneths of Aprill, May, June, July, or in some one or mo of them, hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places besides, that the true and naturall bodie of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2 Item, that in the yeare and moneths aforesaid, thou hast publickly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar, remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3 Item, that in the said yeare and moneths, thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the masse is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quicke and the dead.

4 Item, that in the yeare, place, and moneths aforesaid, these thy foresaid assertions solemnly have been condemned, by the scholasticall censure of this schoole, as hereticall and contrarie to the catholicke faith, by the worshipfull M. doctor Weston, prolocutor then of the convocation house, as also by other learned men, of both the universities.

5 Item, that all and singular the premisses be true, notorious, famous, and openly knowne by publike fame, as well to them neere hand, and also to them in distant places farre off.

Examination upon the sayd Articles.

All these articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter rehearsall shall be of any of them, the reader may have recourse hither, and peruse the same, and not to trouble the storie with severall repetitions thereof.

After these articles were read, the bishops tooke counsaile together. At the last the bishop of Lincoln said: "These are the very same articles which you in open disputation here in the universitie did maintaine and defend. What say you unto the first? I pray you answer affirmatively, or negativelie."

Rid. "Why my lord, I supposed your gentleness had bene such, that you would have given mee space untill to morrow, that upon good advisement, I might bring a determinate answer."

Line. "Yea M. Ridley, I meane not that your answers now shall be prejudiciall to your answers to morrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful to you to adde, diminish, alter, and change of these answers to morrow what you will."

Rid. "Indeed, in like manner at our last disputations I had many things promised, and few performed. It was saide that after disputations I should have a copie thereof, and licence to change mine answers, as I should thinke good. It was said also that I should have seene what was written by the notaries at that time. So your lordship pretended great gentleness in giving mee a time: but this gentlenesse is the same that Christ had of the high priests. For you, as your lordship saith, have no power to condemne me, neither at any time to put a man to death: as in like sort the high priests said, *that it was not lawfull for them to put any man to death*, but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would suffer him to absolve Christ, although he sought all the meanes therefore that he might." Then spake D. Weston, one of the audience.

West. "What? doe you make the king Pilate?"

Rid. "No, master doctor, I doe but compare your dooings with Cayphas his dooings and the high priests, which would condemne no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ."

Line. "M. Ridley, wee mind not but that you shall enjoy the benefite of answering to morrow, and will take your answers now

as now ; to morrow you shall change, take out, adde, and alter what you will. In the meane season wee require you to answere directly to everie article, either affirmatively or negatively."

Rid. "Seeing you appoint me a time to answer to morrow, and yet will take mine answeres out of hand ; first, I require the notaries, to take and write my protestation⁹, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my judges, in that point you are authorised, from the pope. Therefore whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest, I neither say it, neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the authoritie of the pope : and if your lordship will give me leave, I wil shew the causes, which moveth me thereunto."

Linc. "No M. Ridley, we have instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you."

Rid. "I will be short : I pray your lordships suffer mee to speak in few words."

Lincolne. "No master Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers eares."

Rid. "Why my lord, suffer me to speake three words."

Linc. "Well M. Ridley to morrow you shall speake forty. The time is farre past : therefore we require your answer determinately. What say you to the first article?" and thereupon rehearsed the same.

Rid. "My protestation alwaies saved, that by this mine answer I do not condescend to your authoritie, in that you are legate to the pope, I answere thus : In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false : for if you take really for *verè*, for spiritually by grace and efficacie, then it is true that the naturall bodie and bloud of Christ is in the sacrament *verè et realiter*, in deed and really : but if you take these tearmes so grosselie, that you would conclude thereby a naturall bodie having motion, to be contained under the formes of bread and wine *verè et realiter*, then really is not the bodie and bloud of Christ in the sacrament, no more then

⁹ *Write my protestation.*] "And yet I will doe it under this *protestation* : Call me *protestant* who liste,—I doe not passe thereof : my *protestation* shall be this." Ridley *against Transubstantiation*, in *Enchirid. Theol.*, vol. i. p. 126. "Hitherto all do agree, whether they be newe or olde (and to speake plaine, and as some of them odiously either do call other), whether they be *protestantes*, papistes, pharisees, or gospellers." Ibid. p. 116. See also *Christian Institutes*, Index, under *Protestant Religion*, name of.

the Holy Ghost is in the element of water¹ in our baptism." Because this answer was not understood, the notaries wist not how to note it: wherefore the bishop of Lincolne willed him to answere either affirmatively, or negatively, either to grant the article, or to denie it.

Ridley. "My lord, you knowe that where anie *equivocation* (which is a word having two significations) is, except distinction bee given, no direct answere can be made: for it is one of Aristotles fallacies, containing two questions under one, the which cannot be satisfied with one aunswere. For both you and I agree herein, that in the sacrament is the verie true and naturall bodie and bloud of Christ, even that which was borne of the virgine Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quicke and the dead, only we differ in *modo*, in the way and maner of being: we confesse all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I, being fully by Gods word thereunto perswaded, confesse Christs naturall bodie to be in the sacrament in deede by spirit and grace, because that who-soever receiveth worthilie that bread and wine, receiveth effectuously Christs body and drinketh his blood, that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion: and you make a grosser kind

¹ *In the element of water.*] Some have maintained, that by virtue of the word of God, and of prayer, the water in baptism, was in a sort *transubstantiated* into the Holy Ghost; or at least that the Holy Spirit was *concomitant with*, lurking in, brooding upon, the water, in such a manner, as *opere operato*, and in the nature of a *physical* operation, to be *applied* to the baptized person by the action of dipping or sprinkling. "*Plures item ab eis cumulantur errores in baptismo, quem aliqui,*" &c. See *Reformation seen ecclesiastic*: Tit. ii. cap. 18. "As therefore in baptisme is given unto us the Holy Ghost, and pardon of our sinnes, which yet *lye not lurking in the water* so in the Lodes supper is given unto us the communion of Christs body and blood, without any *transubstantiation*, or including of the same in the bread: By baptisme, the olde man is put off, and the newe man put on, yea Christ is put on, but without transubstantiating the water. And even so it is in the lodes supper." Bradford's *Sermon on the Lodes Supper*, signat. C. 5. v. 151. "I meane that he is present in the ministration and receiving of this holy supper, according to his own institution and ordinance: like as in baptisme Christ and the Holy Ghost be not in the water, or fonte, but are given in the ministration, or to them that be duely baptized in the water." *Cranmer's Answer to Gardiner*, p. 172. edit. 1551.

of being, enclosing a naturall, a lively and a mooving bodie under the shape or forme of bread and wine.

“Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answeare ; that in the sacrament of the aultar is the naturall bodie and bloud of Christ *verè et realiter*, in deed and really, if you take these tearmes in deede and really for spiritually by grace and efficacie ; for so everie worthie receiver receiveth the verie true bodie of Christ : but if you meane really and in deed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a moveable body under the formes of bread and wine, then in that sense is not Christs body in the sacrament really and in deed.”

This answer taken and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincolne proposed the second question or article. To whom he answered.

Rid. “Alwaies my protestation reserved, I answer thus : that in the sacrament is a certaine chaunge, in that that bread which was before common bread, is now made a lively representation of Christs bodie : and not only a figure, but effectuously representeth his bodie ; that even as the mortall bodie was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internall soule fed with the heavenly foode of Christs bodie, which the eye of faith seeth, as the bodily eie seeth only bread. Such a sacramentall mutation I grant to bee in the bread and wine ; which truely is no small chaunge, but such a chaunge as no mortall man can make, but onelie that omnipotency of Christs word.”

Then the bishop of Lincolne willed him to answeare directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he answered :

Rid. “That notwithstanding this sacramentall mutation of the which he spake, and all the doctors confessed, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remaineth, with the which the bodie is in like sort nourished, as the soule by grace and spirite, with the bodie of Christ. Even so in baptisme the bodie is washed with the visible water, and the soule is clensed from al filth by the invisible Holie Ghost, and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still. In like sort in the sacrament of the Lords supper the bread ceaseth not to bee bread.”

Then the notaries penned, that he answered affirmativelie to the second article. The bishop of Lincolne declared a difference betweene the sacrament of the altar and baptisme, because that

Christ said not by the water, this is the Holie Ghost, as he did by the bread, *This is my body*.

Then master Ridley recited saint Austen which conferred both the sacraments the one with other : but the bishop of Lincolne notwithstanding thereupon recited the third article, and required a direct answere. To whome Ridley said,

“ Christ as S. Paule writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his ; and yet is the communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving : but to say that thereby sinnes are taken awaie (which wholie and perfectlie was done by Christs passion, of the which the communion is onelie a memorie) that is a great derogation of the merits of Christs passion : for the sacrament was instituted that we receiving it and therby recognizing and remembering his passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise dooth this sacrament take upon it the office of Christs passion, whereby it might follow that Christ died in vaine.”

The notaries penned this his answere to be affirmativelie. Then said the bishop of Lincolne :

“ Indeed as you alleadge out of S. Paule, Christ made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloudie sacrifice upon the crosse : yet neverthesse he hath left this sacrifice, but not bloudie², in the remembrance of that, by the which sinnes are forgiven : the which is no derogation of Christes passion.”

Then recited the bishop of Lincolne the fourth article. To the which M. Ridley answered :

“ That in some part the fourth was true, and in some part false true in that those his assertions were condemned as heresies although unjustlie ; false in that it was saide they were condemned *scientia scholastica*, in that the disputations were in such order ordered, that it was farre from anie schoole acte.”

² *Sacrifice, but not bloudie*. See Fox's *Acts*, p. 1322.

“ *Prc.* What say you to that counell, where it is sayde that the priest doth offer an *unbloody sacrifice* of the body of Christ ? ”

“ *Rd.* I say it is well said, if it be rightly understood.”

“ *Prc.* But he offereth an unbloody sacrifice.”

“ *Rd.* It was called unbloody, and is offered, after a certaine manner, in a mysticall, and as a *representation* of that bloudie sacrifice. And yet not he which saith Christ to be *offered*.”

This answer penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincolne rehearsed the fift article. To the which hee answered :

Rid. " That the premisses were in such sort true, as in these his answers he had declared. Whether that all men spake evill of them, he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to heare what every man reported."

This answer also written of the notaries, the bishop of Lincolne said :

" To morrow at eight of the clock you shall appeare before us in S. Maries church; and then, because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first article (for it was long before he was understood) if it will please you to write your answer, you shall have penne, inke, and paper, and bookes, such as you shall require, but if you write any thing saving your answers to these articles, we will not receive it:" so hee charging the maior with him, declaring also to the maior that he should suffer him to have a penne and inke, dismissed M. Ridley, and sent for master Latimer; who being brought to the divinitie schoole, there taried till they called for him.

Master Latimer appeareth before the commissioners.

Now after master Ridley was committed to the maior, then the bishop of Lincolne commanded the bailiffes to bring in the other prisoner, who eftsoones as he was placed, said to the lords.

" My lords, if I appeare againe, I pray you not to send for me untill you be readie. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarrie so long gazing upon the cold walles." Then the bishop of Lincolne said :

" M. Latimer, I am sorie you are brought so soone, although it is the balyffes fault, and not mine: but it shall be amended."

Then master Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a kerchiefe on his head, and upon it a night cappe or two, and a great cap (such as townes mens use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin) wearing an old threed bare bristow frise gown girded to his body, with a penie leather girdle, at the which hanged by a long string of leather his Testament and his spectacles without case, depending about his necke upon his breast. After this the bishop of Lincolne began on this manner :

"M. Latimer, you shall understand that I and my lords here have a commission from my lord cardinall Pooles grace, legate *o latere* to this realme of England, from our most reverent father in God the popes holinesse, to examine you upon certaine opinions and assertions of yours, which you as well beere openlie in disputations in the yeare of our Lord 1554, as at sundrie and divers other times did affirme, maintaine, and obstinatelie defend. In the which commission bee specialie two pointes: the one which we must desire you is, that if you shall now recant, revoke, and disannull these your errours, and together with all this realme, yea all the worlde, confesse the truth, we upon due repentance of your part should receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a straied sheepe, but adjoine you againe to the unity of Christs church, from the which you in the time of schisme fell: so that it is no new place to the which I exhort you: I desire you to returne thither from whence you went.

"Consider M. Latimer, that without the unitie of the church is no salvation, and in the church can be no errours. Therefore what should stay you to confesse that which all the realme confesseth, to forsake that which the king and queene their majesties have renounced and all the realme recanted? It was a common error, and it is now of all confessed: it shall bee no more shame to you, than it was to us all. Consider master Latimer, that within these twenty yeeres this realme also with all the world confessed one church; acknowledged in Christs church an head: and by what meanes and for what occasion it cut off it selfe from the rest of Christianitie, and renounced that which in all times and ages was confessed, it is wel known, and might be now declared upon what good foundation the sea of Rome was forsaken, save that we must spare them that are deade, to whom the rehearsall would be opprobrious. It is no usurped power, as it hath been tearmed, but founded upon Peter by Christ, a sure foundation, a perfect builder, as by divers places as well of the ancient fathers, as the expresse word of God may be proved."

With that master Latimer, which before leaned his head to his hand, began somewhat to remove his cappe and kerchief from his eares.

The bishop proceeded saying: "for Christ spake expressly to Peter saying, *pusco oves meas, et rego oves meas*, the which word doth not onelie declare a certaine ruling of Christs flocke, but includeth also a certaine preeminence and government, and there-

fore is the king called *rex à regendo*: so that in saying *rege*, Christ declared a power which he gave to Peter, which jurisdiction and power Peter by hand delivered to Clement; and so in all ages hath it remained in the sea of Rome. This if you shall confesse with us; and acknowledge with all the realme your errours and false assertions, then shall you doe that which wee most desire, then shall we rest upon the first part of our commission, then shall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the church, and according to the authoritie given unto us, minister unto you upon due repentance the benefit of absolution, to the which the king and queene their majesties were not ashamed to submitte themselves, although they of themselves were unspotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation; yet least the putrification and rottennesse of all the bodie might be noysome, and doe dammage to the head also, they (as I saide) most humbly submitted themselves to my lord cardinall his grace, by him, as a legate to the popes holinesse, to bee partakers of the reconciliation.—But if you shall stubbornly persever in your blindnes, if you will not acknowledge your errours, if you, as you stand now alone, will be singular in your opinions, if by schisme and heresie you will divide your selfe from our church, then must we proceede to the second part of the commission, which wee would be loath to doe, that is, not to condemne you, for that we cannot doe (*that* the temporall sword of the realme, and not we, will do) but to separate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are *filius perditionis*, a lost childe, and as you are a rotten member of the church, so to cut you off from the church, and so to commit you to the temporall judges³, permitting them to proceede against you, according to the tenour of their lawes.

“Therefore master Latimer, for Gods love consider your estate, remember you are a learned man, you have taken degrees in the schoole, borne the office of a bishop; remember you are an old man, spare your body, accelerat not your death, and especiallie remember your soules health, and quiet of your conscience; consider that if you should die in this state, you shall be a stinking sacrifice to God, for it is the cause that maketh the martyr, and not the death: consider that if you die in this state, you die without grace, for without the church can be no salvation. Let not vaine glorie have the upper hand, humiliate your selfe,

³ *Commit you to the temporall judges.*] See note at p. 389 of vol. i.

captivate your understanding, subdue your reason, submit your selfe to the determination of the church, doe not force us to doe all that we may doe, let us rest in that part which we most heartilie desire, and I, for my part" (then the bishop put off his cap) "againie with all my heart exhort you."

After the bishop had somewhat paused, then M. Latimer lift up his head (for before he leaned on his elbowe) and asked whether his lordshippe had said: and the bishop answered yea.

Lati. "Then will your lordship give me leave to speake a word or two?"

Linc. "Yea master Latimer, so that you use a modest kind of talke, without railing or taunts."

Lati. "I beseech your lordship, licence me to sit downe."

Linc. "At your pleasure master Latimer, take as much ease as you will."

Lati. "Your lordship gentlie exhorted me in many wordes to come to the unitie of the church. I confesse (my lord) a catholicke church, spread throughout all the world, in which no man may erre, without the which unitie of the church no man can be saved: but I know perfectly by Gods word that this church is in all the world, and hath not his foundation in Rome onelic, as you say: and me thought your lordship brought a place out of the Scriptures to confirme the same, that there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ made him *regere*, governe his people. Indeede my lord, saint Peter did well and truelie his office, in that he was bidde *regere*: but since the bishoppes of Rome have taken a new kinde of *regere*. Indeed, they ought to *regere*, but how my lord? not as they will themselves: but this *regere* must be hedged in, and ditched in. They must *regere*, but *secundum verbum Dei*: they must rule, but according to the word of God.

"But the bishops of Rome have turned *regere secundum verbum Dei*, into *regere secundum voluntatem suam*; they have turned the rule according to the word of God, into the rule according to their owne pleasures, and as it pleaseth them best. There is a booke set forth which hath divers points in it, and amongst other, this point is one, which your lordship went about to prove by this word *regere*, and the argument which hee bringeth forth for the proof of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomie, where it is said⁴.

⁴ *It is said.*] "Veniesque ad sacerdotes Levitici generis, et ad iudicem qui fuerit illo tempore: quosque ab eis, qui indicabunt tibi iudicium veritatem.

If there riseth anie controversie among the people, as the priests of the order of Leviticus shall decide the matter according to the law of God; so it must be taken. This book perceiving this authoritie to bee given to the priests of the olde lawe, taketh occasion to proove the same to be given to the bishops, and other the clergie of the new law: but in proving this matter, where as it was said there, as the priests of the order of Leviticus should determine the matter according to Gods law, that (*according to Gods law*) is left out, and onelie is recited, *as the priests of the order of Leviticus shall decide the matter, so it ought to be taken of the people:* a large authoritie I ensure you. What clipping of Gods coine is this?" with the which tearmes the audience smiled. "This is much like the *regere* which your lordship talked of. Nay nay, my lords, we may not give such authoritie to the clergie, to rule all things as they will. Let them keepe themselves within their commission.—Now I trust my lord, I do not raile yet."

Linc. "No M. Latimer, your talke is more like taunts then railing: but in that I have not read the book which you blame so much, nor knowe not of any such, I can say nothing therein."

Lati. "Yes my lord, the booke is open to be read, and is intituled to one which is bishop of Glocester, whom I never knew, neither did at any time see him to my knowledge." With that the people laughed, because the bishop of Glocester sate there in commission.

Then the bishop of Glocester stoode up, and saide it was his booke⁶.

Et facies quodcumque dixerint qui præsunt loco quem elegerit Dominus, et docuerint te juxta legem ejus; sequerisque sententiam eorum; nec declinabis ad dexteram neque ad sinistram." Deut. xvii. 9—11. It is necessary to give this extract from the *Vulgate Latin*, in order that the reader may understand Latimer's argument. Our English translation gives a different sense to the passage in question.

⁶ *Was his booke.*] The book referred to is the sermon of Brookes, which we have had occasion more than once to cite in the progress of these notes; and is intituled, a "Sermon very notable, fruitful, and godly, made at Pauls Cross, the 12th day of Novemb. in the first year of the gracious reign of our sovereign lady Q. Mary." The place to which Latimer alludes is as follows:

The catholic church hath "authoritie to judge, and decide all maters of controversy in religion. For if the Scripture of the olde lawe in Moses time was not made the highe judge of controversies (being a thinge itselfe in divers pointes called in controversy), but authority in judgements was given alwaies

Lat. "Was it yours my lord? In deed I knewe not your lordship, neither ever did see you before, neither yet see you now, through the brightnes of the sunne shining betwixt you and me." Then the audience laughed againe: and M. Latimer spake unto them saying, "Why my masters, this is no laughing matter. I answere upon life and death. *Vos vobis qui ridetis nunc, quoniam fletis!*"

The bishop of Lincolne commaunded silence, and then said:

"Master Latimer, if you had kept your selfe within your bounds, if you had not used such scoffes and taunts, this had not been done."

After this the bishop of Glocester saide in excusing of his booke,

"M. Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning^o you have."

Then M. Latimer interrupted him saying:

"Loe you looke for learning at my hands, which have gone so long to the schoole of oblivion, making the bare walles my library, keeping me so long in prison without booke or pen and inke: and now you let me loose to come and answere to articles. You deale with mee as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and over night the one through friends and favour is cherished, and hath good counsaile given him how to encounter with his enemy: the other for envy or lacke of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lustie; the other is starke of his limbes and almost dead for feeblenesse. Think you, that to run through this man with a speare is not a goodly victorie!"

by Gods owne mouthe to the learned, and elders of the synagoge, to whose judgement all were bounde to stande, and that under pain of present death, as appeareth in the booke of Deuteronomie (chap. 17); if we Christians wil not be counted in a worse state and condition, than the Jewes were, we must wee grant to the catholike church like authoritie of judgement, for the decision of all controversies in our religion; whom if God didde not assist evermore with the true intelligence of Scripture, then should the Scripture stande the church in as good a stede, as a paire of spectacles shoulde stande a blinde frier," &c. Signat. B 4.

In connexion with this extract, and the argument between Hooker and Latimer, the reader will do well to consult the XXth Article of the Church of England.

^o *What learning.*] The reader will do well to refer to the numerous and valuable writers in the *Christian Institutes*. Index, under Art. Church; Church Authority, &c.

But the bishop of Gloucester interrupting his answer proceeded, saying :

“ I went not about to recite any places of Scripture in that place of my book : for then if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had just occasion of reprehension : but I onely in that place formed an argument *à majore*, in this sense : that if in the olde lawe the priests had power to decide matters of controversies, much more then ought the authoritie to be given to the clergie in the newe lawe : and I pray you in this point what availeth the rehearsall, *secundum legem Dei* ? ”

Lati. “ Yes my lord, very much. For I acknowledge authoritie to be given to the spirituality to decide matter of religion, and as my lord said even now, to *regere* : but they must doe it *secundum verbum Dei*, and not *secundum voluntatem suam*, according to the word and lawe of God, and not after their owne will, after their own imaginations and fantasies.”

The bishop of Gloucester would have spoke more, saving that the bishop of Lincolne said, that they came not to dispute with M. Latimer, but to take his determinate answers to their articles ; and so began to propose the same articles which were proposed to M. Ridley. But M. Latimer interrupted him, speaking to the bishop of Gloucester : “ well my lord, I could wish more faithfull dealing with Gods word, and not to leave out a part, and snatch a part here and another there, but to rehearse the whole faithfully.”

But the bishop of Lincolne not attending to this saying of maister Latimer, proceeded in rehearsing the articles in forme and sense as I declared before in the examination of the articles proposed to M. Ridley, and required maister Latimers answer to the first.—Then M. Latimer, making his protestation that, notwithstanding these his answeres, it should not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any authoritie of the bishop of Rome, saying that he was the king and queene their majesties subject and not the popes, (neither could serve two masters at one time, except he should first renounce one of them) required the notaries so to take his protestation, that whatsoever he should say or doe, it should not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any authoritie that came from the bishop of Rome.

The bishop of Lincoln said, that his protestation should be so taken : but hee required him to answer briefelie, affirmatively or

negatively to the first article, and so recited the same againe : and M. Latimer answered as followeth :

"I doe not deny (my lord) that in the sacrament by spirite and grace is the verie body and bloud of Christ, because that every man by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receiveth the body and bloud of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christs passion : but I denie that the body and bloud of Christ is in such sort in the sacrament as you would have it."

Linc. "Then maister Latimer, you answered affirmatively."

Lati. "Yea, if you meane of that grosse and carnall being, which you do take."

The notaries tooke his answer to be affirmatively.

Linc. "What say you, M. Latimer, to the second article?" and recited the same.

Lati. "There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power, but the omnipotencie of God can make, in that that which before was bread, should now have that dignity to exhibite Christs body', and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine : for the change is not in the nature, but in the dignitie, because now that which was common bread, hath the dignitie to exhibit Christs body ; for where as it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to bee so taken, but as holie breade sanctified by Gods word."

With that the bishop of Lincolne smiled, saying :

"Loe master Latimer, see what stedfastnesse is in your doctrine : *that* which you abhorred and despised most, you now most establish : for whereas you most railed at holie bread, you now make your communion holy bread.

Lati. "Tush, a rush for holy bread. I say the bread in the communion is an holy bread indeed."

¹ *To exhibite Christs body.*] "Bread and wine he signes exhibitve, *that* is to say, such signes as do give, the things signified."—Martin Rucer, in Strype's *Memorials of Cramer*, p. 131, Appendix. See also p. 133, *ibid*. "But in the other signes, which some call exhibitve, is there not only a signification of the thing, but also a declaration of a gift, yea, in a certain manner, a giving also. As baptisme signifieth not onely the cleansing of the conscience from sinne, by the merits of Chrestes blood, but also is a verie cleansing from sinne."—*Sermon on the Lord's Supper*, by John Bradford Edt. 1541. Signat. H 1

But the bishop of Lincolne interrupted him and sayd :

“ O, you make a difference betweene holy bread and holy bread ” (with that the audience laughed). “ Wel master Latimer, is not this your answeere, that the substance of bread and wine remaineth after the words of consecration ? ”

Lati. “ Yes verily, it must needs be so. For Christ himselfe calleth it bread, S. Paul calleth it bread, the doctors confesseth the same, the nature of a sacrament confirmeth the same ; and I call it holy bread, not in that I make no difference betwixt your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Christs body, and not only a bare figure, but effectually to represent the same.”

So the notaries penned his answeere to bee affirmativelie.

Linc. “ What saie you to the third question ? ” and recited the same.

Lati. “ No, no, my lord, Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him againe, neither can the priest offer up Christ againe for the sinnes of man, which he tooke away *by offering himselfe once for all* (as saint Paul saith) upon the crosse, neither is there any propitiation for our sinnes, saving his crosse only.”

So the notaries penned his answeere to this article also to be affirmatively.

Linc. “ What say you to the fourth, master Latimer ? ” and recited it. After the recitall whereof, when maister Latimer answered not, the bishoppe asked him whether hee heard him or no ?

Lati. “ Yes, but I doe not understand what you meane thereby.”

Linc. “ Mary only this, that these your assertions were condemned by M. doctor Weston as heresie : is it not so M. Latimer ? ”

Lat. “ Yes, I thinke they were condemned. But how unjustly, he that shall be judge of all knoweth.”

So the notaries tooke his answeere to this article also to be affirmatively.

Linc. “ What say you, maister Latimer, to the fifth article ? ” and recited it.

Lat. “ I knowe not what you meane by these tearmes ; I am no lawyer, I would you would propose the matter plainly.”

Linc. “ In that we proceed according to the lawe, we must

use their tearmes also. The meaning onely is this, that these your assertions are notorious, evill spoken of, and yet common and frequent in the mouthes of the people."

Lat. "I cannot tell how much nor what men talke of them. I come not so much among them, in that I have been secluded a long time. What men report of them I know not, nor care not."

This answer taken, the bishop of Lincolne said :

"M. Latimer, we meane not that these your answeres shall be prejudiciall to you. To morrow you shall appear before us againe, and then it shall be lawfull for you to alter and change what you will. We give you respite till to morrow, trusting that after you have pondered well all things against to morrowe, you will not be ashamed to confesse the truth."

Lati. "Now my lord I pray you give me licence in three words to declare the causes why I have refused the authoritie of the pope."

Line. "Nay M. Latimer, to morrow you shall have licence to speake forty words."

Lati. "Nay my lords, I beseech you to doe with mee now as it shall please your lordships : I pray you let not me be troubled to morrow againe."

Line. "Yes M. Latimer, you must needes appeare againe to morrow."

Lati. "Truely my lord, as for my part I require no respite for I am at a point ; you shall give me respite in vaine. Therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to morrow."

Lincolne. "Yes, for wee trust, God will worke with you against to morrowe. There is no remedie, you must needes appeare againe to morrow at eight of the clocke in S. Maries church." And forthwith the bishop charged the maior with M. Latimer, and dismissed him, and then brake up their session for that day, about one of the clocke at afternoone.

Here followeth the second session.

The next daie following (which was the first daie of October) somewhat after eight of the clocke, the said lords repaired to saint Maries church, and after they were set in a high throne well trimmed with cloth of tissewe and silke, then appeared master Ridley, who was set at a framed table a good space from ti-

bishops feete, which table had a silke clothe cast over it, the which place was compassed about with framed seates in quadrate forme, partlie for gentlemen which repaired thither (for this was the session day also of gaile delivery) and heades of the universitie to sit, and partly to keepe off the prease of the audience: for the whole bodie as well of the universitie as of the towne, came thither to see the end of these two persons. After M. Ridleyes appearance, and the silence of the audience, the bishop of Lincolne spake in manner following.

“ Master Ridley, yesterday when that we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused your self of that wherof no man accused you, in saying you did not put on your cap for anie obstinacie towards us, which as touching our own persons desired no such obedience of you, but onelie in respect of them whose persons we beare; neither (you said) for anie contempt that you beare to this worshipfull audience, which although justlie maie, yet in this case require no such humilitie of you; neither for anie derogation of honour to my lord cardinals grace, in that he descended from the regall bloud, in that hee is a man most noble, both for his excellent qualities and singular learning: for as touching those points, you said you with all humilitie would honour, reverence, and worship his grace: but in that he is legate to the most reverent father in God the popes holinesse” (with that the bishop with all then present put off their cappes, but M. Ridley mooved not his) “you sayd you ne could, ne would by anie meanes be induced to give him honour: but forasmuch as this is the point, as we told you yesterday, why we require honour and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the paines to moove your bonet, we will take the paines to cause your bonet to be taken from you: except you pretend sicknesse, as yesterdaie you did not.”

Ridl. “ I pretend now none other cause than I did yesterdaie, that is, onely that hereby it maie appeare that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gesture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit anie authoritie or power that shal come from the pope, and not for anie pride of minde (as God is my judge) neither for contempt of your lordships, or of this worshipfull audience, neither for derogation of honor due to my lord cardinals grace as concerning those points which your lordship spake of, that is, his noble parentage and singular graces in learning.

And as for taking my cappe away, your lordship may doe as it shall please you, it shall not offend me, but I shall bee content with your ordinance in that behalfe."

Lin. "Forasmuch as you do answer now as you did yesterdaie, we must do also as we did then;" and forthwith one of the bedles verie hastilie snatched his cap from his head.

After this the bishop of Lincolne began the examination in sense following.

"Master Ridley, yesterday we tooke your answer to certaine articles, which we then proposed unto you: but because we could not be thorowlie satisfied with your answers then to the first article, neither could the notaries take anie determinate answers of you, we (you requiring the same) granted you licence to bring your answer in writing, and thereupon commanded the maior that you should have pen, paper, and inke, yea anie books also that you would require, if they were to be gotten: wee licensed you then also, to alter your former answers this daie at your pleasure: therefore we are come now hither, to see whether you are in the same minde now that you were in yesterdaie (which wee would not wish), or contrarie, contented to revoke al your former assertions, and in all points content to submit your selfe to the determination of the universall church; and I for my part most earnestlie exhort you" (and therewith he put off his cap) "not because my conscience pricketh me, as you saide yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member, and in the way of perdition.

"Yesterdaie I brought forth amongst other Saint Austen, to prove that authoritie hath alwaies beene given to the see of Rome, and you wrested the words farre contrarie to S. Austens meaning. in that you would have *totus mundus* to bee applied onelie to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world, whereas in deed the processe of S. Augustines words will not admit that your interpretation. For he sayth not *totus mundus Christianus in transmarinis*, &c. but first, *totus mundus Christianus Romana Ecclesie subjectus est*; all the Christian world is subject to the church of Rome, and afterward addeth *in transmarinis partibus*, beyond the sea, but onelie to augment the dominion of the see of Rome."

But maister Ridley still persevered in his former answer, saying: "I am sure my lord you have som skill in cosmographie, in the which you shall understand that there is a sea called *Mar*

mediterraneum, cast betweene Europe and Africa, in the which he meant Europe beyond the sea, even as I should saie the whole world beyond the sea, excepting England in the which I stand :” and here manie words were spent upon the interpretation of the same place of S. Austen.

After long disceptation, the bishop of Lincolne saide, that the meaning of S. Augustine might be knowne by the consent of other the doctors, and rehearsed divers.

But maister Ridley required the rehearsall of the places, and to reade the very words of the doctors, saying, that perhaps those which the bishop rehearsed, being proponed in other tearmes in the doctors, would admit a contrarie meaning and interpretation : but in that the booke out of the which the bishop rehearsed them was none of the doctors, but only the sentences drawne out of the doctors by some studious man, he could not recite the verie words of the doctors.

Then after he came to Cyrillus, which (as he said) made against master Ridley in the sacrament, even by Philip Melancthon his owne alledging in his Common Places ; and forthwith called for Melancthon, but in vaine, because all such bookes were burned a little before^s, wherefore he passed it over.

“Cyrillus also in another place proving to the Jewes that Christ was come, useth this reason, aultars are erected in Christs name in Britaine and in farre countreies : *Ergo*, Christ is come. But we may use the contrarie of that reason : altars are plucked downe in Britaine : *ergo*, Christ is not come. A good argument *à contrariis* : I will stand to it in the schooles by and with anie man. Yee see what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Jewes, to prove that Christ is not come.”

Doctor Ridley smiling, answered : “your lordship is not ignorant that this word *altare* in the Scripture signifieth as well the altar whereupon the Jewes were wont to make their burnt sacrifices, as the table of the Lords supper. Cyrillus meaneth there by this word *altare* not the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord, and by that saying (*aultars are erected in Christs name, ergo Christ is come*) hee meaneth that the communion is ministred in his remembrance, *ergo*, Christ is come : for the strength of his

^s *Burned a little before.*] Wood's *Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford*, vol. ii. p. 132, edit. 1790. Warton's *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, p. 124. Compare Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 348 ; Fox's *Acts*, p. 1450.

argument is, because the remembrance of a thing cannot bee, except the thing it selfe bee past: then could not all countries celebrate the communion in the remembrance of Christs passion, except Christ had been come and suffered. As for the taking down of the aultars, it was done upon *just considerations*², for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jewes usage. Neither was the supper of the Lord at any time better ministred, or more duely received, than in these latter daies when all things were brought to the rites and usage of the primitive church."

Lin. "A godly receiving I promise you, to set an oyster table in steed of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster to receive: and yet when your table was constituted, you could never bee content, in placing the same nowe east, now north, now one way, now another. untill it pleased God of his goodnesse to place it cleane out of the church."

Rid. "Your lordships unreverent tearms do not elevate³ the thing. Perhaps some men came more devoutly from puddings than other men now do from other things."

Lin. "As for that M. Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man: but by this your reasoning you cause us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate answeres to our articles:" and eftsones hee read the first article in maner above specified.

"Now M. Ridley, what say you to the first article? if you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it: but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it."

Then M. Ridley tooke a sheet of paper out of his bosome, and began to reade that which he had written: but the bishop of Lincoln commanded the bedle to take it from him. But he desired licence to reade it, saying that it was nothing but his answers, but the bishop would in no wise suffer him.

Rid. "Why my lord, will you require my answer, and not

² *Just considerations*? In Fox's *Acts*, p. 1211, 12, is printed a letter from the council to bishop Ridley, to which are subjoined six reasons, transcribed to him by the same authority, upon which this practice was to be adopted: Compare Heylin's *Hist. of the Reformation*, p. 95—8; Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 227, 8; Strype's *Crammer*, p. 227—30. In the same year came out a treatise against Altars, and in vindication of Tables, intitled, "*The Interest of the Popes Idolatrie, commonly called the High Altare, compiled by W. S.*" (William Salisbury) in the year of our Lorde 1539."

³ *Do not elevate*—"To lessen by detraction. This sense, though legitimate, is deduced from the Latin, is not now in use." Johnson's *Dict.*

suffer me to publish it? I beseech you my lord, let the audience beare witnesse in this matter. Your lordships may handle it at your pleasures: therefore let the audience be witnesses to your doings."

Lin. "Well M. Ridley, we will first see what you have written: and then if we shall thinke it good to be read, you shall have it published; but except you will deliver it first, wee will take none at all of you."

With that M. Ridley, seeing no remedie, delivered it to an officer, which immediately delivered it to the bishop of Lincoln, who after hee had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, declared the sense, but would not read it as it was written, saying, *that it contained words of blasphemie, therefore he would not fill the eares of the audience therewithall and so abuse their patience*; notwithstanding M. Ridley desired very instantly to have it published, saying that except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the ancient doctors sayings for the confirmation of his assertions.

After the said bishops had secretly viewed the whole, then the bishop of Lincolne saide; "In the first part M. Ridley, is nothing contained but your protestation, that you would not have these your answeres so to be taken, as though you seemed thereby to consent to the authoritie or jurisdiction of the popes holinesse."

Rid. "No my lord, I pray you read it out, that the audience may heare it;" but the bishop of Lincolne would in no wise, because (he saide) there were contained words of blasphemie.

Then the bishop of Lincolne recited the first article, and required maister Ridleies answer to it. Then maister Ridley said, that his answer was there in writing, and desired that it might be published; but the bishop would not reade the whole, but here and there a peece of it. So the notaries tooke his answer, that hee referred him to his answer in writing exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation, M. Doctor Weston being prolocutor.

In like wise the bishop of Lincoln recited the second article, and required an answer, and maister Ridley referred him to his answer in writing, exhibited nowe, and also before at the time of disputation: and like answeres were taken to all the residue of the articles.

These answers in this maner rehearsed, taken and penned of

the notaries, the bishop of Gloucester began an exhortation to move M. Ridley to turne.

“ If you would once emptie your stomacke, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily bee perduced to acknowledge one church with us, to confesse one faith with us, and to beleewe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this, I pray you! Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularitie of his owne wit: so that if you overthrowe the singularitie of Ridleys witte, then must needes the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember wel M. Ridley, that the prophet speaketh most truly, saying, *woe, woe be to them which are singular and wise in their owne conceites!*

“ But you will say here, it is true that the prophet saith: but how knowe you that I am wise in mine owne conceite! Yea maister Ridley, you refuse the determination of the catholicke church; you must needs be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring Scriptures for the probation of your assertions, and we also bring Scriptures: you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will yee know the truth herein? If you stand to your owne interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit: but if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers, semblably you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another: how will ye know the truth herein? If you stand to your own judgement, then are you singular in your owne conceit, then can you not avoide the woe which the prophet speaketh of.

“ Wherefore, if you have no staie but the catholicke church in matters of controversie, except you will rest upon the singularitie and wiselome of your owne braine, if the prophet most truly saith, *woe, woe be to them that are wise in their owne conceits*: then for Gods love maister Ridley stand not singular, bee not you wise in your owne conceite, please not your selfe over much. How were the Arrians, the Manicheis, the Eutichians, with other divers heretikes which have been in the church, how I pray you were they suppressed and convinced! by reasoning in disputations! No, truly the Arrians had no places¹ of Scriptures for

¹ *Had no places.*] No sacrifices are to be considered too great, any thing is to be attempted, if only the authority of the church may thereby be maintained

the confirmation of their heresie, than the catholikes for the defence of the trueth. How then were they convinced? only by the determination of the church. And indeed except we do constitute the church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that wee all bring Scriptures and doctors for the probation of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversie? If we our selves, then be we singular and wise in our owne conceits, then cannot we avoide the woe that the prophet speaketh of.

“It remaineth therefore that we submit our selves to the determination and arbitrement of the church, with whome God promised to remaine to the worlds end, to whom hee promised to send the Holy Ghost which should teach it the truth. Wherefore M. Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of, be not you wise in your judgement; if you will not be wise and singular in your owne judgement, captivate your owne understanding, subdue your reason, and submit your selfe to the determination of the church.”

This is briefly the sum of the oration of the bishop of Gloucester, by the which he indevoured in many moe words, amplifying and inlarging the matter eloquently with sundry points of rhetoricke, to move affections, to perswade M. Ridley to recant and forsake his religion.

To whom M. Ridley answered in fewe words, that he saide most truely with the prophet, wo be to him which is wise in his owne conceit, but that hee acknowledged no such singularitie in

The Scriptures themselves shall be betrayed, and scandalized. This was no sudden fanatical flight of the bishop of Gloucester. He was wont to maintain it in his solemn discourses: and we shall find below that he again repeated it in the next year, in a set oration addressed to Cranmer. See *Sermon made at Paules Crosse the 12th daie of Novembre*, signat. D 2, 3. Watson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, touches upon the same argument, but with much more moderation, in his two famous sermons, preached A.D. 1554, signat. B 7. Compare *Life of bishop Stillingfleet*, p. 64. A.D. 1710. “Soon after this former tract came forth *A Dialogue between a new Catholic convert and a Protestant, concerning the doctrines of the Trinity and Transubstantiation*. For so bent were the Romanists upon pursuing their own interest by all methods whatsoever, that they would chuse rather, as they have too frequently done since, to undermine the Trinity and other fundamental doctrines of Christianity, than yield themselves baffled, when all unbiassed readers could not but see they were so to a great degree. But this wicked and antichristian pamphlet was in a little time worthily chastised by this great man.”

him, ne knew any cause why he should attribute so much to himselfe. And whereas hee sayd M. Cranmer leane to him, that was most untrue, in that hee was but a yong scholler in comparison of M. Cranmer : for at what time he was a young scholler, than was M. Cranmer a doctor ; so that he confessed that M. Cranmer might have bin his schoolemaster these manie yeeres. It seemed that he would have spoken more, but the bishop of Gloucester interrupted him, saying,

“ Why M. Ridley, it is your owne confession ; for M. Latimer at the time of his disputations confessed his learning to ly in M. Cranmers books, and M. Cranmer also said, that it was your doing.”

Likewise the bishop of Lincolne with many words and gently holding his cap in his hand, desired him to turne. But maister Ridley made an absolute answer, that he was fullie perswaded, the religion which he defended to be grounded upon Gods word, and therefore without great offence towards God, great perill and damage of his soule, he could not forsake his maister and Lord God ; but desired the bishop to performe his grant, in that his lordship sayd the day before, that he should have licence to shewe his cause, why hee could not with a safe conscience admit the authoritye of the pope ; but the bishop of Lincolne saide, that whereas then he had demanded licence to speake three words, he was contented then that he should speake fortie, and that grant he would performe.

Then stepped forth doctor Weston which sate by, and saide, why my lord he hath spoken foure hundred alreadie.

Maister Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, neither of that matter. The bishop of Lincolne bade him take his licence ; but he should speake but fortie, and he would tell them upon his fingers ; and eftsoones maister Ridley beganne to speake ; but before hee had ended halfe a sentence, the doctours sitting by cryed and sayde, that his number was out, and with that he was put to silence.

After the bishop of Lincoln which sate in the middest, began to speake as followeth :

“ Now I perceiue M. Ridley, you will not permit ne suffer us to staie in that point of our commission which wee most desired, for I ensure you, there is never a word in our commission more true than *dolentes et gementes*. For, indeed I for my part, I take God to witnesse, am sorry for you.” Whereunto M. Ridley answered

“ I beleeve it well my lord, forasmuch as one day it will be burdenous to your soule.”

Lin. “ Nay not so maister Ridley, but because I am sorry to see such stubbornesse in you, that by no meanes you may be perswaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the truth ; but seeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to persist in the first, we must of necessitie proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore I pray you harken what I shall say :” and forthwith he did reade the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long processe: the tenour of which because it is sufficientlie already expressed before, wee thought meete in this place to omit, for asmuch as they are rather wordes of course, than things devised upon deliberation. Howbeit indeed the effect was, that forasmuch as the saide Nicholas Ridley did affirme, maintaine, and stubbornlie defend certaine opinions, assertions and heresies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the church, as in denying the true and naturall body of Christ, and his naturall bloud to bee in the sacrament of the altar: *Secondarily*, in affirming the substance of breade and wine to remaine after the words of the consecration: *Thirdly*, in denying the masse to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead, and that he by no meanes would bee perduced and brought from these his heresies: they therefore the said John of Lincolne, James of Gloucester, John of Bristowe, did judge and condemne the said Nicholas Ridley, as an heretike, and so adjudged him presentlie both by word, and also in deed to bee degraduated from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood and all ecclesiasticall order: declaring moreover the saide Nicholas Ridley to bee no member of the church, and therefore committed him to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment according to the tenour of the temporall lawes: and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication.

The last appearance and examination of maister Latimer before the commissioners.

This sentence being published by the bishop of Lincolne, master Ridley was committed as a prisoner to the maior, and immediately M. Latimer was sent for; but in the mean season the carpet or cloth which lay upon the table whereat M. Ridley stood, was removed because (as men reported) M. Latimer had

never the degree of a doctor as M. Ridley had. But eftsoones as M. Latimer appeared as he did the day before, perceiving no cloath upon the table, he laid his hat, which was an old felt, under his elbowes, and immediatelie spake to the commissioners saying,

“ My lords, I beseech your lordships to set a better order here at your entrance ; for I am an old man, and have a verie evill backe, so that the prease of the multitude doth me much harme.”

Linc. “ I am sorrie M. Latimer for your hurt. At your departure we will see to better order.”

With that M. Latimer thanked his lordship making a verie low curtesie. After this the bishop of Lincolne beganne on this maner.

“ Master Latimer, although yesterday after wee had taken your answers to those articles which we proposed, we might have justlie proceeded to judgement against you, especiallie in that you required the same, yet we having a good hope of your returning, desiring not your destruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turne to the catholike church, deferred farther processe till this day ; and nowe according to the appointment, we have called you here before us, to heare whether you are content to revoke your hereticall assertions, and submit your selfe to the determination of the church, as we most heartilie desire, and I for my part, as I did yesterday, most earnestlie doe exhort you ; either to know whether you persever still the man that you were, for the which wee would be sorie.”

It seemeth that the bishop would have further proceeded, saving that M. Latimer interrupted him, saying,

“ Your lordship often doth repeat the catholike church, although I should denie the same. No my lord, I confesse there is a catholike church to the determination of the which I will stand, but not the church which you call catholike, which sooner might be tearmed diabolike. And whereas you joine together the Romish and catholike church, stay there I pray you. For it is an other thing to say Romish church, and another thing to say catholike church. I must use heere in this mine answer, the counsel of Cyprianus, who at what time he was ascited before certaine bishops that gave him leave to take deliberation, and counsell to trie and examine his opinion, answered them thus, *Ia sticking and persevering in the truth, there must no counsell, nor*

deliberation bee taken. And again being demanded of them sitting in judgement, which was most like to bee of the church of Christ, either he which was persecuted, either they, which did persecute? *Christ*, said he, *hath foreshewed, that hee that doth follow him, must take up his crosse and follow him.* Christ gave knowledge that the disciples should have persecution and trouble. How thinke you then my lords, is it like that the sea of Rome, which hath bin a continuall persecutor, is rather the church, or that small flocke which hath continually beene persecuted of it even to death? Also the flock of Christ hath beene but few in comparison to the residue, and ever in subjection ;” which hee proved, beginning at Noes time even to the apostles.

Lin. “Your cause and saint Cyprian is not one, but cleane contrarie, for he suffered persecution for Christes sake and the gospell: but you are in trouble for your errors and false assertions, contrarie to the word of God, and the received truth of the church.”

M. Latimer interrupting him said, “Yes verilie, my cause is as good as saint Cyprians; for his was for the word of God, and so is mine.”

But Lincolne goeth forth in his talke.

“Also at the beginning and foundation of the church, it coulde not be but that the apostles should suffer great persecution. Further, before Christs comming continually there were very fewe which truelie served God, but after his comming began the time of grace, then began the church to increase, and was continually augmented, untill it came into this perfection, and now hath justlie that jurisdiction which the unchristian princes before by tyrannie did resist: there is a divers consideration of the estate of the church now in the time of grace, and before Christs comming. But master Latimer, although wee had instructions given us determinately to take your answer to such articles as we should propose, without any reasoning or disputations, yet wee hoping by talke somewhat to prevaile with you, appointed you to appeare before us yesterdaie in the divinity schoole, a place for disputations. And whereas then notwithstanding you had licence to say your minde, and were answered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your errors; we thinking that from that time ye would with good advisement consider your state, gave you respite from that time yesterdaie when wee dismissed

you, untill this time, and now have called you againe here in this place, by your answeres to learne whether you are the same man you were then or no. Therefore we will propose unto you the same articles which we did then, and will require of you a determinate answer, without further reasoning!" and eftscoones he recited the first article.

Lati. "Alwaies my protestation saved, that by these mine answers, it should not be thought that I did condescend and agree to your lordships authoritie in that you are legaced by authoritie of the pope, so that thereby I might seeme to consent to his jurisdiction; to the first article I answered now as I did yesterday, that in the sacrament the worthie receiver receiveth the very bodie of Christ, and drinketh his bloud by spirit and grace. But after a corporall being which the Romish church prescribeth, Christs bodie and bloud is not in the sacrament under the formes of bread and wine."

The notaries tooke his answer to be affirmativelic. For the second article hee referred himself to his answeres made before.

After this the bishop of Lincolne recited the third article, and required a determinate answer.

Lati. "Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world and that a perfect sacrifice, neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory sacrifice."

The notaries tooke his answer to be affirmativelic.

In like maner did he answer to the other articles, not varying from his answeres made the day before.

After his answers were penned of the notaries, and the bishop of Lincolne had exhorted him in like sort to recant as he did master Ridley, and revoke his errors and false assertions, and master Latimer had answered that he ne could, ne wold denie his master Christ, and his veritie, the bishoppe of Lincolne desired master Latimer to hearken to him: and then master Latimer harkning for some new mater and other talk, the bishop of Lincolne read his condemnation, after the publication of the which, the said three bishops brake up their session, and dismissed the audience.

But M. Latimer required the bishop to performe his promise in saying the daie before, that he should have licence brieflic to declare the cause why he refused the popes authoritie.

But the bishop said, that now hee could not heare him, neither ought to talke with him³.

Then master Latimer asked him whether it were not lawfull for him to appeale from this his judgement. And the bishop asked him againe to whom he would appeale. "To the next generall councell," (quoth M. Latimer) "which shall be truelie called in God's name." With that appellation the bishop was content: but he said it would be a long season before such a convocation as he meant would be called⁴.

Then the bishop committed M. Latimer to the maior, saying, "now he is your prisoner master maior."—Because the prease of people was not diminished, each man looking for farther processe, the bishop of Lincolne commanded avoidance, and willed M. Latimer to tarrie till the prease were diminished, least he should take hurt at his egression, as he did at his entrance.—And so continued B. Ridley, and M. Latimer, in durance till the sixteenth day of the said moneth of October.

A Communication between D. Brookes and D. Ridley, in M. Irish his house, the fifteenth day of October, at which time he was degraded.

In the meane season upon the fifteenth daie in the morning, and the same yeare abovesaid (1555), the bishop of Glocester,

³ *To talke with him.*] Because he was now cast out of the church: As the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) said to Gibson, "He would not talk with him because he was an heretic and excommunicate."—*Strype's Eccles. Memor.*, vol. iii. p. 412. And, as Bonner "bade Fecknam to hold his peace; and to call Greene no more *Master Greene*: for, sayd he, you ought not to call an hereticke *Maister*."—*Fox's Acts*, p. 1683. These excommunications were a fruitful source of fresh troubles to a vast number of individuals, for actions in other respects innocent, or virtuous. To mention only one instance. John, brother of the famous William Tindal, was abjured, in the year 1530. For what? "For sending five markes to his brother beyond the sea; and for receiving and keeping with him certaine letters from his brother."—*Fox's Acts*, p. 950.

⁴ *Would be called.*] "The popes have now for three centuries governed the church, without the impediments of a council."—*Digest of Evidence* (Phelan and O'Sullivan's) taken before Committees on the State of Ireland, 1824, part ii. p. 104. Again: "Councils, which might have had somewhat of the air of parliamentary estates, have been discontinued since the Reformation."—*Ibid.* p. 125.

D. Brokes^a, and the vice chancellor of Oxford doctor Marshall, with divers other of the chiefe and heades of the same universitie, and manie other moe accompanying them, came unto master Irish his house then maior of Oxford, where doctor Ridley late bishop of London was close prisoner. And when the bishop of Glocester came into the chamber where the said doctor Ridley did lie, hee tolde him for what purpose their comming was unto him, saying, that yet once againe the queenes majesty did offer unto him by them, her gracious mercie, if that he would receive the same, and come home againe to the faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the destruction of many. And further said, that if hee would not recant and become one of the catholike church with them, then they must needs (against their will) proceed according to the law, which they would be verie loath to doe, if they might otherwise. "But," saith he, "we have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant this your fantastical and devellish opinion, where hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win manie, and do much good. Therefore good master Ridley, consider with your selfe the danger that shall insue both of bodie and soule, if that you shall so wilfully cast your self away in refusing mercie offered unto you at this time."

"My lord," quoth doctor Ridley, "you know my minde fullie herein; and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assureth me that it was sound, and according to Gods word (to his glory be it spoken), the which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintaine so long as my tongue shall wag, and breath is within my bodie, and in confirmation thereof seale the same with my bloud."

Brook. "Well, you were best M. Ridley not to doe so, but to become one of the church with us. For you know this well inough, that whosoever is out of the catholike church, cannot bee saved: therefore I say once againe that whiles you have time and mercie offered you, receive it, and confesse with us the popes holinesse to be the chiefe head of the same church."

Rid. "I marvell that you will trouble me with any such vain:

^a *D. Brokes* : James Brookes, master of Balliol College, consecrated bishop of Gloucester. 1 April, 1554. See p. 584.

and foolish talk. You know my minde concerning the usurped authoritie of the Romish antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schooles, so do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk, I do no obedience at all unto the bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authoritie, and that for divers good and godlie considerations." And here D. Ridley would have reasoned with the saide Brookes bishop of Glocester, of the bishop of Romes authoritie, but could not be suffered; and yet he spake so earnestlie against the pope therein, that the bishop told him if he would not holde his peace, he shold be compelled against his will. "And seeing," saith he, "that you will not receive the queenes mercie now offered unto you, but stubbornlie refuse the same, we must, against our wils, proceede according to our commission to disgrading, taking from you the dignitie of priesthood. For wee take you for no bishop⁶, and therefore we will the sooner have done with you: so, committing you to the secular power, you knowe what doth follow."

Rid. "Do with me as it shal please God to suffer you, I am wel content to abide the same with all my heart."

Brok. "Put off your cap, master Ridley, and put upon you this surples."

Rid. "Not I truelie."

Brok. "But you must."

Rid. "I will not."

Brok. "You must, therefore, make no more ado, but put this surples upon you."

Rid. "Truelie if it come upon me it shall be against my will."

Brok. "Will you not doe it upon you?"

Rid. "No, that I will not."

Brok. "It shall be put upon you by one or other."

Rid. "Doe therein as it shall please you. I am well contented with that, and more than that: the servant is not above his master. If they dealt so cruellie with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patientlie,

⁶ *For no bishop.*] This is contrary to the acknowledgment made in Fox's *Acts*, p. 1545, or above, p. 624, by another of these commissioners, the bishop of Lincoln, who says, "You were made bishop, according to our lawes." See also the abstract of the sentence of condemnation, Fox, 1603. Compare Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 659—61; Prideaux's *Validity of the Orders of the Church of England*, &c., where this point is discussed at large.

how much more doth it become us his servants!" and in saying of these words, they put upon the said D. Ridley the surpleen with all the trinkets appertaining to the masse. And as they were putting on the same, D. Ridley did vehemently inveigh against the Romish bishop and all that foolish apparell, calling him anti-christ, and the apparell foolish⁷ and abhominable, yea too fond for a vice in a play⁸, insomuch that Brokes was exceeding angrie with him, and bade him holde his peace, for he did but raile. Doctor Ridley answered him again, and said, "so long as his tongue and breath would suffer him, he would speake against their abhominable dooings, whatsoever hapned unto him for so doing."

Brok. "Well, you were best to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped." At which words one Edridge¹ the reader

⁷ *The apparell foolish.*] Ridley's conduct upon this occasion has been frequently exulted in by the non-conformists (Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 190—226. edit. 2. Pierce's *Vindication of the Dissenters*, p. 31. edit. 2), as demonstrative of a retraction of the former zeal and steadiness with which, in his controversy with Hooper, and on other occasions, he maintained the usage of the cap and surplice, and the ceremonial distinctions, which were so much the abhorrence of the puritans. And a similar interpretation has been put upon the behaviour of other conforming divines in like circumstances. But the triumph, I apprehend, has no foundation more solid, than the mistakes, the narrow views, and the imperfect knowledge of those who indulge in it. They make an outcry, and begin with totally misrepresenting the state of the question. It was the ostentatious and multifarious apparatus of the popish massing-priest, which was disclaimed by Ridley and the rest; and from which, it having been restored under queen Mary, they were now to be formally degraded: all which apparatus, how far it differed from the simple and modest ornaments retained by the English reformation, we need not go further to show, than by referring to an extract given above, p. 599, from the work of one who was soon after himself a bishop: the difference being so great, that Christopherson has hardihood enough to affirm, that the reformation of king Edward had abolished *all ecclesiastical habits and distinctions*. As to Ridley himself, it will appear below, that he went to his execution in a square cap, and in the gown and tippet of a bishop, and so gave the last testimony of adherence which he could to the laws of his country, and also to the wise and worthy part which he had borne in this unhappy controversy.

⁸ *Vice is a play.*] The mimic or buffoon of the old moralities which preceded the regular drama.

"A vice of kings—a cutpurse of the empire."—*Hamlet*.

¹ *One Edridge.*] George Edridge, or Eithridge, from March 1547 to 1550, and again from Nov. 1554 to April 1559. He was deprived under Elizabeth, and died about 1588.

then of the Greeke lecture standing by, saide to doctor Brookes, "sir, the law is he should be gagged, therefore let him be gagged." At which wordes doctor Ridley lookeing earnestlie upon him that so said, wagged his head at him, and made no answer againe, but with a sigh said, "Oh well, well, well."

So they proceeded in their doings; yet neverthelesse doctor Ridley was for ever talking things not pleasant to their eares, although one or other bad him holde his peace, least he should be caused against his will.

Whenas they came to that place whereas doctor Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer cake (called the singing bread), they bade him hold the same in his hands. And doctor Ridley said, "they shall not come in my hands: for if they doe, they shall fall to the ground for all me." Then there was one appointed to holde them in his hand, while bishop Brookes read a certain thing in Latine, touching the degradation of spiritual persons according to the popes law.

Afterward they put a booke in his hand, and withall read (as is before said) a certaine thing in Latine, the effect thereof was "We doe take from you the office of preaching the gospell, &c." At which words doctor Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, "Oh Lord God forgive them this their wickednesse."

And as they put upon him the masse geare, so they beganne with the uppermoste garment, in taking it awaie againe, reading a thing in Latine, according to the order contained in the said booke of the popes law. Now when all was taken from him, saving onelie the surples left on his backe, as they were reading and taking it away, doctor Ridley said unto them, "Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had? I was never singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had."

So when all this their abhominable and ridiculous degradation was ended verie solemnlie, D. Ridley said unto doctour Brookes, "have you done? If you have done, then give mee leave to talke with you a little concerning these matters." Brookes answered and said, "M. Ridley, wee may not talk with you; you be out of the church, and our law is that we may not talke with anie that be out of the church." Then master Ridley said, "Seeing that you will not suffer me to talke, neither will vouchsafe to heare me, what remedie but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenlie

Father, who will reforme things that bee amiss, when it shall please him."

At which words they would have beene gone, but master Ridley said, "My lord, I would wish that your lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little booke of Bertrams doings¹, concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you shal find much good learning therein, if you will read the same with an indifferent judgement." Doctor Brookes made no answer to this, but would have bin gone away. Then M. Ridley saide, "Oh, I perceiue that you cannot away with this manner of talke. Well, it bootes not, I will say no more. I will speake of worldlie affaires. I pray you therefore my lord heare me, and be a meane to the queenes majestie, in the behalfe of a great many poore men, and especially for my poore sister and her husband which standeth there. They had a poore living granted unto them by me, whiles I was in the sea of London, and the same is taken away from them, by him that now occupieth the same roome, without all law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to the queens majestie in their behalves. You shall heare the same read, so shall you perceiue the matter the better." Then he reade the same, and when he came to the place in the supplication, that touched his sister by name, then he wept, so that for a little space he could not speake for weeping. After that he had left off weeping, he said, "This is nature that mooveth me. But I have now done," and with that read out the rest, and delivered the same to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queens majesty, and to sue, not only for himself, but also for such as had any leases or grants by him, and were put from the same by doctor Boner, then bishop of London. Whereunto Brookes said, "Indeed M. Ridley, your request in this supplication is verie lawfull and honest; therefore I must needes in conscience speake to the queenes majestie for them."

Rid. "I pray you for Gods sake doe so."

¹ *Bertrams doings.*] I suppose of Bertram's doings is meant. It is the celebrated work of Bertramus, or Ratramnus, *de corpore et sanguine Domini*, of which Cave well says, "in quo quam aperte, quam diserte, de re eucharistica agit, et transubstantiationis dogma, prout in scholis pontificis exspectatur, quam dilucide refellit, norunt quotquot vel prima theologiae tyndina posuerunt." An English translation by William Hugh had shortly before this time, viz., in 1545, been printed under the title of "A Booke of Bertram the Priest." &c. See also p. 379 and p. 583 of this volume.

Brooks. "I think your request will be granted, except one thing let it; and that is, I feare, because you do not allow the queenes proceedings, but obstinatelie withstand the same, that it will hardlie be granted."

Rid. "What remedie? I can doe no more but speake and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience therein, and Gods will be done."

Brok. "I will doe what lieth in me."

The copy of the supplication written to the queene heere followeth.

Master Ridley to the Queenes Majestie.

"It may please your majestie for Christ our saviours sake, in a matter of conscience (and now not for myself, but for other poore men) to vouchsafe to heare and understand this mine humble supplication.—It is so (honourable princesse) that in the time whiles I was in the ministry of the sea of London, divers poore men tenants thereof, have taken new leases of their tenancies, and holdings, and some have renewed and chaunged their old, and therefore have paied fines and summes of money, both to me, and also to the chapter of Paules, for the confirmation of the same.

"Now I heare say that the bishop which occupieth the same roome now, wil not allow the aforesaid leases, which must redound to many poore mens utter ruine and decay. Wherefore this is mine humble supplication unto your honourable grace, that it may please the same for Christs sake to be unto the foresaid poore men their gracious patronesse and defender, either that they may enjoy their foresaid leases and yeares renewed, as I suppose when their matter shall be heard with conscience, both justice, conscience, and equity shall require, for that their leases shal be found (I trust) made without fraud or coven, either of their part, or of mine, and alwaies also the old rents reserved to the sea without any kind of damage thereof: or if this will not be granted, then that it may please your gracious highnesse, to command that the poor men may be restored to their former leases and yeares, and to have rendred to them againe such sums of money as they paied to mee, and to the chapter house for their leases and yeres, so now taken from them. Which thing concerning the fines paid to me, may be easily done, if it

shal please your majesty to command some portion of those goods which I left in my house when I fled in hope of pardon for my trespassse towards¹ your grace, which goods (as I have heard) be yet reserved in the same house. I suppose that halfe of the value of my plate which I left in mine offices, and especially in an iron chest in my bed-chamber, wil go nigh to restore al such fines received, the true sums and parcels whereof, are not set in their leases: and therefore if that way shal please your highnes they must be known by such waies and means, as your majesty by the advise of men of wisdom and conscience shall appoint: but yet for Christs sake I crave and moste humbly beseech your majesty of your most gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

“ I have also a poore sister that came to me out of the North, with three fatherlesse children, for her reliefe, whome I married after to a servant² of mine own house: she is put out of that I did provide for them. I beseech your honourable grace, that her case may be mercifully considered, and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him, which suffered indurance at my entrance to the sea of London, not one peny of his moveable goods; for it was almost halfe a yeare after his deposition, afore I did enter into that place: yea, and also if any were left, known to be his, he had licence to carry it away, or there for his use it did lie safe, as his officers do know. I paied for the lead which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the behoofe of the church or of the house. And moreover, I had not onely no part of his mooveable goods, but also (as his old receiver and then mine, called M. Stanton, can testify) I paid for him towards his servants common liveries and wages, after his deposition, fifty-three or fifty-five pounds, I cannot tel whether. In all these matters I beseech your honourable majesty to heare the advise of men of conscience, and in especiall the archbishop of Yorke, which for that he was continually in my house³ a yeare or more, before mine imprisonment, I suppose he is not altogether ignorant of

¹ *My trespassse towards.*] That is, in the part he took to promote the succession of lady Jane Grey; of which some account is given below, in *Ridley's Life*, and in the notes—near the beginning.

² *To a servant.* “Master Shepside.” See p. 675.

³ *In my house.* Dr. Nicholas Heath. He was committed to Ridley's custody, on account of his popish opinions, and his refusal to submit to the proceedings of king Edward. See *Ridley's Life*, below.

some part of these things : and also his grace doth knowe my sister, for whose succour and some releefe, now unto your highnes I make most humble sute.

“ The 16. of October. An. 1555.

N. R.”

This degradation being past, and all thinges finished, doctor Brookes called the bailiffes, delivering to them M. Ridley with this charge, to keep him safelie from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then M. Ridley in praising God brast out with these words and said, “ God I thanke thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime : for, if you could, it should surelie be laid in my lap, I see verie well.” Whereunto Brookes said, he plaied the part of a proud Pharisey, exalting and praising himselfe.

But M. Ridley saide, “ No, no, no, as I have said before, to Gods glorie be it spoken. I confesse my selfe to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of Gods helpe and mercie, and doe dailie call and crie for the same : therefore I pray you have no such opinion in me.”—Then they departed, and in going awaie, a certain warden of a colledge, of whose name I am not very sure, bade D. Ridley repent him, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto M. Ridley said, “ Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth : and I praie God (if it be his blessed will) have mercie upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word.” Then the warden being in a chafe thereat, said, “ I trust that I shall never be of your erroneous and divellish opinion, neither yet to be in that place whether you shal go. He is,” saith he, “ the most obstinatest and wilfullest man that ever I heard talke since I was borne.”

The behaviour of D. Ridley at his supper, the night before his suffering.

The night before he suffered, his beard was washed, and his legs, and as he sate at supper the same night at M. Irishes (who was his keeper) he bade his hostesse, and the rest at the boord, to his marriage : “ for,” saith hee, “ to morrow I must be married ;” and so shewed himselfe to be as merie as ever he was at anie time before. And wishing his sister at his mariage, he asked his

brother sitting at the table, whether shee could finde in her heart to be there or no : and he answered, yea, I dare say, with all her heart : at which word hee saide, hee was glad to heare of her so much therein. So at this talke mistris Irish wept.

But M. Ridley comforted her, and said, " Oh mistresse Irish you love me not now, I see well enough. For in that you weep, it doth appeare you will not be at my mariage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my friende, as I thought you had bene. But quiet your selfe, though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharpe and painefull, yet I am sure, my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet."

When they arose from the table, his brother offered him to watch all night with him. But he said, " No, no, that you shall not. For I minde (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleepe as quietlie to night, as ever I did in my life." So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheere, and to take his crosse quietlie, for the reward was great, &c.

The behaviour of D. Ridley and M. Latimer, at the time of their death, which was the 16. of October, 1555.

Upon the north side of the towne, in the ditch over against Baile college, the place of execution was appointed ; and for feare of any tumult that might arise, to let the burning of them, the lord Williams⁶ was commanded by the queenes letters, and the householders of the city to be there assistant, sufficientlie appointed, and when every thing was in readinesse, the prisoners were brought forth by the maior and the bayliffes.

Master Ridley had a faire blacke gowne furred, and faced with foines, such as he was wont to weare being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same, going in a paire of slippers to the stake, and going between the maior and an alderman.

After him came master Latimer in a poor Bristow freeze frock all worne, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchiefe on his head, all readie to the fire, a newe long shrowde hanging over his back downe to the feet : which at the first sight, stirred mens hearts.

⁶ *Lord Williams.* Sir John Williams, recently created lord Williams of Thame.

to rue upon them, beholding on the one side, the honour they sometime had : on the other, the calamitie whereunto they were fallen.

Master doctour Ridley, as he passed towards Bocardo, looked up where M. Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have seene him at the glasse windowe⁷, and to have spoken unto him. But then master Cranmer was busie with frier Soto and his fellowes dis-

⁷ *At the glasse windowe.*] We are here reminded of the last parting scene between two other illustrious friends and fellow-confessors, at a subsequent period of our history. "The lord Strafford the night before the execution, sent for the lieutenant of the tower, and asked him, whether it were possible he might speak with the archbishop (Laud). The lieutenant told him, he might not do it without order from the parliament. Wherefore the earl replied, 'You shall hear what passeth between us: for it is not a time now, either for him to plot heresy, or me to plot treason.' The lieutenant answered, that he was limited; and therefore desired, that his lordship would petition the parliament for that favour. 'No,' said he, 'I have gotten my dispatch from them; and will trouble them no more. I am now petitioning an higher court, where neither partiality can be expected, nor error feared. But my lord,' said he, turning to the primate of Ireland, whose company he had procured of the houses in that fatal exigent, 'I will tell you what I should have spoken to my lord's grace of Canterbury. You shall desire the archbishop to lend me his prayers this night; and to give me his blessing when I do go abroad to-morrow; and *to be in his window*, that by my last farewell I may give him thanks for this, and all other his former favours.' The primate having delivered the message without delay, the archbishop replied, that in conscience he was bound to the first, and in duty and obligation to the second: but he feared his weakness and passion would not lend him eyes to behold his last departure. The next morning at his coming forth he drew near to the archbishop's lodging, and said to the lieutenant, 'though I do not see the archbishop, yet give me leave I pray you to do my last observance towards his rooms.' In the mean time the archbishop, advertised of his approach, came out to the window. Then the earl, bowing himself to the ground, 'My lord,' said he, '*your prayers and your blessing.*' The archbishop lift up his hands, and bestowed both: but overcome with grief, fell to the ground in *animi deliquio*. The earl bowing the second time, said, 'Farewell my lord; God protect your innocency.' And because he feared that it might perhaps be thought an effeminacy or unbecoming weakness in him to sink down in that manner, he added, 'That he hoped by God's assistance, and his own innocency, that when he came to his own execution, which he daily longed for, the world should perceive he had been more sensible of the lord Strafford's loss, than of his own. And good reason it should be so (said he), for the gentleman was more serviceable to the church (he would not mention the state), than either himself, or any of all the church-men had ever been.'—A gallant farewell to so eminent and beloved a friend!" Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 480.

puting together, so that he could not see him through that occasion. Then master Ridley looking backe, espied M. Latimer comming after. Unto whome he said, "Oh be ye there." "Yea," said master Latimer, "have after as fast as I can follow." So he following a prettie way off, at length they came both to the stake, the one after the other; where first doctor Ridley entring the place, marvellous earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven: then shortlie after espying M. Latimer, with a wondrous cheerful looke, ran to him, imbraced and kissed him, and as they that stood neere reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good heart brother, for God will either asswage the furie of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it."

With that went he to the stake, kneeled downe by it, kissed it, most effectuouslie praied; and behind him M. Latimer kneeled, as earnestlie calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see the execution remooved themselves out of the sun. What they said, I can learne of no man.

Then doctor Smith, of whose recantation^a in king Edwards time ye heard before, beganne his sermon to them, upon this text of St. Paul, in the 13. chap. of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, *Si corpus meum tradam igni, charitatem autem non habeam, nihil inde utilitatis capio*; that is, 'if I yeelde my bodie to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gaine nothing thereby.' Wherein he alledged that the goodnesse of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holines of the person: which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford, that of late hanged herselfe, for that they and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperatly sundered their lives from their bodies, as hee feared that those men that stood before him would doe. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretikes, and died out of the church. And on the other side, he declared their diversities in opinions, as Lutherians, Oecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were he said, and that was the worst: but the old church of Christ, and the catholike faith beleevved far otherwise. At which place they lifted uppe both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling God to witnes of the truth. The which countenance they made in many other places of his sermon.

^a Of whose recantation. See above, p. 567.

whereas they thought he spake amisse. Hee ended with a verie short exhortation to them to recant and come home againe to the church, and save their lives and soules, which else were condemned. His sermon was scant in all a quarter of an houre.

Doctor Ridley said to M. Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Master Latimer said, "Begin you first I pray you." "I will," said master Ridley.

Then the wicked sermon being ended, doctor Ridley and master Latimer kneeled downe upon their knees towards my lord Williams of Tame, the vice-chancellour of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, which sate upon a forme thereby. Unto whom M. Ridley said, "I beseech you my lord even for Christs sake, that I may speake but two or three wordes." And whilest my lord bent his head to the maior and vice-chancellour, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to speake, the bailiffes and doctor Marshall vice-chancellour, ran hastily to him, and with their handes stopped his mouth and said, "Maister Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shal not onely have liberty so to doe, but also the benefite of a subject, that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" said maister Ridley. "No," quoth doctor Marshall: "therefore, if you will not so doe, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," (quoth M. Ridley) "so long as the breath is in my bodie, I will never denie my Lord Christ, and his knowne truth: Gods will be done in me." And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well, then I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all."

To whose saying, maister Latimer added his sole posie, "Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened:" and hee saide he could answere Smith well enough if hee might be suffered. Incontinently they were commanded to make them readie, which they with all meeknesse obeyed. M. Ridley tooke his gowne and his tippet, and gave it to his brother in lawe Master Shepside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his owne charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time, hee sent him by the sergeant that kept him. Some other of his apparell that was little worth, hee gave away; other the bailiffes tooke.

He gave away besides, divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifullie weeping: as to sir

Henry Lea, he gave a new groat, and to divers of my lord Williams gentlemen, some napkins, some nutmegges, and races of ginger, his diall, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Som plucked the pointes of his hose. Happie was he¹ that might get any ragge of him.

M. Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other aray, which to looke unto was very simple : and being stripped into his shrowd, he seemed as comly a person to them that were there present, as one should lightly see : and whereas in his clothes hee appeared a withered and crooked sillie olde man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father² as one might lightly behold.

Then M. Ridley standing as yet in his trusse, sayde to his brother, "it were best for me to go in my trusse still." "No," quoth his brother, "it will put you to more paine : and the trusse will do a poore man good." Whereunto M. Ridley said.

¹ *Happie was he.*] The zeal with which the little remembrancers of these sufferers were sought after, is insulted and scorned at by the vulgar and atrocious persecutor Miles Hoggard, in a passage of his *Displaying of Protestants*, fol. 54—6; but it is too disgusting and savage to disengage from its present obscurity. Compare Fox's *Acts*, p. 1818.

² *As comely a father.*] With this description of Latimer, the reader may not be displeased to have an opportunity of comparing the following account of a humble Welsh fisherman. "It is recorded furthermore of the same goode father Rawlines by this reporter, that as he was going to his death, standing at the stake, hee seemed in a manner to be altered in nature. For whereas before he was wont to go stouping, or rather crooked through the infirmities of age, having a sad countenance, and a very feeble complexion, and withal very softe in speech and gesture; now he went and stretched up himself not onlie bolt upright, but also bare withal a most comfortable countenance, not without great courage and audacity both in speech and behaviour. Hee had of which thing I should have spoken before, about his head a handkerchiefe. The hairs of his head somewhat appearing beneath his kerchiefe, and also of his beard, were more inclined to white than to grey, which gave such a shewe and countenance to his whole person, that he seemed to be altogether angelical. It is also said by this reporter, that a little before the fire flashed up to his bodie as yee have heard, many of his friends came to him, and took him by the hand; among whom the reporter of this storie helde him so long by the hand, till the flame of the fire rose, and forced them assunder. In the mean time, the priest of whom I spake afore, cried out and said, that it was not lawful for any man to take him by the hand, because he was an heretike, and condemned by the church. The cause of his trouble, was his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar. Hee was at that time of his death, of the age of three score years or thereabouts." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1816.

“Be it, in the name of God,” and so unlaced himself. Then being in his shirt³, hee stood upon the foresaid stone, and held up his hands and sayde, “Oh Heavenly Father, I give unto thee most heartie thanks, for that thou haste called mee to bee a professour of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee Lord God, take mercie upon this realme of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies.”

Then the smith tooke a chaine of iron, and brought the same about both doctor Ridleyes, and maister Latimers middles: and as he was knocking in a staple, doctor Ridley tooke the chaine in his hand and shaked the same, for it did girde in his belly, and looking aside to the smith, said; “Good fellow knocke it in hard; for the flesh will have its course.” Then his brother did bringe him gunnepowder in a bagge, and would have tied the same about his necke. Maister Ridley asked what it was. His brother sayde gunnepowder. “Then,” sayd he, “I take it to be sent of God; therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any,” sayd he, “for my brother,” meaning master Latimer: “Yea sir, that I have” (quoth his brother): “then give it unto him,” sayd he, “betime, least yee come too late.” So his brother went, and carried of the same gunnepowder unto maister Latimer.

In the meane time doctor Ridley spake unto my lord Williams,

³ *Being in his shirt.*] Whatever might be the case with Latimer, yet I consider it to be certain that a *linen* shirt was a luxury and distinction which the circumstances of the country did not in that age permit as the ordinary habit of persons of the rank of many of the martyrs. Hence the “shirt” often has an interest and meaning which, at first sight, would not ordinarily appear to us of these days. It was frequently an offering of friendship, and as such was reserved and dedicated to occasions the most solemn and festal. “Wyfe,” says Lawrence Saunders, looking shortly to be despatched, “I would you sent me my shirte, which *you know whereunto it is consecrated*. Let it be sowed downe on both the sydes, and not open.” *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 206. Again, to a similar effect, from John Careless. “Commende me unto my deare and faythful sister Elizabeth B. I thanke her moste hartely for my napkin, and so I doe you, deare brother,” (the letter is addressed to Augustine Bernher.) “for my *sherte*. Trulye that daye that we were appoynted to come to oure answeare before the commissioners, whiche had sente worde the same morning, that they woulde come to the kynges benche by eight of the clocke, and the house and all thynges were trymmed and made ready for them;—I gotte that sherte on my backe, and that napkin in my hande, and me thought that they dyd helpe to harnesse me and weapon me well agaynst that bloody beaste of Babylon.” *Ibid.* p. 610.

and said, "My lord, I must be a suter unto your lordshippe in the behalfe of divers poore men, and speciallie in the cause of my poore sister : I have made a supplication to the queenes majestie in their behalves. I beseech your lordship for Christs sake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordshippe to certifie you herof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience (I praise God) this only excepted. Whiles I was in the sea of London, divers poore men tooke leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I heare say the bishop that now occupieth the same roome, will not allow my grants unto them made, but contrarie unto all lawe and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to injoy the same. I beseech you my lord, be a meane for them : you shall doe a good deed, and God will reward you."

Then they brought a fagotte, kindled with fire, and laid the same downe at doctor Ridleys feete. To whome M. Latimer spake in this manner, "Bee of good comfort master Ridley, and play the man ; wee shall this day light such a candle by Gods grace in England, as I trust shall never bee putte out."

And so the fire being given unto them, when doctor Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful lowd voice, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum : Domine, recipe spiritum meum*, and after repeated this latter part often in English, *Lord, Lord, receive my spirit* : M. Latimer crying as vehementlie on the other side, *Oh Father of heaven, receive my soule* : who received the flame as it were imbracing of it. After that he had stroaked his face with his handes, and as it were, bathed them a little in the fire, he soone died, (as it appeared) with verie little paine or none⁴.—And thus much concerning the end of this olde and blessed servant of God, master Latimer, for whose laborious travailes, fruitfull life, and constant death the whole realme hath cause to give great thanks to almightie God.

But master Ridley, by reason of the evill making of the fire

⁴ *Little paine or none.*] "Though Latimer came after Ridley to the stake, he got before him to heaven. His body, made tinder by age, was no sooner touched by the fire, but instantly this old Simeon had his *nunc dimittis* : and brought the news to heaven that his brother was following after." Fuller's *Holy State*, p. 282.

unto him, because the wodden fagots were laide about the gosse, and over high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept downe by the wood. Which when he felt, he desired them for Christes sake to let the fire come unto him. Which when his brother in law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his paine (for the which cause hee gave attendance) as one in such sorrow, not well advised what hee did, heaped fagots upon him so that he cleane covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned cleane all his neather parts, before it once touched the upper, and that made him leape up and downe under the fagots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, "I cannot burne." Which indeed appeared well: for after his legges were consumed by reason of his struggling through the paine (whereof hee had no release, but onelie his contentation in God) he shewed that side towards us cleane, shirt and all, untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment hee forgate not to call unto God still, having in his mouth. "Lord have mercie upon mee," intermingling this cry, "let the fire come unto me, I cannot burne." In which paines he laboured till one of the standers by with his bill pulled off the fagots above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himselfe unto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seene stirre no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at master Latimers feete. Which some said hapned, by reason that the chain loosed, other said that he fel over the chain by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakness of the neather lims. Some said that before he was like to fall from the stake, he desired them to hold him to it with their bills. Howsoever it was, surelie it mooved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible sight. For I thinke there was none, that had not cleane exiled all humanitie and mercie, which would not have lamented to beholde the furie of the fire so to rage upon their bodies. Signes there were of sorrow on everie side⁶.

⁶ *On everie side.*] The following account is given in a letter from cardinal Pole to king Philip. "A reverendo patre Soto accepi literas Oxonio datas, quibus me certiolem facit, quid cum duobus illis hæreticis egerit, qui jam erant damnati, quorum alter ne loqui quidem cum eo voluerit" (this seems to suit best with the character of Latimer); "cum altero est loquutus, sed nihil profecit; ut facile intelligatur, a nemine servari posse, quos Deus projecit. Itaque de illis supplicium est sumtum, *non illubenter, ut ferunt, spectante populo*, cum cognitum fuisset, nihil esse prætermisum, quod ad eorum

BISHOP LATIMER.

it grievouslie to see their deathe, whose lives they
 Some pittied their persona, that thought their
 had no need thereof. His brother mooved many men,
 g his miserable case: seeing (I say) him compelled to such
 itie, that he thought then to doe him best service, when he
 med his end. Some cried out of the lucke, to see his
 ror, whose most dearlie loved him, and sought his release,
 to his greater vexation, and increase of paine. But whose
 dered their preferments in time past, the places of honour
 they sometime occupied in this common wealth, the favour
 were in with their princes, and the opinion of learning they
 could not chuse but sorrow with teares, to see so great
 tie, honour, and estimation, so necessary members some-
 accounted, so many godly vertues, the study of so manie
 such excellent learning, to be put into the fire, and con-
 d in one moment.—Wel, dead they are, and the reward of
 world they have already. What reward remaineth for them
 even, the day of the Lords glorie, when hee cometh with
 unto, shall shortly I trust declare.

in pertinere.—Qui olim Cantuariensi ecclesie prae-
 sentantia Romae nunc expectatur, is non ita se pertinacem ostendit,
 ac cupere mecum loqui. Si ad poenitentiam revocari possit, non parum
 ex unius animae salute ecclesia ferret; quid autem sperari possit, ex
 proximo literis Patri Noti expectamus, et Majestatem vestram certiorum
 faciemus." *Poli Epist.*, vol. v. p. 84 and 47 (Westm. Octob. 26, 1555)

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